

UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY



139 178

UNIVERSA
LIBRARY

Tell-Trothes New-Heares Gift

AND

The Passionate Morrice.

JOHN LANE'S

Tom Tell-Troths Message, and his Pens Complaint.

THOMAS POWELL'S

Tom of all Trades.

The Glasse of Godly Love.

(BY JOHN ROGERS?)

TELL-TROTHES NEW-YEARES GIFT

BEERING

ROBIN GOOD-FELLOWES NEWES OUT OF THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE
INHABITES NEITHER CHARITY NOR HONESTY.

WITH HIS OWNE INUECTIVE AGAINST IELOSY.

AND

THE PASSIONATE MORRICE.

1593.

JOHN LANE'S

Tom Tell-Troths Message, and his Pens Complaint.

1600.

THOMAS POWELL'S

TOM OF ALL TRADES.

OR

THE PLAINE PATH-WAY TO PREFERMENT.

BEING

A DISCOVERY OF A PASSAGE TO PROMOTION IN ALL PROFESSIONS, TRADES,
ARTS, AND MYSTERIES.

1631.

THE GLASSE OF GODLY LOUE.

(BY JOHN ROGERS?)

1569.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL, M.A., CAMB.,

FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR OF *THE NEW SHAKSPEARE SOCIETY*, &c.

PUBLISHT FOR

The New Shakspeare Society

BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57, 59, LUDGATE HILL,
LONDON, E.C., 1876.

Series VI. No. 2.

CLAY AND TAYLOR PRINTERS HUNGARY.

CONTENTS.

Forewords, ix-xxix

I. TELL TROTHES NEW YEARES GIFT, 1591.

Introduction, 3-5

§ 1. *Eight causes of Jealousy.*

The first cause of jealousy : ill assorted unions made up by parents, 5-8

The second cause : lack of authority in the husband and respect for her husband in the wife, 8

The third cause : causeless discontent on either side, 9

The fourth cause : husbands bringing male friends home, and then getting jealous of them ; or bringing female friends, and praising them too much, 9-10

The fifth cause : wicked men sowing suspicion between husband and wife, 10

The sixth cause : giving credit to false reports, 10-14 ; with a merry Tale of an old Trot, 11-14

The seventh cause : hard usage by husband to wife, or wife to husband, 14-15

The eighth cause : lewd behaviour in company, 15

§ 2. *Eight kinds of Jealousy.*

The first kind : Jasper Impudencie, forgetful of his Joan's previous favours, accuses her of playing him false with a rival, 16

The second kind : a young novice who swoons if any one speaks to his love, 16

The third kind : story of a jealous old doter, 16-17

The fourth kind : husbands who surprise friends with their wives by previous arrangement and then get a divorce, 17

The fifth kind : makebates who get up scandals, 17

The sixth kind : liars who pretend not to be jealous but publicly show that they are so, 17-18

The seventh kind : knaves in grainc who oblige their wives to serve as decoys, and then suspect them of learning their lesson too well, 18

The eighth kind : husbands who are polite to their wives before company, and hang up their fiddles at home, 18-19 ; with the case of a most notable ass, 19-20

§ 3. *Means of increasing Jealousy.*

The first means : knavish jealousy shall earn a good cudgelling, 20

The second means : mistrustful fools shall lose their love's affection, 20-1

The third means : doters' wives shall solace themselves with Jack the scullion at home, and affect injured innocence in their husbands' presence, 21

The fourth means : plotters of divorces shall be most despitefully entreated by their new wives, 21-2

The fifth means : backbiters shall be known for the knaves they really are, 22

The sixth means : liars who say they are not jealous shall be cuckolded, whether they will or no, 22

The seventh means : wittalls shall lose their customers, or their wifes shall spend the profits, 22

The eighth means : mistrustful husbands who only treat their wives well in public shall have good cause for suspicion ; with a pretty jest of an old doter very well served, 22

§ 4. *Robin Good-fellowe : his Invective against Jelosy.*

The folly of wilfully encouraging jealous fears, 27-8

Distinction between solicitude for the honour of those you love, and mere jealousy, 28-9

There is no concord between love and jealousy, 29

A loving wife will not wrong her husband ; but if men marry those they have reason to suspect, let them blame their own folly ; such mates often prove more than a match for them in cunning, 29-30

If men are unfaithful themselves they'll have cause to be jealous. The different types of jealous folks described, 30-1

Some women take a malicious pleasure in their husbands' unfounded jealousy. What does a man gain by it? 31

Vulcan had better have held his tongue, and he might also have remembered his own infidelity to Venus, 32

Let men be content to be esteemed happy in their marriages, and keep their skeletons in their cupboards, 32-3

A husband ought not to be unforgiving even if his wife has wronged him, and if she is incorrigible he should make the best of his bargain rather than seek a divorce, for the law obliges him to give her a maintenance, which her paramour would benefit by, 33-4

Kindness will forestall jealousy, 34

But harshness will only incite to revenge, and if a woman means to betray you your vigilance will be baffled, 35

Besides she'll make such an unquiet house that you'll be obliged to beat a retreat, 36

If men gently reprove their wives they will be penitent. A man who rules his own household injudiciously will scarcely make a good citizen of the state, 36-7

Covetousness is a cause of jealousy, 38

True love described. There is a false doting love which ends in jealousy, 39

Contents.

vii

How this comes about detailed, 40

The character of a doter, 41

Description of jealousy's kingdom, its chief city, scenery, defences and inhabitants, 41-3

The blessings of true love, 43-4

Epilogue. *To the Gentlewomen and others of England*, 45-6

II. THE PASSIONATE MORRICE, 47-105

Dedication. *To the Gentlewomen and others of England*, 49-50

Introduction, 51

Eight couples of lovers.

The first couple of morris-dancers : a passionate ass and a peevish wench, 51-4

The second couple : a lusty widower and a gallant wench, 57-8

The third couple : a bachelor and a covetous widow, 62-3, 69-70 ; story of a widow's abduction, 67-9

The fourth couple : a miserly churl and a rich widow, 70-3

The fifth couple : a discreet young gentleman and an immodest damsel, 75-81

The sixth couple . a coy dame and her suitors, 81-2, 85 ; story of a miser's daughter, 83-4

The seventh couple : a prentice and a girl wearied of a long engagement to him, 87 ; story of a gentleman jilted by a poor maid, 89-90

The eighth couple : a seducer and his victim, 94-6

III. TOM TEL-TROTHS MESSAGE AND HIS PENS COMPLAINT, 107-135

Dedication, 109

To The Gentlemen Readers, 110

Tom Tel-Troth invokes the goose of the Capitol, 111/1 ; sees the ghost of Conscience, 111/19 ; invokes Melpomene, 112/31 ; will recite the misdeeds which work man's thrall, 113/66 ; wishes the Pope were hanged on a II, 114/88 ; doesn't care for his banning, 114/91 ; upbraids monks and friars, 114/97-108 ; hopes some one will write against them, 114/111 ; meanwhile leaves their castigation to poets and painters, 114/113 ; puns on Cambridge and Oxford, 115/133-34 ; bewails the wrongs of Poetry, 117-18/199-216 ; imprecates vengeance on bad poets, 118/223-26 ; describes the seven deadly sins and their effects ; Pride, 119-23/241-366 ; Envy, 123-25/367-426 ; Wrath, 125-27/427-92 ; Sloth, 127/493-534 ; Avarice, 129-30/535-94 ; Gluttony, 131-32/595-642 ; Lechery, 132-33/643-84 ; wishes Sufferance might be seen in England, 127/486 ; that he could paint Sloth, 128/529-34 ; warns misers of their fate, 130/587-88 ; wishes that he could paint Lechery and Chastity, 133/667-70 ; prays that he may be chaste, 134/697-700 ; doesn't care for carpers, 134/707-8 ; confesses that he's a severe critic, 134/709-14 ; ceases, but not for want of matter, 135/715-18 ; hopes you'll be amended, 135/720

IV. TOM OF ALL TRADES, 137-175

The Epistle Dedicatorie, 139-40

Introduction, 141-4

The Scholar, 144 ; his schooling, 144-7 ; university career, 147-9 ; advancement in the ministry, 149-54

The Civilian, 155-6

The Common Lawyer, 156-9

The Physician, 159-62

The Apprentice, 162-6

The Navigator, 166-7

The Husbandman, 167

The Courtier, 168-9

The Soldier, 169-71

The Land-Soldier, 171-2

Your three daughters, 172-4

V. THE GLASSE OF GODLY LOVE, 177-189

Preface, 178

What wedlock is, 179

The duty of the wife to her husband, 179-80

What a wife ought to be, 180-1

The duty of the husband to the wife, 181-3

What the husband ought to be, 183

What maintaineth love and quietness in marriage, 183-4

The commendation of chastity, 184-5

That married folk ought to have chaste manners and communication, 185

Of temperance in marriage, 185-6

The commendation of children, 186-7

How children ought to be brought up, 187

The order of your house, 187-9

Notes, 191

Index, 202

FOREWORDS.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>§ 1. <i>Of Tell-Trothes New-years Gift</i>,
1593, p. ix.</p> <p>§ 2. <i>Of John Lane and his Works</i>, p. xii.</p> <p>§ 3. <i>Of Thomas Powell and his Works</i>,
p. xv.</p> <p>1. <i>Loues Leprosie</i>, p. xvi.</p> <p>2. <i>The Passionate Poet</i>, p. xvii.</p> <p>3. <i>A Welch Bayte</i>, p. xvii (<i>Lord Southampton</i>, p. xx.)</p> <p>4. <i>Direction for Search of Records</i>,
1622, p. xxi.</p> <p>5. <i>The Mysterie of Lending and</i></p> | <p><i>Borrowing</i>, p. xxiii.</p> <p>6. <i>The Attourneys Academy</i>, 1623,
p. xxiv.</p> <p>7. <i>The Attornies Almanacke</i>, 1627,
p. xxiv.</p> <p>8. <i>The Repertorie of Records</i>,
1631, p. xxv.</p> <p>9. <i>Tom of all Trades</i>, 1631 (p. 137),
p. xxvi. (<i>Sir Edward Hales</i>,
p. xxvi.)</p> <p>§ 4. <i>The Glasse of Godly Loue</i>, p. xxviii.</p> <p>§ 5. <i>Thanks to helpers</i>, p. xxviii.</p> |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
-

§ 1. HERE are reprints of three rare tracts, of which the first two are on the England of Elizabeth's time (1593, 1600), and the third is written by a man of her time, tho' not publisht till the seventh year of Charles the First's reign (1631). The fourth scrap is before 1600.

The printing of the first tract was urg'd on me by my friend Mr W. C. Hazlitt, because there was only one copy of it known to him, and that at Peterborough Cathedral Library, quite out of the way of the ordinary student. As this tract dealt with the husband-and-wife question in Shakspeare's young days, and mainly took-up the other side (the woman's) to that which Shakspeare backt in *The Comedy of Errors* (Act II. sc. i. ; V. i. 68—86), I was glad to recommend it to the friend and fellow-member of our Society¹ who had offerd to give us a Shakspeare's-England reprint of moderate size. Otherwise its inner worth would not have given it so early a place in our Sixth Series. But still, for the social condition of England in Shakspeare's time, this *Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift* of 1593 has great interest, so far as the family life of the middle classes is concernd. Oddly enough, too, it does illustrate aptly a bit of the last long speech of Suffolk in 1 *Henry VI*, V. v. 48—54 (tho' I suppose that is not Shakspeare's), about the young king's choice of the dowerless Margaret :

¹ He has made it a condition that his name be not mentiond.

x Forewords. § 1. Elizabethan and Victorian Morals.

Suf. A dower, my lords ! disgrace not so your king,
That he should be so abject, base, and poor,
To choose for wealth, and not for perfect love.
Henry is able to enrich his queen,
And not to seek a queen to make him rich :
So worthless peasants bargain for their wives,
As market-men for oxen, sheep, or horse.

At p. 61-2, of Tell-Troth's Part II, *The Passionate Morrice*, we come on the following passage :—

“Fie, fie ! mariages, for the most part, are at this day so made, as looke how the butcher bies his cattel, so wil men sel their children. He that bids most, shal speed soonest ; & so he hath money, we care not a fart for his honestie. Well, it hath not been so, and I hope it wil not be long so ; & I wil assure you, loues common-wealth wil neuer flourish vntil it be otherwise. Why, it is a common practize to aske the father what hee will giue with his childe ; and what is that differing from cheapening an Oxe ? And it is as common, that if she be fat, it is a bargaine, but if leane, she must stay another customer.”

This cannot be calld an advance on the low part of the earlier *Paston-Letters* view of the marriage question.¹

I do not want to puff our Victorian time against the Elizabethan. We have faults enough, God knows. There *may* be a few beings calld women now extant, who justify the sketches that reviews tell us sensation-novelists draw, and that prurient article-writers affect to denounce,² but surely no one can turn from the cuckoo cry which the *Love's-Labours-Lost* end song, and almost all Elizabethan books on social life, echo ; no one can contrast Shakspeare's doctrine on the relation of husband and wife in *The Errors* (First-Period) and *Taming of the Shrew*, with Tennyson's in *The Princess*,³ without

¹ There is also proof of plenty of true love in these Letters ; and Margaret Paston, the heroine of the volumes, is not far from being a model wife of the time.

² See my *Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. i, p. 2.

³ There's nothing, situate under heaven's eye,
But hath his bound, in earth, in sea, in sky :
The beasts, the fishes, and the winged fowls,
Are their males' subject, and at their controls :
Men, more divine, the masters of all these,

Dear, but let us type them now
In our own lives, and this proud watch-
word rest
Of equal ; seeing either sex alone
Is half itself, and in true marriage lies
Nor equal, nor unequal : each fulfils
Defect in each, and always thought in
thought,
Purpose in purpose, will in will, they
grow,

feeling that enormous moral progress has been made since the Elizabethan time in the relations of the sexes, and of husband and wife.¹

The comparison of *Love's Labours Lost* with *The Princess* is full of interest; and though the contrast of the converse excluders of the opposite sex in the two works strikes a student of both poets at first sight, I have never seen or heard it alluded-to in any criticism of the poem or play. The comparison of *In Memoriam* with the *Sonnets* has been indeed mentiond, but never workt out, full of interest as the subject is. Victorians need not fear to set Arthur Hallam by Shakspeare's Will H., or the grounds of Tennyson's affectionate reverence for his friend, by those of Shakspeare's love for his.

Assuming, then, that the full description by the unknown 1593 TELL-TROT² of the causes of Jealousy in English husbands, and

Lords of the wide world, and wild
wat'ry seas,
Indued with intellectual sense and
souls,
Of more pre-eminence than fish and
fowls,
Are masters to their females, and their
lords:
Then let your will attend on their ac-
cords.—Luciana, in *Errors*, II. i.
(Cp. Milton's view.)

The single pure and perfect animal,
The two-cell'd heart, beating, with one
full stroke,
Life.

The Princess, p. 157, 1st ed., 1847.

¹ The views of our narrow-minded (and often caddish) folk, as well as those of our broader-minded and more generous men, on the Woman-question, are annually stated in the House of Commons, in the debate on the Woman's-Suffrage Bill, or any attempt to admit women to the learned professions. Women still wait for justice and fair-play.

² *Indouinello*, a tell-truth, a tom-tell-troth.—1598; Florio. For the second name of the title, Robin Goodtellow (or Hobgoblin), see Shakspeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. 1. 34, 40, Cotgrave, and Florio:

Follet; or, *Esprit follet*. An Hobgoblin, Robin-goodfellow, Bugbear.—1611; Cotgrave.

Luiton: m. A Goblin, Bug, Robin-good-fellow, merrie diuell, that vses to mocke, and deceiue, sillie people.—1611; Cotgrave.

Loup-garou: m. A mankind Wolfe ... also a Hobgoblin, Hob-thrush, Robin-good-fellow; also a night-walker, or flie-light; one thats neuer scene but by Owle-light.—1611; Cotgrave.

Lutin: m. A Goblin, Robin-good-fellow, Hob-thrush; a spirit which playes reakes in mens houses anights.—1611; Cotgrave.

Lutinw. To play the Goblin, or night-spirit; to keepe a foule rumbling, or terrible racket vp and down a house in the night.—1611; Cotgrave.

Fantasma, a ghost, a hag, a robin goodfellow, a hob-goblin, a sprite, a iade, the riding hagge, or mare.—1598; Florio.

the relation of father and daughter, husband and wife, justifies the appearance of our first tract, in this volume, I pass on to the second, John Lane's *Tom Tel-troths Message and his Pens Complaint*, of 1600, when Shakspeare was writing, or had just written, his brilliant Second-Period *Much Ado* and *As You Like It*.

§ 2. John Lane is known to manuscript men by his still unprinted completion of Chaucer's *Squires Tale*,¹ and his re-telling of the Romance of *Guy of Warwick*, the prose Forewords to which are printed in the *Percy Folio Ballads and Romances*, ii. 521-5, from the Harleian MS. 5243 in the British Museum. He is not mentioned in Edmund Howes's list of English poets with "Willi. Shakspeare gentleman" (Continuation of Stowe's *Annales*, ed. 1615, p.

Mani ... *hobgoblins*, or *elfes*, or such misshapen images or imagined spirits that nurces fraie their babes withall, to make them leaue crying, as we say bug-beave, or els, rawe head and bloodie bones.—1598; Florio.

Lemuri, the ghosts or spirits of such as dye before their time, or *hobgoblins*, black bugs, or nightwalking spirits.—ib. And see *Manduco*.

¹ Thus describ'd in Black's Catalogue of the Ashmole MSS., 1845, col. 91-2:

No. 53. A small quarto volume, containing 81 leaves of paper, gilt at the edges, beside three on which are written the title and introductory pieces: it is very neatly written, as for a presentation copy; and the royal Arms are stamped on the covers.

"Chaucer's Piller, beinge his Master-peece, called the Squires Tale, wch hath binn given [up as] lost, for all most thense three hundred yeares: but now found out, and brought to light by John Lane. 1630."

On the back of the title is an acrostick (forming "Maria Anglie. C. M.") from "The Muse to the soveraigne bewtie of our adreadded sovereign lord King Charles:" which introduces an affected dedication, followed by 8 lines from "The Muse to the fowre winds," by "J. L.," and 6 lines to the author by Thomas Windham, of Keinsford, co. Somerset, Esq., one of the Justices. On the fourth page are 4 stanzas from the fourth book of the *Faerie Queene* by "The poet Spencer, uppon the loss of that peece of Chaucers." Then follow the Description of the Squier by Chaucer (in his prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, v. 79—100), and "The Squires prolog, as it is in Chaucer," and "The Squiers tale as it is in Chaucer," the text of which on f. i.

The two first parts of this poem, and the two first lines of the third part, are copied from Chaucer; at the end of the second (f. 10^b) is this note "Heere followeth my suppliment to bee inserted in place of that of Chaucer's which is missing. J. L." This long poem, which bears no just proportion to Chaucer's tales, consists of twelve parts or cantos, to each of which is prefixed a summary stanza of 4 lines. At the end are an Epilogus (f. 79^b), "The Marchautes wordes to the Squier, and the Hostes wordes to the Marchant as they are in Chaucer" (f. 80), and "Comparatio," f. 80^b.

On the back of f. 81, Ashmole has written an extract from Lydgate's "Temple of Glass," about Canace, the heroine of this story.

811, col. 2); but, as the friend of Milton's father, he is done more than justice to by Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, who in his *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1675, thus describes Lane:—

“A fine old Queen Elizabeth gentleman, who was living within my remembrance, and whose several poems, had they not had the ill fate to remain unpublisht, when much better meriting than many that are in print, might possibly have gain'd him a name not much inferiour, if not equal, to *Drayton* and others of the next rank to *Spencer*; but they are all to be produc't in Manuscript: namely, his *Poetical Vision*¹; his *Alarm to the Poets* [1648]; his *Twelve Months*¹; his *Guy of Warwick*, a Heroic Poem (at least as much as many others that are so Entitled); and lastly his Supplement to *Chaucer's Squires Tale*.”—1675, p. 111-12; edition 1824, p. xxiii. See also *Winstanley's Lives of the Poets*, p. 100 [which only repeats part of Phillips].—*Hazlitt's Handbook*, p. 326, col. 2.

Besides the above, John Lane² wrote

“An Elegie vpon the death of the high and renowned Princesse, our late Soueraigne Elizabeth. By I. L. Imprinted at London for John Deane, at Temple-barre. 1603; 4to, 7 leaves. *Bodleian* (Malone) *ib.*; and

“Tritons Trumpet, 1620.” (Hazlitt.)

His *Tom Tel-Troths Message* is a poem of 120 six-line stanzas, in which he complains of his countrymen's naughtinesses. The closest handling of his subject is in pages 119—134, where he deals with the Seven Deadly Sins. This should be compared with the like part in *The Times Whistle*, by R. C., about 1616 A.D., edited for the Early English Text Society by Mr J. M. Cowper in 1871.

Lane first complains of the Pope, the Cardinals, priests, monks, friars, and all ‘this popish ribble-rabble route,’³ stanzas 14-19, p. 113-114. Then he laments vaguely the state of ‘Englands two Vniuersities,’ and the Seven Liberal Sciences, p. 115-118, of which, Grammar ‘stands bonds-laue-like, of Stationers to be sold,’ l. 149, and Poetry brings no solace to country swains, who fancy more ‘the winding of an horne,’ l. 208, while ballad-makers pen ‘new gigges for a countrie clowne,’ l. 216, and ‘bastard braines’ with their base rymes work Poetry's infamy, l. 226.

¹ See *Percy Folio*, ii. 522, col. 1, at foot. The *Poetical Visions* was to have ‘first and second partes.’

² Under A.D. 1572, Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, Pt. i, col. 189, notes,—when speaking of John Lane, of Christ Church, who died in 1578—“There was one John Lane, a poet, about this time.”

³ Compare *The Image of Ypocresye*, &c., in my *Ballads from MSS.*, i. 181-266.

Next come the Seven Deadly Sins. Under (1) *Pride*, Lane abuses the 'fine-ruft Ruffines,' st. 42, p. 119; the dandies 'full trick and trim tur'd in the lookinge glasse,' l. 255, casting sheeps-eyes¹, &c., walking with fantastical gait, st. 45, wearing long hair or curld locks, st. 46, resembling every shape like Proteus,² and every colour like the chameleon, st. 47; drest in the snip-snap jagd clothes, st. 48, that in former fashions Chaucer in his *Parsons Tale*, and so many other complainers from time to time condemnd; and with wingd sleeves, round hose, cloaks short and long, st. 51, p. 121. Then the women are scolded for their dress: bold Beatrice with her wires—that movd Stubbes's wrath—tires, periwig, and caul (st. 52); with feathers (which men wear too), st. 53, 54; pumps, pantofles, corkt shoes (st. 55, p. 122), and fans (st. 56). The picture alluded-to in stanzas 57-8, of the Englishman set alone, in other folks' feathers, I have not come across.³ Andrew Boorde's caricature, given at p. 167 of my *Harrison*, is the only one of the kind I know.

Under (2) *Envy*, the only special hits are at the Minstrels daily striving with blind fiddlers, l. 398, p. 124, the justling Jacks driving their betters to the wall, l. 400, and the scoffers 'with rimes and riddles rating at their foe,' l. 405.

Under (3) *Wrath*, we have the fights in Smithfield, the lines that make one think of the sad death of Marlowe in a quarrel for a drab, st. 76, p. 126. Then Wrath's contraries are dwelt-on in st. 80-1, p. 127, Chaucer's other 'vertue that men clepe pacience or sufferaunce' (*Remedium contra Iram*), being treated as two.

(4) *Sloth* or Idleness has no local colour.

Avarice (5) repeats Harrison's complaints in his *Description*, II. 18, p. 296, &c., how 'She raiseth cheape things to the highest price,' st. 90, p. 129, and specially 'engrosseth all the corne,' l. 547; and leads to Usury (Harrison, p. 242), the two making the proudest cavaliers stoop, and penning 'them vp within the Poultries coope,' in gaol, st. 94. Avarice too leads to landlords racking the rents of houses and lands, p. 130, of which Crowley, Harrison, my *Ballads from MSS.* i., the *Supplications* (E. E. Text Soc.), &c. &c., complain so bitterly.

Of *Gluttony* (6) Lane says, p. 131, that it is allied to Lechery and Drunkenness:—

¹ Compare Laneham with the Ladies, in his *Letter* of 1575, p. 60 of my ed.

² Compare Andrew Boorde, and Harrison's *Description*, II. vii, p. 167, &c. Also Stubbes.

³ Perhaps it's in the *Recueil de la Diversité des Habits*, Paris, 1562 (A. Boorde, p. 323).

This trull makes youngsters spend their patrimonie 601
 In sauced meates and sugred delicates,
 And makes men stray from state of Matrimonie
 To spend their substance vpon whorish mates. 604

Under *Lechery*, the seventh and last Deadly Sin, Lane's stanza 109, p. 132, evidently alludes to Shakspeare's *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*. He regrets the infection of the French disease, st. 110, p. 133, the wide-spread cuckoldry of his day, st. 113, and the 'light-taylde huswiues' showing and vaunting themselves in (?) Shakspeare's Globe theatre, 'the Banke-sides round-house,' where in 1599—perhaps at its opening—he brought out his triumphant *Henry V*. Then Lane stops, not for want of further matter, st. 120, p. 135, but because his pen is dry. And he affirms, l. 713-14,

. . . . *Tom Teltroth* will not lie,
 We heere haue blaz'd Englands iniquitie.

(I pay for the present reprint of Lane and the extract from Pritchard or Rogers at the end of this volume.)

§ 3. Our third tract is by a reverencer of Bacon in his distress, a rollicking attorney and Welshman, Thomas Powell, who seems to have begun writing very bad serious poetry in 1598 and 1601, and then turnd to chaffing prose,—still intersperst with scraps of bad verse,—and divers professional handbooks, till he ended his career of authorship in 1631¹ with his *Tom of all Trades*, here reprinted.² My attention was first calld to the last-namd book during my inquiries into 'Education in Early England,'³ by Warton's extract from it in his *History of English Poetry*, § 58, vol. iv, p. 304, note 3, ed. Hazlitt.⁴

There being no copy of the first edition in the British Museum, and the second edition being conceald by its title, I waited till a visit to the Bodleian enabl'd me to read the book there; and I found it interesting enough to justify its reproduction here. As Powell was Shakspeare's contemporary, his account of how fathers then pusht their sons and daughters on in life, tho' not publisht till 1631,

¹ He may of course have seen through the press some of the later editions of his *Attourneys Academy*, &c.

² There *may* have been two Thomas Powells. But as the one of 1603-1631 had both a serious and a humorous style in his prose, and in his verse in his prose-books, I see no sufficient reason for supposing that he is not the serious-style verse-writer of 1598-1601.

³ See the Forewords to my *Babes Book*, E. E. Text Soc. 1868.

⁴ I have also had copied for the Society, Edward Hake's *Touchstone for this time present*, 1574, for its bit about girls' education and amusements, partly quoted by Warton in the same note. But the rest of the book is preachy and dull.

covers Shakspeare's time, and enables us to realize a bit of his fellow countrymen's being. Our Member, Miss E. Phipson of Monk Sherborne, Basingstoke, kindly bears the cost of this Powell reprint.

Of Thomas Powell's first publication, *Loues Leprosie* (W. White, 1598), a quarto of ten leaves, only one copy is known, that of Mr Christie-Miller, at Britwell. It was reprinted by my friend Dr Rimbault for the Percy Society in his five "Ancient Poetical Tracts of the Sixteenth Century,"¹ reprinted from unique copies formerly in the possession of the late Thomas Caldecott, Esq." 1842. The poem is on the death of Achilles, through his love for Priam's daughter Polyxena. Here are three extracts from it, on that love, on Achilles's fight with Troilus, and on Achilles's death from the arrow shot into his only vulnerable spot, his heel :—

"Achilles loues Polyxene : What is shee ?
The luying daughter of hisemie.
How shall he woe her, that hath wed another ?
How shall he winne her, that hath slaine her brother ?
His trophées and his triumphes she doth hate ;
In Hectors death his vallor liued too late ;
Lue blest in this, that thou art Orpheus brother :
Hee none of thine, nor Thetis is his mother."—p. 71.

"Well mounted and well met, they ioyned togather
Like flowdes, whose rushing, cause tempestuous weather ;
And now their clattering shildes resemble thunder ;
The fire, a lightning when the cloudes do sunder :
Long did it thunder ere the heavens were bright ;
So long, that when it cleered, the day was night ;
A night perpetuall vnto Priams sonne ;
His horse was slaine, the day was lost and won ;
And heere each one might heare windes whispering sound,
When earst the drums their senses did confound ;
Troilus dethes chiefe conquest from the felde ;
Wrapt in their colours, couered with their shilde,
They carry him to make the number more,
Whose bleeding sydes Achilles speare did gore."—p. 78.

"Foorthwith a marriage twixt them was concluded ;
Alas, that true loue should be so deluded !
The sunne is rose, sees Thetis sonne to fall
Vnder this false pretended nuptiall.
The Delphick oracle is now fulfild,
'Eare Troy be wonne, Achilles must be kild.'

¹ 1. The Doctrinall of good Seruauntes. 2. The Boke of Mayd Emlyn. 3. The New Nutbrowne Mayd. 4. The Complaynt of a dolorous Louer. 5. Loues Leprosie.

This is the day wherein they surfet all,
 With blood of his who made the Troians thrall;
 And this the day wherein he did appease
 Vnquiet soules, which earst could find no ease.
 This day was nyght to him, and day to those
 By whom vntimely death did heere repose.
 His liues familliar starre doth shoote and gall,
 The fairest starre the heauens weare gracte withall,
 Euen when his steppes salute the temple porch
 With hymmes, and Hymæn[e]us burning torch,
 A shaft from Paris hand did soone disclose
 Where Styx had kist him, and how high it rose.
 Where the Stygian flood did neuer reach,
 Deathes winged messenger did make a breach,
 Whence from each veine the sacred breath descending,
 Polyxens ioyes began, and his had ending.

Finis."

p. 79.

Powell's second book, I have not seen. Mr Hazlitt believes that the unique copy from Heber's sale is at Britwell, and gives it as

"The Passionate Poet. With a Description of the Thracian Iemarus. By T. P. London, printed by Valentine Simmes, dwelling on Adling hill, at the signe of the white Swanne. 1601. 4to. 26 leaves."

Of the third book, which is a very rare¹ black-letter quarto of 16 leaves, Mr Henry Huth has, with his unvarying kindness, lent me his copy. It is a tract written just before and just after Queen Elizabeth's death: 1. justifying the reasonableness of her dealing with Papists on the one hand, and Dissenters on the other (see the first two extracts on p. xviii, xix); 2. chaffily describing the effect produc't by the news of Elizabeth's death, the disturbances likely to arise from it, and the quieting of them by the happy proclamation of James I; 3. arguing that the Scotch and English are of like nature, and fit to form one nation; in this, the opposite of the author of *The Complaynt of Scotland*,² and too of Andrew Boorde with his "Trust yow no Skott, for they wyll yowse flatterying wordes; & all is falsholde:" see the amusing bits in my edition of Boorde (E. E. T. Soc.), p. 59, note 3, p. 135-8. The title of this third book is

¹ It was suppress'd. Valentine Simmes was fined 13s. 4d. on Dec. 5, 1603, for printing it and a ballad. See p. 192, below.

² "there is nocht tua nations vndir the firmament that ar mair contrar and different fra vthirs, nor is inglis men and scottis men:" for, in short, the Englishmen are devils, and the Scotchmen are angels. But note Andrew Boorde's "Also it is naturally geuen, or els it is of a deuyllsye dysposicion of a Scotysch man, not to loue nor fauour an Englyshe man." p. 137.

A / WELCH BAYTE / to spare Prouender. / Or, / *A looking backe vpon the* / Times past. / Written Dialogue wise. / *This booke is diuided into three parts,* / The first, a brieft discourse of *Englands Securitie*, while her / late Maiestie was liuing, with the maner of her proceeding in / *Gouernment*, especially towards the Papists and Puritanes of / *England*, whereof a Letter written late before her death, speci/fies, as followeth in this first part. / The second, A description of the Distractions during her / Maiesties sicknesse, with the composing of them. / The third, Of the Aptnesse of the English and the Scotte to / incorporate and become one entire Monarchie : with the / meanes of preseruing their vnion euerlastingly, added there/vnto. [*Scroll.*] Printed at London by Valentine Simmes. / 1603.

The extracts above refered to, p. xvii, on Elizabeth's treatment of Romanists and Dissenters follow :—

“But when about the twentieth yeare of hir raigne shee had discovered in the King of *Spaine* an intention to inuade hir dominions, and that a principall point of the plotte was to prepare a partie with in the realme that might adhere to the forreiner, and that the Seminaries began to blossom, and to send forth dayly, priests and professed men, who should, by vow taken at shrift, reconcile her subjects from their obedience, yea and binde many of them to attempt against her Maiesties sacred person, and that by the poyson which they spred, the humors of most *Papists* were altered, and that they were no more *Papists* in conscience and of Softenes, but *Papists* in faction ; then were there newe lawes made for the punishment of such as should submitte them selues to such reconcilements or renuntiatiions of obedience ; And because it was a treason carried in the clowdes and in wonderfull secrecie, and came seldome to light, and that there was no presumption thereof so great as the recusancie to come to diuine seruice : Because it was sette downe by their decrees, That, *To come to Church before reconciliation, was to liue in schisme* ; But, *To come to Church after reconciliation, was absolutely hereticall and damnable,*

Therefore there were added Lawes containing punishment *pecuniarie* against such Recusants, not to enforce consciences, but to enfeeble and impouerish the meanes of those of whom it rested indifferent and ambiguous, whether they were reconciled, or no.

And when, notwithstanding all this prouision, this poyson was dispersed so secretly, as that there was no meanes to stay it but by restraining the Merchants that brought it in,

Then lastly, was there added a Lawe whereby such seditious priests of the new erection were exiled ; and those that were at that time within the land shipped ouer, and so commanded to keepe hence, vpon paine of treason.

[sign. B 4, bk]

This hath beene the proceeding, though intermingled,

not only with sundrie examples of hir Maiesties grace towards such as in her wisdom she knewe to be *Papists* in Conscience, and not in Faction and Singularity; but also with an ordinarie mitigation towards the offenders in the highest degree conuicted by lawe: If they would but protest, that if in case this realme should be inuaded with a forreine armie by the Popes authoritie, for the Catholique cause, (as they terme it) they would take part with hir Maiestie, and not adhere to hir enemies.

For the other part which haue bin offensiuie to the State, though in other degree, which name themselues *Reformers*, and we commonly call *Puritanes*; this hath bin the proceeding towards them.

A great while when they inueighed against such abuses in the Church, as *Pluralities*, *Nonresidence* & the like; their zeale was not condemned, only their violence was sometimes censured.

When they refused the vse of some ceremonies and rites, as superstitions, they were tollerated with much conuience, and gentlenes: Yea, when they called in question the Superioritie of Bishops, and pretended to bring a *Democracie* into the church; Yet, their Propositions were heard, considered, and by contrarie writing, debated, and discussed. Yet all this while, it was perceiued that their course was dangerous, and very popular; as, because *Papistrie* was odious, therefore it was euer in their mouthes, that they sought to purge the Church from the reliques of *Papistrie*; a thing acceptable to the people, who loue euer to run from one extreame, to another.

Because multitude of Rogues, and Pouertie were an eye-soare, and dislike to euerie man, therefore they put it into the peoples head: That, if Discipline were planted, there should be no vagabonds, nor beggers (a thing very plausible,) and in like manner, they promised the people many other impossible wonders of their Discipline.

Besides, they opened the people a way to gouernment by their *Consistorie*, and *Præsbyterie*, a thing though in consequence no lesse præiudiciall to the liberties of priuate men, then to the soueraignty of Princes, yet in first shew very popular. Neuerthelesse all this (except it were in some few that entered into extreame contempts) was borne, because they pretended but in dutifull maner to make propositions, and to leaue it to the prouidence of God, and the authoritie of the Magistrate.

But now of late yeares, when there issued from them, as it were a Colonie of those that affirmed the consent of the Magistrate was not to be attended; when vnder pretence of a confession, to auoide slaunders and imputations, they combined themselues by classes and subscriptions; when they descended into that vile & base meanes of defacing the gouernment of the Church by ridiculous *Pusquils*¹; When they beganne to make many subiects in doubt to

¹ The Martin Marprelate controversy began in 1589.

take an oath, which is one of the fundamentall parts of Iustice in this Land and in all places ; When they beganne both to vaunt of the strength and number of their partizans, and followers, and to vse communications that their cause would preuaile, though with vproare and violence ; Then it appeared to be no more zeale, no more conscience, but meere faction and deuision : And therefore though the State was compelled to hold somewhat a harder hand to restraîne them then before, yet it was with as great moderation as the peace of the Church & State could permitte.

And therefore, Sir, (to conclude,) consider vprightly of these matters, and you shall see her Maiestie is no temporizer in religion ; she builds not religion vpon policie, but policie vpon religion ; It is not the successe abroade, nor the change of seruants here at home can alter her ; onely as the things themselues alter, so she applieth hir religious wisdom to correspond vnto them, still retaining the two rules before mentioned, in dealing tenderly with consciences, & yet in discovering Faction from Conscience, & Softnes from Singularity. Farewell.

Your louing friend
T. P."

The *Welch Bayte* is dedicated by Powell to Shaksperc's patron, Lord Southampton, but oddly makes no allusion to that Lord's being set free from the Tower on James I.'s accession. He was committed there for his share in Essex's rebellion in Feb. 1600-1. Perhaps lines 2 and 4 below mean that his committal was unjust.

[sign. A, back] A Prelude vppon the name of
Henry VVriiothesly *Earle of*
South-hampton.

Euer.

W Hoso beholds this Leafe, therein shall reede,
A faithfull subiects name, he shall indeede ;
The grey-eyde morne in noontide clowdes may steepe,
But traytor and his name shall neuer meete.

Neuer.

[sign. A 2] To the right Honorable *Henry Wri-*
othesly *Earle of* South-hampton
Baron of Tichfield : and of the No-
ble Order of the Garter.

L Et golden artists practize quaint imposture,
And study to a semblance of perfection,
Let Leopors sweate to shew the world their moisture,
We study not to Patrones for direction :

*Unlesse the Honor that my lines shall owe,
Can both protect vs, and approoue them too.*

*And such is thine, whose beames of Patronage
Doe heate alike in Iudgement, and in blood,
Both, with pure fires deriu'd from parentage,
Preserued in the Arke of Fortunes flood,
When Neptune, and the sea gods did abette,
With Cynthia in her fullest veines aspect.*

*Thou wholesome Honour, Chaste Nobilitie,
Be in protection mine, as Generous,
Without distent though all thy auncestrie:
It was thy wont, Thou canst not erre in vs:
And for the Test sufficeth me to know;
Thy Iudgement best deserues my lines to owe.*

Your Lordshippes
In all the nerues of my ability,
Tho: Powell.

At the end of the *Welch Bayte* are 8 lines of verse 'To the vnpareld blesst disposition, *The Lady Elizabeth Bridges*'; two 6-line stanzas 'To the noble Gentleman, Sir Thomas Kneuet'; and one stanza of 6 'To the Right Worshipfull Sir Edward Dyer.' The book's signatures are A 1. 2; B, C, D, in fours, E 1, 2.

Though Powell's notions of girls' education are not ours,

"Instead of songes and musicke, let them learne cookerie and laundrie: And instead of reading in Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, let them reade the *Groundes of good Huswifery*. I like not a female poetesse at any hand":

yet no doubt Mrs Wm Shakspeare shar'd them. Powell was a practical, sharp, business man, with a gift of racy speech. He was evidently a searcher of Records—see his book on them, and his advice to a father, p. 143 below, and specially his proposal to search the Wills Office for grants to charitable uses. I hope his readers will take to him somewhat.

The fourth book of Powell's was a professional one of 78 pages whose title is overleaf:—

DIRECTION FOR SEARCH OF RECORDS

Remaining in the { CHANCERIE,
TOWER,
EXCHEQUER, with the *Limnes*
thereof: viz.

The {	Kings <i>Remembrancer</i> .	} The {	<i>First Fruits</i> .
	Lord Treasurers <i>Re-</i>		Augmentation of the
	<i>membrancer</i> .		<i>Revenue</i> .
	Clarke of the <i>Ex-</i>		Kings <i>Bench</i> .
	<i>treats</i> .		Common <i>Plas</i> .
	<i>Pipe</i> .		Records of Courts
	<i>Auditors</i> .		<i>Christian</i> .

For the clearing of all such *Titles*, and *Questions*,
as the same may concerne.

With the accustomed Fees of Search : And
diuerse necessarie Obseruations.

Cui Author

THOMAS POWELL, *Londino-*
Cambrensis.

— — — *Cum tonat ocyus Ilex*
Sulphure discutitur sacro, quam tuque, domusque.

LONDON,

Printed by B. A. for *Paul Man*, and are to be sold
at his Shop in *Chancerie Lane*, at the Signe of the
Bowle ; or in *Distaffe Lane*, at the Signe
of the *Dolphin*. 1622.

Powell's fifth book is a merry one of 34 leaves :

Wheresoeuer you see mee, / Trust vnto your selfe. / Or, / THE MYSTERIE / OF LENDING / AND / BORROWING. / *Seria Focis* : / Or, / The Tickling Torture. /—*Dum rideo, veh mihi risu*. / By THOMAS POWVEL, / London-Cambrian. / [4 bits of old ornament.] LONDON, / Printed for *Beniamin Fisher*, and are / to be sold at his shop in *Pater-noster-row*, / at the signe of the *Talbot*. / 1623

It is a chaffy rollicking description of the different kinds of Borrowers—Courtier, Inns-of-Court man, Country Gentleman, and Citizen—and Lenders, Debtors' places of refuge, and debtors' shifts to avoid payment. (For the 2nd edition, see below, p. xxvi.)

Here is the beginning of how the Courtier handles the Citizen he wants to borrow money of, p. 3 :—

“ *The Courtiers method followes.*

First he invites his Creditor, to a dish of Court-Ling, with Masculine mustard plenty.

Then shewes him the priuie lodgings and the new banquetting house.

Perhaps the Robes next.

Then the great Magolls tent in the Wardrobe : And so much serues for the first meeting, and to procure an appetite to the second.

To the second Meeting our Creditor is summoned, and brings behinde him his wife, like to a broken wicker glasse bottle hanging at his taile, and enters into the Masking roome.

Whereat the Courtiers skill in deliuering of the Maskers names, vnder their seuerall disguises, did purchase an euerlasting and indissoluble citie-consanguinitie with his female charge, ouer whom, the more sleepy hir spouse, the more vigilant was my cousen courtier.

And now he hath made his partie strong enough to visit my citizen, and to borrow and take vp of him at his own home, in the most familiar phrase that can bee deuised for such like vse and purpose.

Then for the quickning, continuing, and inlarging of his credit, our Courtier pretends how he has receiued newes that his feign'd kinred is very sicke ; and thereupon a takes occasion (in stead of venison) to send her a bottle of that famous and farre fetcht *frontinack* : He bids himselfe to dinner the same day, and there in a cursorie way of commending the art of man, in matter of Manufacture, he falls by chance vpon the remembrance of an extraordinarie stufte, which hee saw a great personage weare lately in Court, not doubting but that his cousens [the Creditor or citizen's] shop did afford the like : His purpose was to haue a suit of the same very shortly, if they would but lay it by for him till his moneyes came in : Yet with a very little intreaty so cleanly exprompted, he

xxiv Forewords. § 3. Powell's *Attourneys Academy*.

was persuaded to take it along with him, but onely for feare lest the whole peece might be sold by the foolish foreman vnawares before his returne.

Giue vs old Ale, and booke it,
O giue vs old Ale, and booke it :
And when you would haue your money for all,
My cousen may chance to looke it."

This larky book of Powell's was followd by his sober sixth :—

The / Attourneys Academy : / or, / The Manner and / forme of proceeding practically, vpon / any Suite, Plaint, or Action whatsoever, in any / Court of Record whatsoever, within / this Kingdome : / especially, / in the Great Courts at / *Westminster*, to whose motion all other Courts of / Law or Equitie; as well those of the two Pro-/uinciall Counsailes, Those of Guild-Hall / *London*; as Those of like Cities / and Townes Corporate, And / all other of Record are diur-/nally moued : / *With the Moderne and most vsuall Fees of the* / Officers and Ministers of such Courts. / Published by his Maiesties special priuiledge, / and / Intended for the publike benefit of all / His Subiects. / *Summum hominis bonum, bonus ex hac vita exitus.* / Tho : Powell / *Londino-Cambrensis.* / London, / Printed for *Benjamin Fisher*: and are to be sold at his / Shop in *Pater-noster* Row, at the signe of the / *Talbot*: 1623.

This is a regular Attorney's Handbook, dedicated to the "Lord Bishop of Lincolne, and Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England," and with a second dedication which does credit to Powell :—

"To / trve Nobilitie / and tryde Learning, / beholden / To no Mountaine for Eminence / nor Supportment for his Height, / *Francis*, Lord *Verulam*, and / Viscount S^t *Albanes*.

O Giue me leaue to pull the Curtaine by,
That clouds thy Worth in such obscuritie,
Good *Seneca*, stay but a while thy bleeding,
T'accept what I receiued at thy reading :
Heere I present it in a solemne straine,
And thus I pluckt the Curtaine backe again.

The same

THOMAS POWELL."

There were later editions in 1630, 1647, &c. Then came in 1627, Powell's seventh book, a professional one in 72 leaves :

The / Attornies / Almanacke, / Provided / & / desired / For the generall ease and daily vse of all / such as shall haue occasion to remoue any / Person, Cause or record, from an / inferiour Court to any the / higher Courts at / *Westminster.* / By THOMAS POWELL. / *Summum hominis bonum, bonus ex hac vita / exitus.*

London. / Printed by B. A. and T. F. for *Ben. Fisher*, and are to / be sold at his Shop at the signe of the *Talbot* without / *Aldersgate*. 1627.

Next appeard, in 1631, his eighth book, to which he did not put his name, as not half of it was his own work. The title is given by Mr Hazlitt in his *Collections and Notes*, 1876,¹ as

"The Repertorie of Records: remaining in the 4. Treasuries on the Receipt side at Westminster [and] the two Remembrancers of the Exchequer. With a briefe introductiue Index of the Records of the Chancery and Tower: whereby to giue the better Direction to the Records abouesaid. As also a most exact Calendar of all those Records of the Tower: in which are containned and comprised whatsoever may giue satisfaction to the Searcher for Tenure or Tytle of any thing. London, Printed by B. Alsop and F. Fawcet for B. Fisher, &c. 1631.

4to, A—Ee in fours, first leaf blank."

"Dedicated in verse 'To the Vnknowne Patron,' which is followed by a leaf with a somewhat enigmatical heading 'To the same Patron the great Master of this Mysterie Our Author payeth this in part of a more Summe due.' There is also a prose address to the Reader, in which Powell gives some account of the circumstances attending the publication."

Powell says he first thought of dedicating his book to Mercurie, who'd inspir'd him to write a bit of verse again, but as he can't find a Patron, he dedicates it to an unknown one, whom Mercury is to find out. The address to the Reader follows:—

To the Reader.

IT may be obiected vnto me, that the collation of these things, is not all made vp and digested into this fabrique of mine owne materials and structure, and I doe ingenuously confesse it: Seeing the Foure Treasuries [p. 17—120] were collected by Mr. *Agard*, his priuate notes, a man very industrious and painfull in that kind²; and one who had continual recourse vnto the most, & custody of many of the rest of the same: And the latter Callender of the Records of the Tower [p. 211—217], came to my hands from an Author vnknowne, euen as the Printer was drawing the last sheet of the precedent worke from the Presse. I was content to giue it wharfage, and to let it be layd on shore with the rest, but very vnwillingly; because I had no conuenient roome left where to dispose it, without blaming of my Methode, in that it was not layd

¹ Mr Hazlitt also notes that "Verses signed *T. P.* are attached to Ford's *Fames Memoriall*, 1606."

² See his collections in the Public Record Office.—F.

in his proper place, with the rest, that is, vnder the Title of the Tower, in the first Station: whereof I hope an equall censure, ever resting

Sub rostro Cyganitè.

The book is a 4to of 217 pages, besides Title and four pages of dedication, and describes where the Records are, what bundles of them, &c. are in the several rooms, and what Countries and places some of them refer to. Here's a short extract:—

“And now to the foure Treasuries.

The first is, the Treasurie of the Court of Receipt. In which are Two of the ancientest Bookes of Records in this Kingdome: made in William the Conquerours time, called *Doomes-day*.

The one Booke in Quarto, containing the Description or Suruey of Essex, Norfolke, and Suffolke.

The other in Folio, being the like, for all the Shires in England, from Cornwall, to the Riuer of Tyne.

Here is a Booke called the blacke Booke, made in Henry the seconds time, *De necessarijs Sca[ca]rij observandis*: And in the same, are the Oathes and Admittances of Officers inrolled, and other Notes of some consequence.” [and so on].

This was followd by his 9th work, the last I find under his name, his *Tom of all Trades* printed below, p. 137—175. In 1635 came out a second edition of both his *Tom of all Trades* and earlier *Mysteries of Lending and Borrowing*, in one little volume with the following title, no doubt written by himself:—

The Art of Thriving. / Or, / The plaine pathway to / Pre-ferment. / Together with / The Mysterie and Misery / of *Lending* and *Borrowing*. Consider it seriously. / Examine it judiciously. / Remember it punctually. / And thrive accordingly. / [by Thos. Powell, Gent. *in MS.*] Published for the common / good of all sorts &c / London, / Printed by T. H. for Benjamin / Fisher, and are to be solde at his shop / at the signe of the Talbot in Aklers-/gate street. 1635. [120 pages: at p. 121 a fresh title,]

The / Mistery / and / Misery / of / Lending / and / Borrowing / By / Tho: Powel, Gent. / London: / Printed by Thomas Harper for / Benjamin Fisher, and are to be / sold at his shop in Aklers-gate / streete at the signe of the / Talbot. 1636. [p. 121—254.]

Of the Sir Edward Hales whom Powell praises so warmly in his Dedication to his *Tom of all Trades*, the Rev. W. S. Scott Robertson of Sittingbourne sends me the following account:

“Sir Edward Hales was the first of his name at Tunstall.¹ He

¹ “I come now to speak of the Hales, present lords of Tunstall, a family of

was originally of Tenterden, but marrying the Harlackenden heiress, of Woodchurch, he removed to her seat. He was created a baronet in 1611. After the death of his first wife he married the widow (*née* Martha Carew) of Sir James Cromer of Tunstall, and removed thither. Sir James Cromer died in 1613, and left no son. One of his three daughters, Christian, the youngest, who inherited Tunstall, married Sir Edward Hales's eldest son John, and thus the Hales family became fixed at Tunstall. John Hales died in his father's lifetime, but his son Edward,¹ who was born about 1626, ultimately succeeded his grandfather Sir Edward.

"The first baronet, with whom your author Thomas Powell was so pleased, died in 1654, and was buried in Tunstall Church. The present representative of the family is Miss Hales of Hales Place, Canterbury, whose name figured in the statements of the claimant to the Tichborne estates. She has very recently sold her Tunstall property."

great antiquity; but as their interest here is not of so long standing, I shall go no higher than the last century, beginning with

"*Sir Edward Hales*, Knight, who was advanced to the dignity of a baronet 1611; he served in several parliaments, and took part with those that raised the rebellion against king Charles I. He died October 6th, 1634, aged 78.* This is he for whom the noble monument in Tunstall church was erected with his effigies in full proportion cut in marble. His wives were Deborah, da. and heir of Martin Lackenden of Woodchurch, Esq., and Martha the relict of Sir James Crowmer.

"*John*, the eldest son of Sir Edward, by Deborah his first lady, married Christian, the youngest of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir James Crowmer aforesaid; and by this marriage was Tunstall brought into the family of Hales. This John died in the life-time of his father, and left issue *Sir Edward Hales*, baronet, a zealous royalist, who in his younger years risked his person and fortune in the cause, insomuch that he was forced to abscond and live beyond the seas on account of the great debts he had contracted for the king's service. He died in France some years after the Restoration." From the 'History and Antiquities of Tunstall in Kent.' By Ed. Rowe Mores, printed in Nichols's *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, vol. i. pp. 33, 34. (Mores died in 1778, this History was published in 1780.)

"This Sir Edward Hales was a commissioner for the survey of Aldington in 1608, Sheriff of Kent in a year between 1611 and 1620, and M.P. for Kent in a Parliament preceding the Long Parliament."—*Furley's History of the Weald of Kent*, Ashford, 1874, vol. ii. Pt. II. pp. 522, 602.

¹ Sir Edward Hales, the third of that name, but the first baronet, of Tenterden, Kent, was knighted, and on June 29, 1611, was created a Baronet. He was twice married, first to Deborah, only daughter and heir of Martin Herlackenden of Woodchurch, Esq., by whom he had issue four sons, viz. John his eldest son,

* See the cp. ded. to Powell's *Tom of all Trades*. Lond. 1631, 4to.

§ 4. The last piece in the present volume, "*The Glasse of Godly Loue*, Wherein all married couples may learne their duties, each toward others, according to the holy Scriptures,"—I was tempted to add because it made a kind of Appendix to the *Tell-troth* tract of 1593, and because it was part of a thin treatise belonging to me, that Mr Hazlitt believes to be unique, but which is unluckily imperfect. It is undated, but is printed by Richard Jones, who took up his freedom of the Stationers' Company on the 7th of August 1564 (Arber's *Transcript*, I. 278), had one press in May 1583 (ib. 248), and printed till 1600. Whether the *Glasse* is by Thomas Pritchard,¹ the writer of the first part of the volume, or I[ohn] R[ogers] who seems to have written the second part, I cannot tell. It follows the I. R. Discourse. The title-page of Pritchard's tract is on p. xxix, opposite.

§ 5. I have now but to thank the Librarian of Peterborough Cathedral for trusting his unique 1593 *Tell-troth* to me; Mr Henry Huth for his loan of Powell's *Welch Bayte*; Mr W. G. Stone of Walditch for so kindly making the Contents, Notes, and Index to this volume; Miss E. Phipson for paying for *Tom of all Trades*, and our friend who hides his name, for his gift of the first *Tell-troth* reprint.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3, St. George's Square, London, N.W.
July 11, 1876.

who married Christian one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Jas. Cromer, knt., and in her right became possessed of the manor of Tunstall and other large estates, and died in his [father's] life-time; his other children were Edward, Samuel, Thomas, and a da. Christian. His second wife was Martha, da. of Sir Mathew Carew, and relict of Sir Jas. Cromer. He died Oct. 6, 1654, in his 78th year, is buried in Tunstall Church. His grandson Edward (son of his eldest son John) succeeded him; this Edward was about 13 years of age at his father's death in 1639. "He succeeded his grandfather in title and estate in 1654; but being most zealously attached to the royal cause, he risked his fortune as well as his person, in the support of it; by which means he ruined the former, and was obliged on that account to abandon his native country, to which he never afterwards returned, but died in France soon after the restoration of K. Charles II." He was one of the three who escaped with James II. in 1688. Abstract taken from Hasted's History of Kent, vol. ii. p. 576.

¹ On '1628, July 9, Thom. Prichard of Jesus College,' Oxford, was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*, pt. 1 (*Athenæ*, vol. ii.), col. 443, ed. Bliss. But I do not suppose that this is our T. Pritchard.

THE SCHOOLE

of honest and vertuous life :

Profitable and necessary for
all estates and degrees, to be trayned in :
but (cheefely) for the pettie Schollers, the
yonger sorte, of both kindes, bee they men or
Women. by T. P.

Also, a laudable and learned
Discourse, of the worthynesse of hono-
rable Wedlocke, written in the be-
halfe of all (aswell) Maydes as Wydowes,
(generally) for their singuler instructi-
on, to choose them vertuous and honest

Husbandes :

But (most specially) sent writtē as a Jewell
vnto a worthy Gentlewoman, in the
time of her widowhood, to direct & guide
her in the new election of her seconde
Husband. By her approoued freend and
kinfemen. I. R.

Imprinted at London by

Richard Iohnes, and are to
be solde at his shop ouer against S. Sepul-
chers Church without Newgate.

Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift

Being

Robin Good-fellowes newes out of those Countries, where inhabites neither Charity nor honesty.

With his owne Inuectiue against Ielosy.



L O N D O N

Imprinted by Robert Bourne.

1 5 9 3 .



Tell-Trothes New-yeares Gift.

[sig. A 2]



Marry, fir, now you looke as if you expected newes: me thinks I see your eares open to heare what Robin good fellow will tel you; & becaufe your desire shal not be altogether frustrate, you shal, if you will, be somewhat the wiser before you goe. I am assured it is not stale; and were you as long in reading of it, as the Senators haue bene in agreeing vpon it, I know you would craue many baetes before you had passed the mainger. But behold, they had the paine, and you may haue the pleasure; and I am glad that it was my fortune to meete with it; and doubtlesse it was a great haffard, that a worser carrier had not hapned on it. For thus it fel out: walking towards Islington in a frosty morning, I by chaunce lighted into the company of a boone companion, that seemed no lesse pleasing in shew, then he prooued in substaunce. A merry mate hee was, and matched with one of his owne minde, a simple fellow, that marchinge vnder the habbite of true meaninge, tels all that he sees, and euery thing he thinkes to be true: *Tell-troth* is my name, and you may trust me if you will, for I assure you, that he that crediteth me most, shall not speede worst. We two matches mated by good fortune, *Robin good-fellow* the one, who neuer did worse harme then correct manners, and made diligent maides: and I, *Tell troth*, the other, who euer haue beene a sworne enemy to lasye lurdens, and a professed foe to *Iack No-body*: no sooner settinge our eyes, the one on the other, but knew each others conditions, falling forthwith into familiarity. And it being my hap to enquire first from whence hee came, hee made it not scrupulous to certifie his comming from hell, a place (sayde hee) that is odious, and yet to none but to them that feare it: Mary (qd. hee) *Robin good-fellow*, that could go inuifible from ¹his infancy, had it by nature giuen

[r sig. A 2,
back]

him, that he should bee subiect to no inferiour power whatfoeuer, either ruling or inhabiting vnder the higheft elemente, with a generall priuiledge to fearch euery corner, and enter any caftell to a good purpofe. By libertye of which pattente, I croffed the riuer *Stix* in *Carons* boat without his leaue, giuinge him a patt on his drowfie pate for my paffage. And from him vnknowne, I came to *Cerberus* (that Lubberly Porter), who was makinge fafte of the brand gates, which were faine to bee opened, that the greate *Magog* with his companye that were summoned to the Parliamente, might enter without interruption. He heard my trampling, and therefore asked who was there? but when I would not aunfweare, he thought it was *Lelaps* his curre, bidding him to lie downe, and fo likewise I eafely entred the dungion. To tell what I there faw, were no newes: becaufe it hath bene tolde by fo many, whereof foome of them haue not reported amiffe. But going on to the mercileffe pallace, the gates ftoode wide open, fo that any might enter ther without controlement. With in the great Hall whereof, were affembled the whole fociety of bad company, a generall conuocation beeing called about the deciding of many matters which were not altogether perfected. There was a greate thronge, and no little furre, the feuerall billes of complainte which were there exhibited of many matters, beeing fo many, as they would require an age to rehearfe them, efpecially feeing this one matter wherof my newes confifteth, was a hearing and deciding feauen yeares.

But to come to the matter, all the worft diuels being placed in their orders according to their cuftome (which is needlefle to fet downe, for that I hope there is none heere that euer meane to be partakers of any of their Offices) the Speaker vttered an Oration that would haue made a mafie to haue broke his collar with girming thereat, declaringe what a continuall profite Ielofie, aboue all other vices, brought to that place, praifinge fo highly the commodity thereof as, in his diuclifh iudgement, hell would be paffinge beggerly without that helpe. Manifeftinge how eafely mens and womens mindes were drawn to all corruption thereby, with fuch a dilatinge narration as neuer an Orator in hell could haue fpoken more. After the finifhing of whose fuffie framed fpeech, there was a queft of enquiry called, whose forman deliuered a whole bundell of fcrolls and papers,

wherein were fett downe the causes that helped Ielofie, with the meanes that hindered the same, as also the kindes thereof, with feuerall complaints made both by men and women that were vexed with the like. The which I will, quoth Robin, deliuer vnto thee if thou so wilt: whereof, I beeing wonderfull desirous, for *Mens hominis nouitatis auida*, hee went on with it as followeth.

The first cause (quoth he) is a constrained loue, when as parentes do by compulsion couple two bodies, neither respecting the ioyning of their hartes, nor hauinge any care of the continuance of their wellfare, but more regarding the linking of wealth and money together, then of loue with honesty: will force affection without liking, and cause loue with Ielofie. For either they marry their children in their infancy, when they are not able to know what loue is, or else matche them with inequallity, ioyning burning sommer with kea-cold winter, their daughters of twentye yeares olde or vnder, to rich cormorants of threescore or vppwards. Whereby, either the dislike that likely growes with yeares of discretion engendereth disloyalty in the one, or the knowledge of the others difability leads him to Ielofie.

What is the cause of so many houholde breaches, deuorcements, and continuall discontentmentes, but vnaturall disagreementes by vnmutuall contractes? Will the Turtel change while her mate is true, or the Swanne be cruell as long as his female is loyall? If there be disloyalty betweene mates linked by their owne election (as doubtlesse there is), how can vnconstancy be condemned in those that neuer had that liberty? were the hart as subiect to the law as the body is, I would thinke such marriages lawfull, but since the one hath liberty, when the other is in captiuitie, I know, *Tell troth*, (quoth *Robin*) it will not cease to seeke reuenge for his bodies flauery, vntill grace ¹ correcteth, by shewing what the law of God forbiddeth. Pretious iewels are chosen, and decre things loued; but at what price are those rated at which are easely obtained? Doubtlesse at so low a reckoning as pipple stones are, in comparison of pearles; the one had without cost or trauell, and the other not to be obtained without both. A lesson learned with stroakes, staies with the scholler, when a sentence read without regarde, is not so soone in at one eare, as out at the other: And loue gained with fighes &

Parents
f[or]ced loue
a cause of
Ielosity.

Rob. Goo[d-]
fellowes
digres-
sion. The
natu[re] of
the Sw[anne]
is, that at
such time[as]
he sees an
vnconstan[t]
nicke to b[e]
perfourme[d]
by his
fem[ale],
he neuer
[1 sig. A 3,
back]

s the
Swan
commit
the fault
her vn-
e hath
d him &
he bee-
laine, he
es the
with
his own
e.

flighthes encreafeth, when obtained otherwife, it foone decayeth. *Durum pati meminiffe dulce*, & an ounce of pleafure ftolne with feare of a pound of vnrest, makes vs still to thinke on the sweeteneffe of loue, and all wayes to be ftriuing to continue it, when the contrary will procure lighte regarde thereof. How farre more delightfome is ftolne venifon to him that hath inough, then his owne? And how pleafant is that meat in tafte which is dainty? Things farre fetchte and deere boughte, are good for Ladies: and trifles will often better content then treafure. The Diuels crye for milke, but who beares the brunt of it? The feete that flie from it, not the head that bredd the baite; the man can prouide for himfelfe, when the poore woman is voide of all fuccour, and he will haue a cloake to hide his mifery when fhe fhall want a cap to couer her¹ extremitie. She muft beare the lumpes and lowres; if happily fhe escapes the blowes, the biting² woordes, if not worfe, euen cruell hart-breakinges and back-beatinges. Thus fhall the Fathers couetuoufnes be caufe of the childes vndoing, and his harts-eafe beginning of her woe, and ende of her happineffe: his likinge meeting with her loathing, which fhall vndoe her by Ielowfy. Hath God by an inftinct of nature ingrafted loue fo farre forth in vnreafonable creatures, as they doo not onelye choofe their mates (as all creatures doe), but liue faithfullie to them, and constantly with them, fo longe as life endureth; and fhall that priuiledge be taken from man-kinde, whome onely he hath endowed with reason and difcretion? The birdes bringe vpp the yong, vntill they can fhift for themfelues, and then giues them leaue to vfe their liberty: the beafes of the fiede haue the felfe³ fame freedome, and the fifhes in the Sea, no other reftreainte; onely man is iniurious vnto himfelfe, by vnnaturall vfage of his deereft bloud. They care for their children vntill they be paff care: and euen then themfelues freed from that charge, they bring their young ones to a greater croffe: geuing them sorrow for their pleafure, and vnrest in feede of hartes eafe. They doe not matche them with the mates their childrens eies haue chofen, but with the men their owne greedy defire haue found out: little fore-thinking of their childrens after-greeuinge, and their owne repenting. They regard not now a dayes the old fayinge of the wife man, *I had rather haue a man then mony*, but teflify by their doinges that they efteeme more of wealth then of

[¹ orig. his][² orig. biting]

[3 leaf A. 4.]

Men [make] themfel[ues] vnnatur[al] to their [child]dren by t[heir] matches

humanity. They forget what themfelues haue beene, and will not remember what themfelues haue done. Their coueteoufneffe choaketh their charity, and their worldly care keepeth em¹ for knowinge diuinity. They abhorre and grow mad to heare their children entreat for the maides that pleafe them, or for the men their foules loue, but tirant like they fay, *ſic volo ſic iubeo, ſit pro ratione voluntas* : I like him, and thou ſhalt haue him ; loue this man or I will loath thee. This effecte hath coueteoufneffe in the father ; and beholde what difcontentmente it worketh in the childe.

[¹ orig.
keepe them.
for = from.]

He or ſhee by duety is bound to their Parentes commaundement, and for feare of their difpleafure are linked to continuall miſery. What faith the huſband to the wife, but, this was thy fathers worke, to winne me by his mony ; and ſince hee hath his will with the want of my weale, I wil not liue alone in forrow, but² will make thee taſte of the ſame ſauce. Thy Father hath his, and why ſhould I not haue mine ? So faith he, and ſo fareth ſhee : hee inuents meanes to make her mourne, and leaues no praſtiſe vntried, which is like to procure her miſery. They liue in one houſe, as two ennemies lie in the field : their habitation being ſeuered, like twoo camps that bee ready for battell. Hauocke is made lauiſhly, of that their fathers gathered corruptly, that either being ſpente laſciuioſly in the company of ſtran³gers, or licentious in controuerſies at law. So great⁴ miſchiefe ariſeth of coueteoufneffe in matches of matrimonye. Touching the ſaluing of which fore, it is moſt requiſite that the children ſhould haue their free liberty in likinge, as the fathers haue had theirs in chooſing. For as thoſe matches are beſt, wher there is a mutuall agreement betweene parentes and their children, ſo do thoſe for the moſt part loue beſt, that haue the priuiledge of chooſinge for themfelues. My cheefeſt reaſon may bee drawne from contentment in loue, which is ſatiſfied with any thinge, according to the ſaying, *Loue hath no lacke* ; and my old leſſon, *Selfe do, ſelfe haue*, makes the patient often not to complaine of a great fore, when an other will cry out for no harme. Experience hath beſt diſplayed it to ſome : and common reaſon cannot but make it knowne to all. For who that hath done him ſelfe an iniury will complaine thereof, for feare of beeing⁵ accompted a foole ? Or what woman that hath burnt her finger will blame others for the deede done by her ſelfe ?

[² orig. bnt]

[³ an- orig.
au-]
[⁴ leaf A 4,
back]

[⁵ acc- orig.
arc-]

You might haue tooke better heede, and It was your owne fault, are two fthrode platters for a greene wound: and the minds of men are best pleased with their owne thoughts, & women with nothing more contented then to haue their willes. When a woman diftrustes of any helpe to come from any part-taker, shee will bee glad to please hir husband, & they two falling foorth, she (hauing none to maine-taine her in her pride) will bee contented to reconcile her selfe vnto him by kinde submiffion. And where a louing kiffe will saue a great deale of coft, if there it bee not vsed, mony cannot be better bestowed then in buying wit to saue the next charges. But how now, *Robin!* thou hast beene ouer longe in thy digression. I haue indeede, and therefore, friend *Tell-troth*, I returne to my matter.

Indiscreete
gouernment
the second
cause of
Ielosity.

A second cause of Ielocy springeth from indiscretion in gouernment, which is either in one or both of them *that* are linked together in mariage, neither of them hauing reason to knowe what belonges to either, or neither of them discretion rightly to correct what is amisse in either. Loue will bee too wanton vnlesse he be whipped with rushes, and ouer dull if his winges be clipped; giue him his liberty, and he will runne at randum; ¹ shut him vp in prison, and he will be starke mad; so that gentle correction must barre his liberty, and mild chastisement preuent his madnesse; a wanton tounge bewraies a lasciuious hart, and by the vttraunce of the tounge, wicked thoughts are manifested; therefore, either to gaze lasciuiously, or to speake wantonly, may moue Iellofy. Modesty in a young woman is as a garland of wheat in a ioyfull haruest; and discretion in a man like an oliue braunch after long discention: she honoureth her husband with a signe of happinesse, and he contentes his wife with a pledge of loue; by his wisdome hee teacheth her knowledge, and by her obedience she makes him glad; his correction is as a warme cup of drinke to a cold stomake, and her reformation as a sonne-shine daye after much raine. Peace flourisheth where wisdome ruleth, and ioy raigneth where modesty directeth. To please the harte of a husbande, is to ioyne vnity with the whole world; and to be in the loue and fauour of a wife is a freedome from much care; wisdome therefore in men to gouerne their common wealths, and modestie in women, are of no small meanes to continue vnity, and destroy Iellofy.

[1 sig. B]

Another cause is causeleffe discontentment, when the man will lowre without occasion, and the woman fret, not knowing any reason, and especially when either of them wil oppose them selues against other, and both of them maintaine their hartes pride: when a man will finde fault without cause, or a woman complaine of too much ease, it shewes a troubled minde and breeds suspect. He that cannot be merry at home, goes about to perswade hee will be mad abroad; and shee that lowers on her husband when he comes home, shewes she had as liue haue his roome as his company: where loue is, there is no thought of battell; and there, what absence hath hurt, presence will heale. A kind and louing wife forgetteth all vnkindnesse by the sight of her best beloued, as a child doth the correction of his mother by the receipt of an apple from her; and a discrete husband is no longer displeased then a fault is a doing. Contentment is an excellent sauce to eury dish, and pleasantnesse a singuler portion to preuent mischiefe: the head is neuer¹ euill; but either it is ²pleasantly disposed or knauishly occupied. A merry countenance is a signe of contentment, but froward wordes are messenger of melancholly. In what the hart delighteth, with that it is best pleased; and harde it is to hault before a creppell. A frowne lodeth, and a smile lightneth; to frowne therefore kindly, is a barre to Iellocy: but loading crabbedly, men vndoe themselues speedily.

Causes
d[is]con-
tentment
the third.

[¹ orig.
nener]
[² sig. B,
back]

Many men delighting in much company, cannot be contented to follow their desire abroad by vsing new familiarity, but wil bring daily grief vnto their houses, as little regarding their dispositions with whome they ioyne frendship, as the occasions that may be offered of dislike by after repentings; so that following their pleasure in satisfieng that humor, they fall afterwards into a worse vaine, being suspicious of ouer much familiarity to haue crept with their acquaintance, and doubtful least their copesmates are matched with them in their darlings bosomes. When they will begin so to watch their wiuers eies, and dogge their frendes lookes, as the wife shall not pepe without daunger of the cats, nor the silly women speake without suspicion of falshood, Others will bring strang women vnto their wiuers to welcome: speaking lauishly of their beauties, and vn-decently in their praises, they will make comparison without discretion, and giue iudgement without wisdom. They regard present pleas-

[M]ens follye
[the] fourth.

ure, but care not for future profit, not so much as thinking on the chilling winter in the heate of summer, nor of warre in time of peace. They consider not how loue will brooke no equalitie, nor marriage allowe of the least vnconstancy; and both these, though themselues haue beene the procurers of their own discontentment, yet will they lay all the burthen on their wiues backs, either plaging them in beeing suspitious, or punishing them by making them ielious. The old saying is, that he which will no pennance doe, must shonne the cause that belongs thereto: had I wist, is a slender remedy to remoue repentaunce, but a manifest badge of folly, especially when a man will leaue the bridge, to trie to leape ouer the ditch and fall into it. Thought is free; but when the tounge blabs, it is signe the hart ¹aboundes. What an euident token of foolish blindness is it, for a man to seeke many daies to please his mind, when afterwards, hauing found and inioying it, he will mislike thereof in a moment, by sight of a new obiecte? O! that is a weake harte that hath such a wandring eie! and hee is no small foole that so little esteemes of experience, as hee delighteth in the practise of vnkowne conclusions. Might it please them to vse lesse wordes and more wit, fewer companions or kinder familiarity, they should not so lightly enter the hazard of Iellofy.

[¹ sig. B 2]

The ill
co[un]cell
of the
wicked th[e]
first cause [of]
Iellofy.

Ill counsell is the next cause of Iellofy; wher by the wicked (whose immaginations are only to see discentions by brutung euil supposes, bred of a suspitious braine, & vttered with colored hipocrisie) labour to sette debate betweene true hartes, and to shuffle in suspicion amongst those that are free from thought thereof. They will strue to perswade by liklyhoods, & confirme ascertions with false oathes. They will place betweene man and wife a tree of discorde, and plant in peacable houses, rootes of variance; their tounge shall be wagging to wish them to tast of the fruit thereof, their heads studying how to bring them to like of the practise of their premeditated mischief. They will alleadg, lo thus it hath proued by others, and so hath it fell out vnto them for want of suspicion. Think on the worst (say they) for the best is not hurtfull; but thinke of them as of the worst, say I, for they are most hurtfull.

Credite
griuen
fal[se]
reportes
the sixth.

And these make-bates will not let to brute reportes, though meerey false, to confirme their sayings, cloking their mischief with

the habit of good meaning, and hiding their knauery with a shew of puritie. They will tattle tales as if fraught with truth: and vtter flanders, with protestations. They will inuent to perswade, and sweare to confirme: sticking burres on their backes, that were free from moles; and filling their heads with wonders, that before were in quiet. They ioy to set discention in a louing plat, and reioyce to see debate betweene faithfull frendes; they hunt after controuersie, and honour Iellofy. And because themselues are old, they will hate all that are younger then themselues, and suspect all, for that themselues haue loued ¹ the game: experience of knauery is a pestilent helpe to Iellofy; and if the mother hath loued to playe false, shee will bee sure to mistrust the daughter. Beware, for I haue tried: tis a vile whip to scourge a fearefull hart with; and perswasions from a dissembling hart are wondrous hurtfull to an vnconstant louer. It is a small bit that will not make a hungry dogge gape; and an vnfaury morfell that will not content a longing appetite. A will, with a diuelish wit, will practise any thing; and what is it that they cannot effecte? Marry, the best helpe to preuent their mischiefe, is misbeliefe; and the readiest mean to trie truth, is, to search into their own liues. And for that you shall, Tell-Troth, quoth hee, the better vnderstand the diuelishnesse of such creatures as are these makebates, I will tell thee a merry tale, I haue hard there tould, of one who was croft in her wicked suspicion.

There was an olde trott, that in her youth hauing beene a true traeller, and now through her loose life was worne to the bones and past all goodnesse, dwelled neere vnto a proper young woman matched with a very honest man. This olde beldame, being good for nothing but to keepe the cat out of the ashes, and to prattell ouer a pot of nut-browne ale, would spend the rest of her time which was not imployed ouer the fagget, in sitting at the dore to watch what company resorted to the young mans house afore said. Whether, for that he was of a trade, did come diuers, some to bargaine, other about other businesse, and amongst the rest, this man had a friend, being a young man, which did often repaire thether. The olde cat hauing seene him there twise or thrise, beeing at a certaine time amongst many of her other gossipes, (like vnto her selfe in condition and of her own stampe by antiquity,) called this honest mans wiues name into question,

[r sig. B 2,
back]

[A m]erry
tale [of a]
make [bate.

fo setting her worne chappes a wagging, as she burthened her conscience with the confirmation of her mistrustfullnesse concerning her luing. The reforte thether was her reason, and the fight of the former younge man her conclusion for the truth thereof. Some of her companions (somewhat better disposed then her selfe) gaue their iudgement with some tolleracion concerning the suspected dishonesty, of which she misliking, reproued their light of beliefe with a shamelesse interrogation, howe shee could bee honest, seeing such a one doth reforte daily vnto her, who is like to bee a wild youth, and therefore cunning, and she a young woman soone to be inticed: we know (saide she) by experience the dealings of such mates, hauing our selues beene fully tried by their flightes: verily they cannot be well thought on; nor may she be liked, nor her husband praised, for giuing such entertainment. Vpon which report, her withered gossipes gaue vppe their verdict, that then indeede she could not be honest; and so for that time the court broke vppe. They gon, this wether-beaten fieres-bird could not be satisfied with thus much, but the chaffe her husband comming in, shee could not chuse but tell him of the company that had beene with her, and of the talke that had passed betweene them, with a recitall of her newly broched mischiefe, affirming it was great pittie, seeing she was a very proper young woman, and hee an honest man, a young beginner that was like to doe well, were he not ouer-reached by such companions. Doubtlesse (quoth shee) it were good, and a thing well pleasing vnto god to impart thus much vnto her husband, peraduenture he, filly man, mistrust no such matter, or is loth to offend his wife by telling her of it; but if hee seekes not present remedy, howe is it possible hee should escape vndoing? To which supposed impossibility hee agreed; I thinke, lead thereunto rather for feare then otherwise, as you shall hereafter gather. Well, shortly they agreed to send for the yong man, and at his comming sent for a pinte of wine, giuing him therewith to gnaw, such crustes of small comfort, as tended both to his owne discredite & his wiues dishonesty: both their opinions concerning such men which resort to his house, as they feared, rather to her then to him: as also the reportes of other their neighbours that greatly pittied them, mistrusting no lesse then they had saide, confirmed their slaunders, endinge their tittell tattell with perswasions to forewarne their wiues of such

[1 sig. B 3]

A fires-bir[d.]
for that she
sat continu-
ally by the
fire side.

company. With which vnlooked-for banquet, the younge man, being
 ftroken amafed (and maruell not, fince it was meat ¹ of fo hard a dif-
 gefture), ftoode ftill for a feafon; but after callinge his wittes together
 (of which he had no fmall neede being mated with two fuch rookes) ^{They are}
 affured them of his wiues conftancye toward him, that loued him moft ^{[ro]jokes for}
 intierly, and obeyed him moft duetyfully. And touching the reforte, ^{[th]eir trou-}
 his trade required customers, and not of the worft fort (for he was a ^{[bl]ing tongs.}
 shoemaker); and fo lightly thanking them for their protefted good
 will (giuing as fmall credit to their prittell prattell as he had stomacke
 to their cheere) he departed home, nothing leffe louing, or thinking
 worfe of his wife then hee did before. But they, feeing their purpofe
 tooke fo little effecte, grewe mad, efpecially the fhe beetell, that in a
 great rage fhe pofted to the tauerne, where fhe found fome of the
 queft of inquiry aforefaid, to whome fhe blafed the rancour of her
 hart, fhowing them howe fhamefully their young neighbour was
 wronged, and difhoneftly abufed, through his kind fimplicity. Where-
 vppon this honeft man was dubbed amongft them a wittall; but while
 mother trot and her fellowes were defcantiing on others honefty, there
 came in a new goffip, and not without newes, affuring this breede-bate
 that her husband (the olde fornicator that had beene with his wife a
 bate-maker) was at the flower de luce, a houfe of as good refort of
 honeft women as any be in brid-well, and had fent for thether wine
 and other good cheere; which brought fo bad cheere to her hart, as in
 all hafte fhee did runne thether: where not finding him, but vnder-
 ftanding, I know not by what meanes, that hee was newe gon, fhee
 fals fo hot to fcoulding with the whipperginne her offtice, as from
 wordes they fell to blowes, fo as in the ende our good neighbour
 came home to her husband with a painted face, as if fhee had beene
 at her nuntions with cats. Well, beeing come, Ioane Stoomp-foot
 and Tom Totty, fell to 'thou knaue' and 'thou queane,' with other fuch
 fhamelefse tearmes, as her husband, not able to ouermaifter her that
 way, began to beelabour her faire and handfomely with a faggotftick,
 a prefent remedy to charme fuch diuelifh tounge. With which
 noife (for doubtlefse it was great, efpecially the longe tound beare
 getting the worfe), the neighbours beeing troubled, were ²forced of
 pitty to come in, who, feeing the fray bloody, feuered the knaue and
 the queane, and fo parted the combate. But the fcoulding champion

[¹ sig. B 3,
back]

They are
[ro]jokes for
[th]eir trou-
[bl]ing tongs.

The nature
[of] a fhee
bee[te]ll is,
with [th]eir
whole
[fo]rce to flie
[a]gainst
ei[th]er man
or [b]least,
tosting
[th]em.

Which was
the fhee
make-bate.

[² leaf B 4]

(hauing good occaſion to ſet her chappes a-wagging, that were faine to flaunder before, for want of other matter) curſed the time that euer ſhee met with ſuch a whore maſter knaue, telling the whole circumſtaunces of the matter, with tearmes fit for women of her owne ſtampe. And her huſband, on the contrary part, forced to heare her tale, requites it with a iadiſh tricke, that ſhe was taken with before time by him in his celler with a collier vpon two ſackes of coales. And thus both of them that accuſed others ſo lately of diſhoneſty, were now by all condemned for a Ielious knaue and a miſtruſtfull baude, worthy titles for ſuch makebates.

I therefore warne (quoth Robin) both all ſuch Ielious goſſipes as loue to haue owers in euery mans bote, and could wiſh that all mens daggars belonged to their ſheathes, and alſo thoſe driggell draggells (whoſe wicked and laſciuious liues haue waſted their bodies to the bones, and yet not worne the tippes of their toungeſ) to leaue to be ſo raſh in their iudgementes, or to let their ſhameleſſe inſtrumentes to blabb ſuch vnconſcionable vntrothes to ſo abhominable an ende. And I alſo counsell both men and women, lightly to regard their backebittings and flaunders, that by vncharitable intermeddling with their doings, ſeeke to moue ſtrife and procure diſlike, betweene thoſe that loue faithfully and liue quietly together, neuer giuing occaſion of ſuſpition the one to the other, ſeeing that flaunders are onely likely hoodes, and no likelihood certaine.

The hard
vſage either
of a man to-
wardes his
wife, or of
[a] woman
towards her
huſbande,
i[s] the
ſeauent[h]
cauſe of
Ieloſy.

A ſeauenth cauſe proceedeth of hard vſage, when as a man will brutiſhly vſe his wife by ſtrokes, and curriſhly barre her of matrimoniall kindneſſe. The man that will liſte vp his hand againſt his wife, is like the horſe that doth fling out his heeles to ſtrike his keeper; the one hauing a knauithie, and the other a iadiſh tricke. Will a man of loue launce his owne fleſhe, thoughte ſome of deuotion ſcourage their owne backes? Doth not the dog feare the ſtaffe that hath ſtroken him? and can a woman like of the hand that hath hurt her? He that calleth his brother foole in ¹anger, is in daunger of hell fire: and thinkes the other man that hatefully beates his wife, or the woman that reuiles her huſband, which are neerer the one to the other, to eſcape that furnace? It is an eaſie matter to find a ſtaffe to beate a dogge, but vnpoſſible to meete with a dogge that will loue to be beaten with a ſtaffe, and as hard to finde a kinde huſband that

[1 leaf B 4,
back]

will hold vpppe his hand in anger against his wife, which is as his owne hart vnto him ; but it is very easie, for that they are ouer-com mon, to light vppon breakers of wedlocke, that will hold vp their armes, bend their fists, and beat their filly wiues, at their comming home from bad women, loathing those that loue them, and louing those that lothes them but for aduauntage. There was also information made of many, that hauinge vsed their wiues wondrous ill all their life time, dealing with them as rigorously as many iades do with the Ostlers knauishly, that notwithstanding their cruelty hath beene manifest to the whole world: yet lying vpon their deathes bed, as late as possible they could, and yet better late then neuer, haue, stroken with penitencie, confessed their faultes with sorrow, and affirmed with protestations that they know there were, nor euer haue beene, more faithfull, carefull, obediente, nor louinge wiues then theirs: I pray you what would such haue prooued, if they had beene matched with like kind-harted men. Well, I leaue that to your iudgement, and will come to the last cause of Ielosity.

Which being not the least, is a leaud behaiour in company, when by loose trickes it may bee adiudged that nothing but oportunity is wantinge to their inciuillity. But where shame tames not, there blame maines not. A festered sore must haue a searching salue; and a shamelesse smile an open frowne. They that carelesly offende the law of modestye, must not taste of the sweete of courtesy; and they which respect not humanity, shalbe troubled with Ielosity. Blame not the childe that feares the rod, hauing felt the smart therof, nor mislike those that shonne foure thinges, hauing tasted of fuger. A hound that knowes the game, delightes in hunting; and geue the keeper leaue to bestirre him¹selfe when a curre chafeth his deare. Hee [r sig. C] that steales by night, escapes often when the day-theeues is apprehended; but an impudent and desperate robber must haue a short dome, for that a plaine matter needes a small triall. He that feares not the halter will hardly become true; and they that care not for suspect, are feldome honest. A still dogge bites sore, but the barking cur feares more. The hart is the director of the other partes. I pray you then what thinkes he that shames not who see? Fy of hipocricie, but the diuell take impudencie.

These causes thus set downe were reduced into these eight kindes.

Knauiſh and fooliſh doters and fornicators, backebiters and liers. Bankrotes and hypocrites: the two firſt kindes haue effectes from the third, fourth, and eight cauſes, the two ſecond from the firſt and fiſt; the fix and ſeauen kindes, of the fourth and fiſt cauſes; and the two laſt proceede, of the ſecond, third, and ſeauenth cauſes, of euery one of which there was a ſeuerall bil of complaint deliuered, which for that they were very tedious, I haue but onely brought awaye the endorcementes of them.

The firſt was, that whereas Iaſper Impudencie lately entertained into the familiarity of one Ioone, good wench, that had vſed him very kindly in ſecrete, had to her great diſcredite, for that ſhe barred him of that Priuiledge in an open aſſembly, called her name and fame in queſtion, by accusing her of plaiſing faſt and looſe (about a kind glaunce that ſhee had geuen vnto an other, that had better deſerued her fauour), in conſideration of whoſe fooliſh knauery and knauiſh folly, ſhee deſired redreſſe againſt him.

The ſecond was, againſt the folly of a yong 'nouice, that was fo paſſionate for the loue of a maide, that he could not ſee any to ſpeake vnto her, but ſtraighte would fall into a ſounde through Ieloſy. An other complained of an old dotor of fourſcore yeares of age, that had gotten, through the compulſion of her parentes, her ſelfe in marriage, being but two and twenty. Who through his watching, and the dodging of an old beldam his ſiſter, being in houſe with him, was fo tormented, that if ſhee were neuer ſo little out of both their ſightes: he preſently thought his head be^lgan to bud, though it were in the deade of winter, and woulde moſt ſhamefully raile vpon her. And ſhee, hauing learned ſome ſubtelty by the old foxes craft, on a time ſtole forth to her fathers to ſupper, not making any priuy to her parting, and there ſtayed vntill nine of the clock. When comming home, ſhee found her huſband a bed, that had almoſt fretted his hart out for his wiues long tarrying: who no ſooner ſaw her, but fell a threatning of her, and ſtricktly examining her where ſhee had beene: But ſhee, beeing well acquainted with that cuſtome, fained, that by chaunce, comming from her fathers, ſhee met with a younge gentleman, an old frend of hers, that would not be ſaid nay, but ſhe muſt of force go ſup with him. And affirming that to be true, ſhee fell

[^x ſig. C.
back]

downe vppon her knees and craued his pardon. At the hearing of which, yea, and before shee had quite done (now thinking that to be certeine, which before he onely mistrusted, being verily perswaded that the destinies hadd crowned him with a paire of hornes for his New-yeares gift), he spitted at her, laying Bridewell in her dish, and the cart for her trencher : not only refusing her company for his bed-fellow, but driuing her out of his chamber with a bedstaffe. Neither contented with this, but in all hast in the morning hee trotted vnto her fathers : infourming him of many false tales, and amongst the rest, her last nights tricke was brought in for a confirmation of his hard fortune in beeing matched with such a one. But her father, knowing that to be false, and the other as likely, perswaded him from his Ielosity, which would not be, notwithstanding.

The fourth kind desired iudgement against their husbands, that, hauing beene married to them the space of threescore yeers, and growing wery of them, brought home to their houses yong men, vnder the titles of their kinsmen, to haunt their companies, with commandment that they should vse them as well as themselves. Who (through their ciuill behauior deseruing no lesse) being on a certaine time in their chamber with them, were taken by their husbandes with other of their copesmates, that through bribes proued false witnesses, by which the old fornicators procured deuorcementes, and married younge wenches.

¹ As for make-bates, there was framed against them a bill, to the [sig C a] effecte of the tale aforetould of them. And touching their commorades the liers, they were complained of, for that in open assemblies they would speake against Ielosity, cursing him and his followers. But beeing matched accordinge to their hartes desire, with women that are most faithfull and honest, enioying through them the happinesse of a blessed estate, they, ouercloyed with the sweete it yeeldeth, and wearied with the gainefull fruite which ariseth therof, will (for that ther are no occasions of Ielosity offered) themselves nourish causes by most vnciuill companions. Talke of Ielosity in their company, they wil vtterly condempne such fickle headed Buffardes, that vppon euery light occasion are mistrustful of their wiues, swearing and protesting that they are not, nor would bee of such a suspitious society for the

world : when their priuy checkes for their wiues modest familiarity shall be so openly executed, as their actions shew their tounge haue lyed.

But these of the fixt kinde are knaues in graine, that hauing lausht their stockes leaudly by badd meanes, and seeing their estates to grow weake, will seeke out wiues, not of the common sorte for propernesse, but suche matchlesse paragons as are for neatnesse not to be mated in a country. These must bee sett in their shoppes to tole in customers; vnto whome, if they show not themselues good-fellowes by gentle speeches, their houses will proue to hoat for them. They must not sticke to promise fairely and to kisse, so they do it closely; onely this prouiso must be had, that they keepe them out of their mony boxes and closelubberds. Which practise prouinge profitable, and thereby their estates being amended, straight false measure is suspected, and thervpon, this their owne inuention misliked off. Then they will say that they do more then their commission alloweth, though lesse a great deale then in the beginning was commaunded. Yea, thence after they must sit no more in the shoppes for feare of thunderclappes; and if perchaunce once in a moneth they are there, in which time it may happen some of their olde customers to come to renewe their acquaintance, priuy frownes shalbe geuen them ¹ of the wittals their husbands, their chapmen beeing in company; and in their absence, bitter wordes, if not biting blowes. Then shall they not bee suffered to looke on a man without controlement, nor dare to speake to any for feare of buffets. If any aske for them, buying there, presently they are thought to be their wiues customers, and therefore shall haue bad entertainment, and be serued with the worst stuffe, if any be worse then other.

[¹ sig. C₂,
back. *Catch
word* by]

The last were cried out vpon, for that, whereas they are married with honest mens children, beeing beloued of them far better then they deserue, they will shewe them so much kindnesse in their wooing time, and on their marriage day, as they leaue neuer a whit for the time following. For, hauing reaped the first dayes roft, and beeing enriched with the profit thereof, they growe carelessse of that which might insue, thinking there is no heauen but the time present, nor any commodity like to arise of the remnant. Before company, their kindnesse shall bee so freely vsed, as when their wiues and they

are alone, noughte but bitter wordes and worfe shall followe. Abroad, their behauior towardes them shall bee passing louing, mingled with kinde mirth; but at home they will so lumpe and lowre, as it were better to be in hel, then to liue in house with such hipocriticall Ielious husbandes. At feastes and at assemblies they will vse themselves like faintes, affirming they are matched with pearlesse wenches for good and honeste behauior; but in their chambers they are diuels, suspecting falshood and close dealings betweene their dearest friends and faithfull wiues. And to make an end of the messe, I will tell you of an euidence giuen there against a most notable asse.

There was one that, to shonne his predestinated fortune, and to preuent his hard hap fore-told him by some diuell incarnate, did searcho to see if hee mighte finde suche an ill-fauoured peece of stuffe as all men els would mislike of, not esteeming how deformed shee were, so shee brought money with her. And at last, Nature had shapen a morcell for his tooth, such a matche as it was impossible to mate her, vnlesse her forenamed mother had bene ¹ hired therevnto. [x sig. C 3] Shee was beetell-browed, goggell-eyed, blobber-lipt, wry-necked, crooke-backt, and splay-footed: hauinge the huckle bone of her breech burst, whereby shee wente wriggling with her taile like a broken legged dogge; with so sweete a breath, as a man had beene as good to haue gone fasting into the common gardens about London, as into her chamber when she was in it. With this vnmatchable creature did this stripling marrie, supposing it vnpossible that she that ² [o orig. thā] had neuer a good part in her body, shoulde haue so bad a tricke as to lende his mustard pot to others vses. Wherevppon, ioying that hee alone liued with an honest woman (as hee thought), hee would laugh at his neighbours folly for choosinge wiues to serue other mens turnes, beeing, by feeding of their owne fancies, cuckold by such as himselfe was, who had notwithstandinge at home for his owne diet such an one as would not bee of others regarded, nor himselfe coulde snuffe it off. But his tender crippe, knowing that there were Vulcans that woulde sometimes looke into straunge Smithes shoppes, and perswading her selfe that *Pecunia omnia potest*, did hire a plowman shee had, to supplie some wants in her sweete hartes absēce. Who, agreed on the matter, did so closely perfourme their knauery, as to their thinkinge the Diuell himselfe perceiued not their villany.

Well, soone after there came certaine chapmen to this clothiers house, (for he was of that trade) to make merry with him al the Christ masse holly dayes, in which time they vsed this kinde crippe for his sake so familiarly, as they would iest with her before his face. Who, watching for a dishe from off Ielosies table, feared his owne shadow would beguile himselfe, and therefore would neuer leaue, vntill by a shift he had got them forth of his doores. So played hee with euery one that came after vnto his house, warning his wife from vsing such companions familiarly: neuer misdoubtinge Lobb, his man, that did daunce trenchmore once euery day in his priuy kitchin. But the destinies that had sworne his horned dubbing, to let him see the fruite of his choice, and the certainty of his fortune, (for to be a cuckold, and know it not, is no more (sayes some) then to drinke with a flye in his ¹ cuppe, and see it not,) brought him on a time into his barne; when thinking to finde his man a threshing, he found him a kissing of his crippe, with so plaine further euidence of his hard fortune, as he killed both man and wife; and himselfe was hanged for it afterwarde.

[r sig
back] C 3.

Of these sortes were the billes of enditementes, beeing practises so well liked and allowed off by this confocation, as the performers of them were rewarded with the best entertainment Hell affoordes. And laying plats to effect further mischief, they concluded that, by cutting one an others throat, their kingdome might soonest be enlarged. To which end they inuented these meanes, which I will rehearse vnto thee.

First, that knauish Ielosy should be requited with clubbing iniury: namely, that they that shal abuse their loues with lauish speeches, shall be lubberly beaten by champions, which shall be provided for that purpose: so that, through knauish mistrustfullnesse and murdering reuenge, they may all purchase Hell. Then that those fooles, which (being lodgde in the bed of constant amity, taking their rest in Pleasures armes: and rocked a sleepe louingly, like infantiles in the cradle of Disporte, by their nurfes Carefullnesse & Security) tossie their loues constancy so lightly with stroakes of biting and iniurious wordes, and baule so vnquietly, shewing most ielious trickes of childlike mistrustfullnesse, as they force thereby their nurfes to bee carelesse of their vndiscreete quietnesse, and to turne their blisse into bane, That

these (I saye) for requitall of suche foolishnesse, shoulde bee cast off, neuer againe to taste of the sweetenesse of their looues wonted curtesy, by which meanes they may become desperate and hang themselues.

And touching doating or dolting Ielofy, that their wiues, to pay them for their suspition, shoulde not wander much abroad, nor giue entertainment to any gallants at home, but to growe familiar with their seruauantes, and ioyned such a helper to their husbandes imperfection as Iacke the scullian is, which shall neuer bee mistrusted. And the better to effecte their knauery, it was agreed that they should bee councelled that euer after Iellious complaints made by [^r leaf C 4] their husbandes to their frendes, they shoulde fitte with them at dinner and supper for company, to preuente misdoubte, but shoulde not eate a bit, nor drinke a droppe, without their kindnes, for their husbandes vnkindnes did yeeld sufficient teares to quench their thirst with. Marry, in a corner with iacke their partners, to fare as well as money and mirth could make them, Whereby it was thought that they would recant of their Ielofy, and giue them liberty to vse it at their pleasure, so far as themselues might be assured how much they were vnhappy. And that fornicators (after they had obtained their desires according to the course of lawe) should, stroking vppe their crooked shankes, and belabouring their rusty beardes with their wetherbeaten fingers, seeking other wenches, meet with whipper ginnies that should knowe how to vse such old leachers so handsomely, (beeing contented to indure discontentment, with the thought of the coine that lines their olde bagges,) as they shall be reputed by them for as honest women as liue, vntill the wedding day bee past, when in the euening (fore-thinking of the small pleasure is like to ensue by their pastime) they shal faine themselues so sicke, as of force they will lye alone, or at least without those old wretches. So shall they serue them by the space of a moneth, by which time (and it is no marueil) the churles will beginne to misdoubt somewhat. But what shall they care, seeinge they are mistriffes of all they haue, and can keepe the chuffes from their owne? When they tell them of their vnkindnesse, these wil be ready to spit in their faces, bidding them to goe trott vnto their trulles. As for them selues, they cannot abide such olde fooles: their breath stinckes, they flauer with their

kiffinge, with fuche other opprobrious scoffes, as by their harde speeches and woofe vface, they shall make the olde fooles to betake themfelues to their beades, confessing with shame their shamelesse behauiour towardes their late faithfull wiues, and, cursing the cause of this haplesse fortune, cry *Peccauit*, and die quite discontented.

It was further agreed vppon, that backebiters, that will not cease to blaze ielious vntrothes, shall bee plagued with hauinge ¹their tounes pulled foorth, or else woofe punished by loofinge the regards of supposed honesty. And all the commodity fuche malicious Impes shall reape for their knauery, is, a faire purchased place called Bridewell; and for their false reportes they shall bee sure of a proper cage to finge in; where their good names dyinge with their honestye, they shall bee carried from thence in cartes of reproach, and be buried in continual infamy, ronge to hell with lashes of whip-corde. And the liers: they, because they would not be iellious, but cannot leaue it, shal weare hornes, whether they will or no.

But the grand wittalls, that will alure customers by the fine wenches, and with hauing inriched themfelues thereby, will turne their knauery into villanie. They by their crabbednesse shall come to extreame pouerty, and then endeauoring to put in trial their olde custome, their wiues shall either growe stuborne and reape no profit, or else too too liberrall,² spending the remnant which is left, leauing their husbandes as monyleffe as witleffe. As for the last sort, not least, whose mistrustfullnesse cut their owne throates, causing their wiues to fall vnto lewdnesse³ by ouer rulinge them with hippocr[i]ticall iurisdiction. Onely this shall be added vnto the forwardnesse of their distruction, that their halting dif[fi]cultation should breede vpstartes to faue their fore foreheades; and they, regarding to maintaine their owne good names with hipocricie, shall thereby plante newe trickes of hufwiuerie in their wiues consciences.

Thus, *Tell troth* (quoth *Robin*), thou hast hard some thinge that thou neuer hardst of before, which, when it shall come vnto the diuells eares, I knowe hee will bee monstrous collericke; but it mattereth not: it is better he should fret, then humanity fade. For vnlesse these his inuentions should be knowne, how should they be preuented?

I tell thee (frend), howfoeuer some thinke of me, *Robin*, as he is a good fellowe by name, so is hee no lesse in minde; and I sweare vnto thee I had rather see the diuells dance the morice alone in that fiery hellhouse, then a christian to foote it there, through want of knowledge of their ¹ inuentions. O, tell troth, is it not great pittie to see so [¹ sig. D] manye thoufandes, through folly to intrall themselves to tormentes euerlasting? thou wouldest thinke it vnpossible that the hundred part of them which are there onely for Ielofy, should bee bred in a world. Why, man, I haue onely tould thee of the Ielofy betweene man and wife, and the loue and his sweet hart; I haue not touched the Ielofy betweene frend and frend, the father and his sonne, the mother and her daughter, yea, and betweene whome not, that are ioyned together, either by confanguinity, neighbourhood, by office, or duty. I let these passe, because I meane not to meddle with them; onely, because thou wantest some way to thy iornyes end, I will tell thee a pretty iest, which though it bee misplaced for want of memory, yet here it may come in very good tim[e]. And it is of an olde dotor that was very well serued.

This dotor, who, though he were a man of fowerſcore yeares of age (knowing himselfe vnable to satisfy the expectation of a widow of his owne standing), yet would he needes marry with a girle of foureteene; Who, being constrained thereunto by her freendes compulsion, not knowinge what belonged to the rites of matrimony, was contented to loue him entierly, and to liue truely vnto him without thought of dishonesty. Yet so ill conceited was this foolish dotor, and so weary of his happy estate, as although he knew assuredly the cubbard was close shutt and without any crannes, yet could he neuerthelesse suspect the filly mouse, and would set trappes, hopinge to catche her, counselled therevnto by his misdeeming thoughtes. If shee had beene neuer so little out of his sight, he thought it was the spring time, being but Christmas; to stay the forwardnes whereof, his frost-biting wordes should nippe her. The younge cubbe at last (learning subtilty by the olde Fox), suspectinge there was some further sweete in a married womans life, then as yet shee had tasted off, onely perswaded thereunto by her husbandes Ielofye, tooke harte at grasse, and would needes trie a newe conclusion. The nexte day beeing forth at dinner with him, where were likewise many women

[1 sig. D,
back. *Catch*
word fourth]

of all degrees, shee amongst the rest chose ¹ forth an old matron to passe away the time with, which in communication, finding her to be of such a courteous disposition, as vnto her shee made complaint of the seruile bondage her frends had brought her too. Which shee pittying (for what hart so hard as would not pittie her, that wanted alltogether contentmente?), gaue her such good counsell as shee her selfe had tried, hauinge beene pestered with the like inconuenience, though not with so many hart-breakings: whereof this younge woman liked so well, on the morrow she meant to put some of her conclusions in practise. And a brother of hers comming home vnto her the next day, she likewise showed vnto him howe the Ielosity of her husband increased, desiring him to help her to effect a practise she determined to try; to which he soone agreeing, they stole both into one of her chambers, there spending the day in secret communication, How it might bee best performed; which beeing earnest, passed away the time so suddently as night was come vpon them ere they thought on it, so that thereby he, forced to departe, was let forth at the dore by her selfe, whome a maied shee had (which the olde dotor made more of then of her selfe) did espy, not knowing who it was. But shee had newes inough that it was a manne, and so good to her liking, as in all hast her maister must be made acquainted there with; he, vpon the hearing thereof, growing so hot, as he did not onely beate his wife, but in a great rage turned her forth of the dores, reuiling her most shamefully. The silly woman had no other succour but to goe to her brothers that was married, in the same townie (for she durst not complaine to her father on a suddaine, he was so cruell), who receiued her kindly, and lodge[d] her for that night, because it was so late. And in the morning betimes hee went with her to her fathers, making him acquainted with the whole matter. Who, after the true search of the certainty thereof, condemned his owne folly for the match, sending for the olde miser, that was met at the dore posting thetherwards to complaine. But at his comming his expectation was quite frustrated, for wher, according to a former course had in the like practise, he looked to haue his wife rebuked & himselfe moned, ¹ hee was now, not onely sharply threatened for his misusage towards her, but also deseruedly scoffed at, and driuen force perforce (because hee was matched with his superiours), to bee there-

[1 sig. D 2.
Catch word
he]

with contented. And vpon the triall of the truth he found himfelfe fo plainly convicted, as hee confefled his faulte, and asked her forgiuenes, fewing for a reconciliation to bee made between them. Which done, they departed home, & his wife, not forgetting the fhame fhee had indured by his meanes, ftudied to requite his villanye, and effected it after this manner. Her husband kept a proper man whome he did put in fo great truft, as he hired him for a ftale to deceiue himfelfe by wifhing him to trie his wiues conftancy, Who dallied fo long with the flame, as at laft he was burnt with the fire of defire, his affection fo iumply meeting with her concept, as within a fhorte time, what by faire promifes, larg[e] giftes, and her beauty (three notable baies to catch a kind foole with), fhe had fo won him to her will, as he would not onely reueale vnto her what fo euer his wife maifter would fay, but alfo would euer by falfe oathes fobbe him vppe with a thoufand vntruthes concerning her approued honefty. Well, his good reportes encreafed but further milke in his maifter, with a more earneft defire to finde her falfe; and there vpon he would teach his man how he fhould further trie her, fetting downe fuch plaine plots as by the¹ praftife of them hee was fhortly after ready at any time to doe his miftrefle any good turne in his maifters abfence. He had fubtill wit inough, and therefore they both fped the better, he prouing fo good a plaifter to her fore, as if fhe and her husband fel out in the night, fhe with her man would fport in the day time; and becaufe the olde foole was fo couetous as he would drinke onely fmall beere to faue charges, they two would courrofe whole gallons of wine at their going abroad, which was often without fufpition to the olde fooles hornes. Allwayes at dinner and fupper he fhould haue her with him to fhadowe miftruft, but fhee would not eate a bit with him, becaufe his fare was fo bafe, collouring her nicenes with want of stomacke, and with forrow for his churlifhnes towards her. With which² diffembling (for what cannot women doe by teares?) her husband, what betweene his mans flattery and his wiues hipocricy, was quite chaunged, being verely perfwaded now that fhe is a faint, repenting he euer miftrufled her, & recanting of his folly in falfly accusing her. For a mends whereof, hee confefled the fecond time to her parents and frendes that he had moft vnderferuedly ouerawed his faithful wife, greeued with nothing more

[¹ orig. thy][² sig. D 2,
back]

then his hard vſage towardes her, in restraining her, beeing young, of honeſt liberty. In requitall whereof, it was lawfull for her with his young ſtrippling to goe forth and returne at her pleaſure, to be in what company ſhe beſt liked of, and nothing ſuſpected, for at this time he would not let to ſweare he had the onely honeſt woman in the worlde. And if anye of his friends had reprov'd him of ſuch folly, aleading that youth was ſoone inticed to lewdneſſe, his aunſwere was, hee cared not, and his thankes were ſharpe wordes. But if his neighbours tould him ſhee kept bad companye, affociating other women that were good fellowes, hee, forth with, would raile vpon the reporters for ſlaundering his wiues honeſty, and would ſtraight haue the lawe of them for calling her good name in queſtion. And thus liued this dotor as long as the diſtinies woulde permit him, at his death leauing onely his hornes for his ſucceſſors portion.

How like you this, Tell-troth? you ſmild at this mans folly, but you had more neede to pittie the weaknes of ſuch as, onely led with extreames, ether hate deadly, or effecte too too childiſhly. But now, becauſe thou art in a manner at thy iourneys ende, I muſt leaue thee, yet, before I goe, knowe this farther newes. That at my comming from hell, the aſſembly aforeſaid had thought to haue broke vppe, and gon euery gouerner to his prouince to take their pleaſures, beeing ouer-toyled with their tedious conſultations. But as they were a riſing, there came one in ſweating, with a ſupplication from Pierce-Pennileſſe, inforſing them thereby to a newe labour. Which I perceiuing, and imagining it woulde bee long before it were ended, beeing
 [1 leaf D 3] already weary of their company, leſte that ¹newes for the knight of the poſte, and ſo you are wellcome to your iourneyes ende. Robin good fellow, looking for no other thankes for his company, but that (frend Tell troth) thou doſt me the fauour to publiſh this my inuectiue againſt Ieſoſy.

[2 orig.
deliueting]

Wherevpon he deliuerd ² vnto me a ſcoule of paper with the contents hereafter followinge, and ſo hee vaniſhed awaye, I know not howe.

[Large Coat of Arms in the original.]

Robin Good-fellowe his Inuectiue

[* leaf D 3,
back]

againſt Ieloſy.



He Poetes altogether aymed not amiſſe in their fiction, whereas, ſetting downe the torments of hell, they affirme ther is no torture that inflicteth the furies with more extreame cruelty then the fond conceites of a ielious harte; and why? for that the reuenge of a diſdaineſfull woman is deadly, and her rewardes for miſtruſtfullneſſe, guiſtes of vnceaſinge grieſe, which in the ende worke vtter deſtruction. The cauſe nourished in men maketh the effect poſſible and the praſtiſe intollerable.

There is no ſweete ſo ſronge, but the delighte thereof may bee croſſed by the contrarie; nor anye hart ſo firme, but continuall vnkindnes maye remooue it. The tall oake, that waueth not with euerye puffe of the winde, is eaſelye throwne to the ground by an extraordinary tempeſt. The hardeſt flint is pierſt with often droppes; and it is not impoſſible, though vnlikelye, that the ſkie ſhould fall. Are they not woorthy to be nipte with the piercing ſformes of a biting winter, that, hauing a ſhelter to defend themſelues from ſuch outrageous wether, and knowing a tempeſt will come which may ouerthrow it, negleſteth neuertheleſſe to preuent that daunger by vnderpropping the ſame? or deſerue they to haue their eſtate pittied that wilfully ſeeke their owne vndooing? As it is a part of wiſedom to foreſee a daunger, ſo, not to withſtand and to endeouour to fruſtrate the ſame with reaſon and forecaſt, is a badge of extreame folly.

[a]ſpice, vt
[im]me[r]itus
miſ[er]andæ
[sort]is aſel-
lus [a]ſſiduo
[d]omitus
ver[bi]ere
tardus [e]rit.

And *Peccaui* deſeruedlye falles on their backs, that wittinglye and willinglye incurre the haſſard thereof. If men had no vnderſtanding of the plagues of hell they would be too too vitious, and their pleaſure could not but bee their deſtruction, vnleſſe euery one had a hale-backe for his companion. If Ieloſy be a torment more

Principiis
obſta. ſeio
medicina
paratur,
Cum mala
per longas
conualauere
moras.

[* leaf D 4] mercilesse then diuelish Pluto, and his common ¹ wealth more greuous then the sorrowes of hell, I sorrow to thincke that men should be so willeffe as to honour the Diuell, and so carelesse as to delight in such a weale-publike. But be it as it is, or let it be woorse, as it is vnpossible it shoulde, their conceites are grown to be so base, and their enterprises so beast-like, as for the most part they follow Ielosy so eagerly, as they constrain their deereft freendes to cut their throates with the knife they most feare, when both the euell it selfe and the cause therof might be remooued, so euery one would ground their loue vpon discretion.

Arte cite ve-
loque rate[s]
remoque
rfe]guntur:
a [e] leues
curius] arte
legend[us]
r mms

If the practises and proceedings of loue be so forcible as they bring death with them to the hopelesse harte, hee is vnwise that will strue to encrease those affections which are already more then extraordinary. Waxe, by a temperate heat is mollified and formed, being softe to any shape, but through a furious flame it either wasteth and consumeth, or els will not be touched without defiling of our fingers. The hartes of women are like vnto waxe, that, tempered by the passions of loue, are ready to take the impression thereof; but if it coole againe before the printe of kindnesse be surely set on, or if the flame of fury breake forth about it, being sett on fire by the coales of misgouernemente, to what bad ende will the good beginning be turned? and how many hartbreakings by quarrels and disagreements will arise in the smoother of such smoaky misrule! Doubtlesse the experience thereof hath taughte too too many to their griefe, and will teach more to their vndooing, vnlesse the swelling of that fore be asswaged with som wholsome medicin. But they that only haue entertained the superficies of loue, neuer harboring him in their hartes, affirme that he and Ielosy are brothers, and that the one cannot bee without the other. If they that holde the same for a maxime, meane in the defence of their freendes honours, and to be Ielious of their wiues good name and reputation, I graunt that that is most kinde affection.

But when Ielosy ariseth of a foolish fondnes, grounded with out reason, to bee remooued with euery lighte occasion; or of mistrustfullnesse of the partye loued, without triall of anye vn²constancy; or, lastly, of childish affection, lead away with an vnruely appetite, and nourished with dispayringe conceites, conceiuing what is not, and

[2 leaf D 4,
back]

iudginge onely by shadowes which remoue all hope, causing continuall discontentment,—that maketh the ielious mans case desperate, and the thinge foolish.

There is no concorde betweene water and fire, nor any medium betweene loue and hatred; for either the hart sighes vnder the burthen of entiere affection, or groanes throughe the waight of greuous dissimulation. Loue couereth a multitude of sinnefull offences, and loyalty recouereth a world of ouerslpt infirmities; but dislike findeth rottennesse in sound timber, spots in the pure white, and vnkindnesse in the constant harte; it engendereth Ielosity, and procureth enmities; it hatcheth breakepeace, and glories in quarrels; all it delighte is in findinge of faultes, and all it ioy to encrease mislike. If it hath it beginning of loues contrary, yea, in nature, how can there bee anye brotherly equality betweene them? vnlesse, unhappilye, wee will make the eye father to both, that seeinge aswell good as euell, entifeth the hart, through corrupt affections, to be misled by wicked elusions, bringing forth bastardes in steede of true begotten children: For if Ielosity be loues brother, it is by corruption of nature brought forth vnlawfully, which may thus be manifested. After the eye hath chosē an obiekt which brings so sweet contentment to the hart, as it highly delighteth in the same, that prouing so kinde loue and such feruent affection in both, as lawfull requitall makes a pleasing satisfaction, the eye receiuinge kinde glaunces for amorous glotinges, and louinge harte-breakinges for affectionate hart fighings. The eie beeing pleased with an eye, and the hart contented with a hart, they frolique both in glory as long as they rest in constancie; but wandring from forth that sanctuary, the eie either spies another eie that better pleaseth it, and the harte likes of another harte that better contentes it, or else the eie lookes curiously into his owne hart, and spies some fault in himselfe, which, displeasing, begetteth Ielosity: whereby the eie may be said to be originall and father of both.

¹ How is it possible that falshood should be in frendship? or can [^r sig. E] the hand beguile the hart that ruleth it? no more will a louing wife playe false with him to whome shee is ioyned both by the lawe of god and man, or a frend crosse her louing exceedinges, in whome his hart delighteth. That which is bred in the bone will neuer out of

the fleshe; and what *Nature* hath made, *Arte* cannot marre. If Enuie hath a tricke with her heele, all the diuells in hell cannot alter it. And I maruell menne are so foolish as to matche themselves with such women whome they haue cause to suspect. Doubtlesse, either their own life hath bene lasciuious, by which they iudge others, or their meaning bad in chusing such companions; when nowe, ouerlate repentinge of their bargaine, they light on a worser mischiefe. Although the fox be so crafty as he deceiues many, yet sometimes he meeteth with a champion more subtile then himselfe. The pitcher goeth long to the water, but at last getteth a knocke through the bearers fault, and is brought home broken. The Ielious man feareth his owne shadow, and looketh narrowly vnto it, yet (likely) at last commeth a substance, who (when he thinketh least on it) entereth, doinge him iustice, though hee neuer the wiser. It is straunge that menne are so foolish as to seeke their owne vndoing, for assuredly looke, by what measure they sell by, the same shall they receiue their owne, without aduantage. The quarreling mate shall not complaine for want of knockes, or the ielious man longe desire hell, when the one shall finde like swashbucklers vnto himselfe, and the others wife will not sticke to cut his throat with the knife hee hath so long feared.

If mens loue be simple good, women cannot but affectionate them with like simplicity; but if they playe false (Ielofye beeing their cloake), they will be sure to keepe knaues to crosse their cardes with. In these dayes euery cobbler doth feare the carter, and fetes vppon his whippe at his dore to keepe Iohn Cobblero from his lattice. And I pray you vpon what reasons shall these ielious trickes be discarded? Somme haue it by nature, and say, 'kit must after kind, bee it but in scraping of a ¹frying panne.' Beware of naturall foolles as long as you liue; for a bad tricke ingrafted in them, neuer leaueth them vntill he hath brought seauenty worse into his roome. And, as for the inuention of their predcessors, they must needs goe to the diuell with them for companie. Others builde their knauery on other mens misfortune, that are matched with Ioone, *communis omnibus*, that could play at bucklers so soone as she was past her cradell. Oh, shee is a tall peece of flesh, and will stand to her tackling so stoutly, as the diuell himselfe shall not get the waiters from her. I counsell

Qu[o] tibi
ormosa[m]
si] non nisi
ca]sta
place]bat[.]
Non pos-
[unt] villis
sta [coi]re
nodis.

Indig-
[ere] licet,
uaa[.]t]
nconcess[a]
voluptas.
Sola
plac[et].
timeo,
di[ce]re si
qua p[ro]test

[¹ sig. E,
back]

him that thinketh hee hath met with her companion, to cease to greeue at it, and strue not to remoue that he cannot stirre, leaft happily shee falls quit from him, & neuer serueth him after. Manye honour him of custome, because they hold their landes of him by homage, their prediceffors allwayes hauing beene his sworne subiectes. A pittifull custome, that tendeth to the tenauntes vndoing, and a title that might very well bee resigned ouer and denied; seeing it only toucheth free taile, or seruices vnreasonable to be perfourmed. And a great part obtaine his entertainment by vse and practise: those are greene headed that long for reformatiōs, & would haue new lawes intituted euery quarter, desiring to try new conclusions, whether it were possible for a man to liue vnto himselfe. Which are so delighted with common cases, as they make honesty a necessity, thrusting him out of the dores at their pleasure, by vsing them most shamefully whome they ought to loue entirly. But most playe ielious parts of knauery and bad entention, meaning to make a practise of paltry peniſhneſſe and knauish conceiptes. They will be ielious to try their wiues or frendes constancy, being neuer ashamed of their owne villany.

What shall I saye? I greeue to thinke on mens hard happe, and womens vnkindneſſe; the one nourishing mischief, and the other persewing, with deadly execution, the tormentes they suspecte and greeue at. I haue hard (euen of kinde gentlewomen reported, whoe haue beene ouer vexed with the suspicious conceiptes of ielious husbādes) that their slanderous thoughtes¹ concerning the suspected crimes, did not so much aggrauate their owne grieſe (though it were intollerable), as the sight therof did encrease their wiues ioy and delight, onely pleased with this sweet melody: That they knewe themselues to bee most constant and faithfull, though suspected of the contrarye, and their husbādes, desiring no more then constancy, cannot content themselues with their desired felicity, but greeue their own foules with triphells, and eate vppe their owne harts through suspicion of disloyalty. I would but demaund what recompence a ielious man receiueth by all his trauell, or what little ioy he reapes by his mistrustfullneſſe and continuall penſueneſſe? The lowest ebbe is counteruailed with as high a floode, and boystrous stormes with calme wether; the glorest daye maye darken the sunne, but not

Quidquid
[se]ruatur,
cu[pi]mus
ma[gi]s:
ipsaque
[ru]rem cura
[v]oat
pauci [q]uod
sin[ti]
al[t]er,
amant.
[r sig. E 2]

abate his pride; and as there are extreame droughtes, so sometimes falls the contrary by extraordinary tempests. There is no sowre but may bee qualified with sweet potions, nor any doubtfull malady that may not be allied with delightfull musicke¹; onely ielious thoughts with loue are vncurable, and that a corasue most dangerous to mens hartes. It is vaine to striue against the streame, and as foolish to build castles in the aire. He that thinketh to catch the aire in a bottle, deserueth to be last at; & he that would ty vp his wiues or frends honesty in a string, to bee pitied: both follies fit for inno[c]ents & practizes without end. I thinke *Vulcans* Ielofy preuailed him nothing, & his catching of *Marce* & *Venus* in a purcenet as little, except a confirmation of his great grief, & an assured knowledg of his horned head, prouing a continuall badge of his infamy. The like followed many others suspition, and the like will ensue of such folly. *Vulcan* knewe that *Mars* was a copartner with him in *Venus* bosome. And he himselfe could not but blush when hee had wooed his owne spouse (the goddesse of loue), in steede of *Briceris*, his beloued paramore. I knowe that euery one hath his faulte, and all deserue equall punishmente; onely *Robin good fellow* wilhes, that mens & womens presumptions may be certaine, and that their suspicte may bee built on a sure ground.

¹ orig.
nussicke]

[² sig. E 2,
back]

² If men would imitate the same rule, to auoide Ielofy, which *Cicero* hath set downe in his Offices, as most requisite to maintaine a happy weale publike (alleaginge, *it was the parte of mad men, to wishe for a gloomy day when the sonne shined most gloriously; or to desire warre and turmoyling troubles, when the common-wealth flourisheth most happily through peace and tranquillity; But, to alay hurly burlies with counsell, and to make warres cease by aduice, was greates wisedome*.)—They would not encrease their owne greefe and sorrow: or rather, beeing at quiet, and obtaining the height³ of pleasure by mutuall loue and affection, they woulde not (I say) long after vnrest, or pursue troubles, and continuall disquietnes, with might and maine, without measure; seeing the obtaining of their owne desire is a prooffe of their misfortune, and the iudgemente after the verdi&ct of such a title, continual shame and infamy. The man is happy that is accounted happy, and none are richer then those that be so

[³ orig.
height]
reus est,
niumque
fauet ille
ori, cui
inur victa
ma cru-
a, rea.

adiudged of. If, then, fame be so fauourable as to reckon a beggar equall with a kinge, is not hee a foole which will himfelfe reprooue her of an vntrueth? The prouerbe adiudges that ‘an il bird which will defile his owne neft;’ and is not he a bad cuckold, that will register himfelf one when the clarke hath left him out of fauour? By how much it is better to be one, beeing accounted none, then to be none, and reputed one,—by so much the more are they beholdinge to themfelues for the horne that blowes their Ielofy vntill it flames. An extraordinary fmoake breedes fufpect of a hurtefull fire, and many sparkes make men to wonder; yet the harme of both of them is preuented by care and diligence.

I would but know the manne (*semper excipio*, the wittall) that would not be loath to be pointed at with a paire of hornes, & yet I know very many, and haue hard of an innumerable company, that haue made the whole parrishe, yea, the country, priuy to their misfortune by defarte of them. Well, then, hereafter if there be any that hath a tooting head, and would not haue it fene, let him keepe it secretly to himfelfe, and make the best of it. He goes farre that neuer turnes, and shee is a diuell that will neuer ¹ mende; and since the [¹ leaf E 3] diuell is good to some body, let the ielious man make much of her, that the shee diuell may bee good to him.

Sorrow craues pittie, and submiffion deferues pardon. Hee is ouer hard harted that will not be entreated, and diuelliſh that cannot forgiue. If, then, vpon penitent submiffion, a man ſhalbe forced to receiue her into fauour that hath offended, will it not be so much to his better contentmente, by how much a few are acquainted with the miſchiefe? That grief is beſt digeſted that brings not open flame, but a ſpightfull blow prooues a noted ſcarre. But ſuppoſe the worſt that can happe, imagine ſhee will neuer be good, building vpon the old ſayinge: *Shee that knowes where Chriſtes croſſe ſtandes, will neuer forget where great A dwels*,—yet a man were better to bee troubled with a queane alone, then to bee forced to keepe both a queane and a knaue: for as the law grantes a deuorcement, ſo is it requiſite it ſhoulde allow the woman mainetenance; and what ſhall her knaue lacke that ſhe hath? Whoſoeuer, therefore, that is bound to a bad bargaine, whereof comes two miſchiefes, either to keepe a queane or

*Flectitur
tus voce r
gante de*

*Quo
sem[el] est
imbuta
recens
seruabit
odo[rem]
Testa diu.*

E duob[us] malis, min[im]um est eligendum. to parte with money, if he will follow Robin good fellowes counsel, let him rather choofe to diet her in his owne houle, then to pay for the boord of her and her louer in a strange place.

But becaufe it is the best labour to worke the confusion of such an ennemy as Ielofy is, whose company encreaseth multitudes of inconueniences, My meaninge is to fet downe some necessary helpes how such a mischiefe may bee best preuented. And first, I counsel euery one that is enfectèd with such a plague to seeke to forestall the daunger thereof, by kinde and gentle plaisters. I meane, that shee who hath a ielious husband, subiect to the like infirmities before mencioned, shoulde reclaime him by gentle vsage, and ouercome his vaine suspition with modest behauiour, not vsinge any vnciuill tricke in disdainefull manner before his face, he hating the same; or vsing other suspitious practises, onely to crosse him with them; and so to carry themselues in all places, and at all times, as they may neither giue cause of offence vnto them or of mistrust vnto others. The like meane ought to be executed by men, that they ouerlay not their [feare]full wiues, brauing them with disdainefull likelyhoodes of dishonest behauiour, but that they dissuade them from suspition by the contraries, remoouing their ielious conceites by kindnesse and louely dalliance. It is easy to cure a greene wound, but the daunger of a festered sore is mortall. The young tree will stoupe, when the old shrewd cannot bend; and new conceites are easily remoued, but engrauen thoughtes will not be rubbed forth; and loue is of so great force, as he sooner ouercomes with a faire word, then his enemye shall conquere by all his forces. Howe happie is that common wealth where peace raigneth, and that family which concord gouerneth, the one nourishing true amity amongst her subiectes, the other establishing vanity betweene man and wife.

Obsequium tigresq[ue] domat, timido[s]que leones.

fx leaf E 3, back
Catchword
fearefull]
[Fle]ctitur
ob[seq]uo
cur[ua]tus
ab ar[bo]re
ramus :
[fra]nges, si
[vir]es
experi[ar]e
tuas.

*What greater grieve then life with discontent,
When discontent of want of loue ariseth ?
Loue hath no lacke, but allwayes liues content,
And any thing to please his mind sufficeth ;
Rich is true loue, abounding still with store,
The lacke whereof makes want a grievous sore.*

*The sweete of loue doth yeeld so sweete a tast,
As mixt with gall, he turnes the sower to sweete :
By him is strength and blessed weale imbrast ;
By him is harts-ease gaine, and ioy most greet.
Strong is true loue, whose strength is kindly set :
To heape with sweete, that sower his ioy ne let.*

*The sport of loue is full of ioyfull smiles,
He cures all sores with one most kindest salve ;
A pleasing kisse his frowning rage beguiles,
And one faire word his anger doth dissolve ;
Pleasant is loue, he ioyes in weale and woe ;
His rage with smiles, his wroth with kisses goe.*

¹ Thus liueth loue, and no otherwise fare they that be his followers ; [¹ leaf E 4] they are neuer hart sicke, because they neuer suspecte ; nor euer displeased, because for that by themselves they are not grieved. Who is more tormented then he that teares his owne flesh ? or who deserues more griefe, then they that will not vse the remedy ? To lock vp ones wife, for fear of sparrow-blasting, dub himself a cuckold within an iron cage, and to seeke to ² rule her by correction, when he cannot gouerne himself with discretion, is to gather a rod to beate his owne breeche. For whiles she is lockte in her studie, her mind hath the more liberty to inuent a fit reuenge against her going abroad. What is it they cannot effecte, if they haue a will therunto ? And what woman is there that liues without a meanes to repaye a good turne, or to requite a bad ? Vse them, therefore, well, is the wisest way to liue quietly ; to loue them entirely, the onely meanes to bee long happy.

[² orig. seeke is to to]
Non men-
[tem]
seruare po-
tes, licet
of[m]nia
claudas
omnibus
e[^x]clusis,
int[er]
adulter eri
Si sapias in-
dulge
dom[i]n[us]
vultus[que]
seueros
exue.
Centum
fron[-]te
oculos,
centum cer-
uice gere-
bat Argus,
& hos vnu[s]
sape
sefellit
amor.

If she meanes to deceiue thee, her inuention is hard to be pre-
uented, for, watch her neuer so narrowly, she will finde a time to
performe her knauery. The filiest creatures are sildome catcht in
ordinary trappes : and can women want wit to frustrate a common
stale ? If it wer possible to know their thoughts, it were likely their
practises might be hindered ; but as long as *secreta mihi* raignes, the
rains of their liberty are at their own pleasures. And I thinke men
are best at ease when they are so pleased,—at least, wise men are, or

should be, seeing their contentment hanges in their wills. For what house is in quiet where the goodwife is out of patience? If the maister bee angry, the fault onely lies on the mistriffe her necke; but be she moued, about goes the maides, away runne the menne, and I make a doubt whether her husband dares to out stand her. I am assured shee will out chide him. Flattery is a sweet baite, and kindnesse a wholesome potion; & nothing more then vnlawfullnes, enticeth vs vnto lewdnesse. The delighte of sweete is taken away by surfiting of fuggar; but who by nature is not desirous of nouelties? There would not so many purchase Tiborne, vnlesse there were a Bull to hange them; nor so many yeeld vpp^e ¹the possession of their garmentes to the hangmen, were ther not a lawe to condemne them. And I warrant you, there would be fewer horned heads, if ielious hartes were scanter, wherby the practise of watching might decay. Who knowes liberty better then they that haue beene in bondage? And whoe, for the most parte, vseth it worse then they that knowe it best? A mind ouerladed with ioy, committeth manye errours in his iolity; & a harte pressed downe with sorrowe, thinkes of manye mischiefs. Extreames are neuer good: and howe can one sooner fall into them, then being made acquainted with one of them? Hauing beene in the dungion of discontent, and being set free to range at our pleasure, we thinke we are neuer at the territ of delight, before, with *Ouids* builders, wee touch the heauens, so imperfect is our nature.

Perwasions are of great force to moue women, whose harts, though most tender, withstand nothing more then crabbed vsage. Vowe loue vnto them, and they will sweare constancy vnto you; and if perchance they make some ouerslip by their deseruing Ielosity, yet grow not fraight collicricke, but say your paternoster before you reprehend them for it; in which time, which is as small as may be, you shall, by tempering your wit with wisdom, finde so tractable a medicine to drawe her from a second fault, as her penitencie will take away all suspection of hipocricie. Say but you are sorrowfull to heare it, or ashamed to see it, and, of my word, her next shall be an oth neuer to commit the like folly. What a cheape *subpena* is this to drawe an answere from the conscience! When, peraduenture, to deale otherwise, would come to neede a writ of rebellion. There is

Quod licet
ingratum
est : quod
non licet
acrius vit.

[1 leaf E 4,
back]
[Flec]timur
in [v]it[ic]um
sem[per]
cupimus
[qu]e negata
[cu]i pec-
care [lic]et,
peccat
[mi]nus[us]
ipsa
[po]testas
ve[m]ina
nequi[t]iæ
lingui[di]ora
facit.

O vltimam
[a]ligerem
[si]c, vt non
[v]incere
pos[s]em :
Me mis[er]-
um quare
[t]am bona
causa mea
est?

Per vene-
rem iuro,
pueriq[ue]
volatilis ar-
cus : me non
admissi cri-
minis esse
reum.

no assurance better then that which is made with a safe conscience ; and no man stands on a better ground, then he that buildes on his wiues word. If she speaks it, why should we not rather believe her, then an other that should report no more vnto vs? Oh, I knowe what you will say, because she speakes in her owne defence; and maye not the other flaunder vppon a malicious will? What will not the diuell doe for aduantage, and what can hee doe without his instrumentes? To bee too too cruell ¹ breedes repentaunce, as well as care- [x sig. F] lessenes forerunnes sorrow. When tender droppes will pearce the flint, the hard stele is vnneccessarye; and where good counsell will correcte, a rod were better awaye then present. They say that ouer-awing makes fooles, and what will they let to doe? It is as hard to get any good out of them that are witlesse, as to force water out of a flint; and yet I say not but that good may be gotten of them; but with it, I affirme it must be by kind meanes. *Fy, fy, sweete hart,* Hæc tibi [i] sunt mecu[m], mihi sunt communia tecum : in bona cur quisquam tertius ista venit? *what losse trickes are these! or what immodesty will this be accounted!* Will strike so deeply into a reformatiue conscience, as there shall not neede out vpon thee, with some beastly tearme of a brutish tounge for a whit of correction. And they will driue an obedient wife to such contrition, as there shall be no thought of an vnkind extrusion, either of her out of doores, or of her good name and fame from it wonted reputaation. Why is the husband called his wiues good-manne, but because hee ought to be a meane to withdraw her from such imperfections as nature hath left in her? He, in my iudgement, can be but a bad common wealthes man which is an ill husband, for, looke what ill fashions raigne vncorrected at home, the like inormities should rest in his forrain charge. For who knowes not that we haue the greatest care (if we haue any at al) of those things which are nearest vnto our selues? and why may not I affirme that such a one will respecte little a common profite, when hee regards so lightly his owne priuate wellfare? Oh, I woulde Robin might be tedious, not troublesome, hee would then endeauor a further probability of the ielious mans folly, but fearing he hath offended too too much already, hee will euen but shut vppe his remnant breiefely.

*The sweetest flower whose stalk sharpe prickles gard,
Yeeldes pleasant sent, through care, without annoy :*

*The Goosbery, with hurtfull bushes ward,
Surrenders vp it selfe, through care to ioy.*

[r sig. F,
back]

¹ *The rammish hauke is tamed by carefull heed,
And will be brought to floope vnto the lewre ;
The fercest Lyon will requite a deed
Of curtesie, with kindeffesse to endure.*

*What fish so proud as doth disdaine a baite ?
Nor fish, beast, foule, nor fruit, but takes the mate.
Then since that care speedes best with curtesie,
Vse care and kindeffesse to mate Ielosy.*

Nec blan-
[_]atis, nec
[ei:]t tibi
co[m]i's
amica,
[pe]rfer
& ob[du]ra:
post[m]odo
mitis [eri]t.
[² orig.
noysommes]

This is Robins counsell, a soueraigne oyle of experience to drawe away the droppings of Ielosyes nose, that so much anoyes the patients harte. Which must be wrought most gently, laboured with the perswasions of reason, the effecte wherof, I warrant you, wil proue so profitable, as either he will be freed from noysomnes,² or haue his nose put out of ioynt. Conetuousnes is a pestilent help to Ielosy ; for how can he that hath set al his loue on his money, be drawn to bestow part thereof on his wife ? No, of my credit, he that hath crept into that vaine, hath so far crawled from honesty, as hee cares not what iniury hee doth. He knowes that loue will aske cost ; and why doth he loue the diuell, but to saue charges ? For could he be contented to doe good, as he is forward to worke mischief, he would deale with loue better then to locke him vp in his coffers. Oh, it is a sweete thing to him to diue vppe to the elbowe in a bagge, while the kind man bestowes his time in kisses. But let the other be assured, that whilest this inioyes paradise, he shall be strining to passe through the eie of an needle, which shall proue vnpossible. It is a gay thing to come to dignity, but it is a more beneficiall thinge to vse honesty ; but whye doe I talke of honesty to them that neuer meant to enter eternity ? Surely for no other cause, but for that Robin, knowinge the slauerye that is prepared for you, is moued to pittie, and could wish you had care to preuente the punishment of the cormorantes dungion. But I care not howe little honesty you haue, so you shunne Ielosy, for I onely harpe on that string at this present, which

I say cannot bee a¹voided without the entertainment of loue, who will [^t sig. F 2] soone thrust him headlong besides his possession.

Omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus amori. The passions of loue Desine
are so passing kinde, as they subdewe wherefoeuer they become, yea, (c[re]jde
affuredly they will either conquere or kill; and because life is most mihl [v]i]tia
fweete, we will rather yeeld to affection then die for Ielofy. Irritar[e]
Loue is vetando :
a pleasing gout, which will suffer vs no more to be misled by vnrest, [ob]sequio
then the tormenting gout wil giue his patientes leaue to rest while v[in]ces
the paine is vnceasing. And such a hartie dropie is he, as he fwels aptus
his criples affections with so great kindnesse, as they sing no song, but ipse tuo.
Ah, I loue. He is a nettle that stinges the hart with continuall pleasure En ego
fure; and that babie which lodges in womens and mens eies, on co[n]j[un]ctio[n]
whome none shall fix the fancy kindly, that shall not be stroken with tua sum
a darte of constaucy; hee is the greening woe that breedes continuall noua praeda,
ioy, the fond conceipt that fastens faithfull thoughts in his place, and C[u]pido
that euill that reapes eternall good. Porrigim[us]
To rehearse her qualities, were victas ad
a new worke for Robin-good-fellow, and to followe his properties, t[ua] vincla
not a labour without profit. But his chiefe² qualitie is to be kind manus
and his next to be constant; he euer forgiues, and still forgetes faultes. Blanditiae
He delightes not in breed-bates, nor doth he glory in the quarrells of comitest[ibi]
deereft frendes, but all his actions are faithfull, and all his thoughtes erunt
frutfull. Dandill him, and he will sporte thee; set him in thy lappe, tetr[i]que
and hee will comfort thy hart; Speake him faire, and hee will kisse furo[re]
thee kindly; like him onely, & he will loue thee euer. He neuer assidue
is hafty, but hee repentes thereof presently, paying for euery vnkinde pa[r]tes
worde a sorrowfull hei ho. As he will be soone angry, so is hee turba
straight pleased, & therefore was he fained to be little in being neuer [se]cuta
long troubled with extreames. But there is a certaine madnesse tuas.
which men call loue, the same prouing so great fondnesse, as euery His tu mi-
frowne of a mistrisse makes some melancholy a quarter after, and [li]ubus
to match that, is foolish dotage set, both so hot passions for a while, as superas
they proue in the end to be loues greateft enemy, euen pestilent homin[es]
Ielofy. The one will die if hee hath not his longing; as for the other que
(for that hee is more craftie), hee hath ³many subtill meanes deos[que]
to obtaine his desire; yet both of them are so far from reason, as they Nil opus
hurt themselues willingly. Nowe, to iudge howe kind they will be e[st] bello :
[v]e[n]iam
[que]
rogamus.
[² orig. qua
hile]

[³ sig. F 2,
back.
Catch word
man]

to others, that be so crabbed to themselves, Robin leaues that to common reason. Yet because these two extreames, namely, mad fondnesse and dottage, are the onely meanes to helpe Ielofy, I will bee bould a little to touch them.

The extraordinary concept of obtained curtify, moues such a liking in the ouer passionate louer, as all his fences are onely tied to one obiekt, & his whol hart dedicated to that saint, the sole mistrisse of his hart. As the extremity which tormentes him, is eased with nought except what comes from her kindnesse, so his mad fittes, once crossed with discourtesie, breed that vncurable melancholy, which deadly grife and vntimely death do followe. But both of them being perchance stroken with the selfe same arrowe, shot from the vmpertiall blind boy his bowe, are rauished with the delighte they conceiue the one from the other, their thoughtes beeing heauenly, because true to each other, and their true loue vowed to eternity, manifested by no small fauours. Which happily euery day more and more encreasing frendship, remaines to both with wished contentment, vntill vnhappy, Ielofy (the professed enimye to louers prosperity) picketh a quarrell with one or both, by false vnconstancy. Then beginnes our hot loue to turne to burning coles, prouing such fondnesse, as wee suspecte our owne shadowes. Wee gorge our selues so vnreasonably with the delight of our saintes beaultie, as wee cast vpp the hope of their faithfullnesse. We wil make them saintes, and thinke them diuells, louing them so entirely, as our ouer much makes them vnhappy. Wee doe set them vp in vndecent brauery, and set them out with foolish praises; yet, should any strangers (though of the familiars forte) seeme to sue to them,—nay, I may truly say, speake to them, it may bee the better for the men, but bee assured it shall bee the worfe for the women. And now comes in dissimulation, by which we most practise to vse them kindly, whome wee hate deadly; to speake them faire to their faces, whome wee curse behind their backs, ¹ and to feede them with dainties, whom wee could wish poisoned. After the selfe same manner fare our wiues: they haue a kinde dinner and a crabbed supper, sweete meate with fower sawce, and a pleasaunt drinke with a poisoned potion; so fonde extreames falling one on the others backe, as in a moment wee will vse them like Goddisses (if we doe not confesse vnto them, they are no lesse

[I] meane
the [de]lath
of hyr [spir]it
or of hir
[lo]ue.

[P]inguis
a[m]or
nimium [q]ue
patens, [in]
tadia
no [b]lis
veritur, [et]
stomacho
[d]ulcis vt
es [c]a,
nocet.

[¹ sig. F 3]

vnto vs), and no otherwife then diuels, fwering now we hate them most deadly, whome euen now wee protested to loue most diuinely; fuche monstros vnconstancy dooth this fondnesse nourish. Neither shall these trickes be extraordinary once in seauen yeares, but I would Robin could not avow that he hath seene them performed on[c]e euery day in many places. Well, I will leaue them to their amendes, and touche as briefly the dotor.

O facies &
oculos na[ta]
tenere
me[os]

Who, after a little pampering (hauing perchance had his liberty in good pasture for halfe a yeare, without exercise), doth grow so frolicke, as he thinks himself as youthfull as the yongest nagge, though he hath as many diseases as a iade can haue. In this brauery hee must bee furnished with a gay saddell, and none vnder a ladye maye serue his tourne; I meane, while his prouender prickes, he wilbe so lusty, as hee thinks no woman too yong for him. In which vaine, beeing thus couragious, hee spendes frankly, and setteth himselfe foorth in the brauest manner, so that by his hope, *quid non aurum?* he will hap vpon so vnequall a match (by practise proued), as after one nights iourney, he begins to be iadishly tired, euery day after growing mistrustfull. So that as his monstrous desire hath bene the meane to ioine himselfe with fuche inequality, so shall his knowne cold courage and her youthfull yeares be a line to leade him to Ielosy, Whose perswasions as yet haue taken such desired effect, as at this time, where loue seekes to builde his kingdome, this his ennimy (I meane Ielosy) neuer surceaseth from armes vn till he hath loue out by the eares, being still accompanied with like bats, & alwaies followed by vnhappy discontentment. His prosperity, generally allowed off in mens conceits, is greedely followed by their vnconstant hartes, which loue nothinge that ¹is eternall, nor like of any loue but what wil alter dayly. And because I haue entred so farre into the gouernement of Ielosy, I will presume to wade a little further into his kingdome.

[1 sig. F 3,
back]

In the countrey of Euery-place he reigneth, a ruler as pernicious as mightye, and more mightye then either vertuous or peaceable. As his kingdome is large, so his subiectes are many, his land beeing inhabited by people no lesse vnruely then himselfe, and his right mainetained by make-bates that neuer are satisfied, vntill their owne bloud hath raunfomed the delight of their desired death. Manye are

his aduerfaries, and more his freendes, every difpofition drawne to follow his humours, and defirous of his entertainment, by reafon his actions feeme pleafing, and his caufe righte and profitable. His regimēte is well ftrengthned by force of men, hauing ftronge holdes, feeming no leffe delightfull in fhow, though by experience it prooues moft fruitlefle and barren. His chiefeft city and feat of pleafure (accompted of his fubiectes the feconde Parradiſe) ſtandes on the top of a high hill, called Miſtruſtfullneſſe, at foote whereof runneth the ſwift riuer Vnconſtancy, hauinge this effecte in operation, that whoſoeuer inbathe themſelues therein, finde continuall alterations in their harts before ſetled, and now tormented with variable thoughtes. In this ſtreame are manye ſandy ſhallowes, and as many dangerous holes, both continually vſed and frequented vnto, as well by the inhabitantes of that citie, as alſo by all ſuch who chaunce to trauell that way. This city hath his name 'Light of loue' maine-
 teined by elders, whoe are elected, not for their wealth and wit, as in other countries, but for their envy and fooliſhneſſe. Their common trafficke is Exchange of Loue; and their profites, Diſquietneſſe and Hate. The fruite that delighte[t]h their appetites, is Faith-leſſe Fancies; and the meates they feede on, Care & Vnreſt. The ſportes they ioy in, are continuall brawles, and the walkes they take pleafure in watching, and hope of finding. All their triumphes are Controuerſies in law, and all their turnies, for broken pates, with faggot ſtickes; their feaſt day is repentaunce, and Death their Saboath.

[† leaf F 4.]

¹This citie bearing the chiefe ſwaie for vnruelineſſe, hath ſo diſperſed her inhabitaunce into the other partes of the cuntrey, as, for the moſt part, there is neuer a cottage in Ieloſyes common wealth, but harbours iourney men as bad as their maiſters in condition. His houldes and caſtels are both ftronge and many, being fortified with deepe caſtrauelinges, and furniſhed with all kindes of ingious fit for warre. Their artillery for defence, ſo wel placed on the battlements of their towers, as they wonderfully and daungeroulye annoyne their enemy. Curſes and Bannings are the leaſt ſhot they carry, and a thouſande bitter wordes will do no more then charge one of them. The natures of theſe people are variable, and they, beinge for the moſt parte falſe harted, are likewise deſirous ſtill of new freends. The enterteine-
 ment they will giue ſtrangers is verye good, but the vſage of their

friendes and familiars, especially of their wiues (as you haue hard already), is generally too too bad. They, altogether reiecting reason, performe rashly what so euer they thinke, and effecte diuelishly what so euer they practife. Their wills are their lawe, and suspecte their iudge, their iudgments being as lawlesse as their lawe is wanting reason and discretion. They bandy honesty as a tennis-ball, and play with good report, as a childe doth with an apple,—the one not being in quiet vntill it bee eaten, & the other neuer satisfied vntill their good hope be quite extinguished. The busy Ape comes not to so many shrowde turnes by his vnhappy trickes, as they come vnto mischief by their troublesome dispositions; nor doth he deserue so much the whip to keepe him in awe, as they meritt the halter for bringing so many vnto misery. For if the law rewards him with a halfe penny corde, that doth rob a stranger of thirteene pence halfe penny, I knowe no reason howe they can bee accompted lesse then theeues, that either robbe their neighbours, or spoile themselues of their good names. He that killes himself, shalbe buried by the law in the commons; and why shoulde not he be intoombed vnder the gallowes, that not onely cuttes his owne throate, hasting thereby to the diuell, but cuts his wiues also, toling her thither for company?

¹ *Ah, soueraigne loue, whose sweetnesse salues the sowre,*

[¹ leaf F 4,
back]

And cures the woundes of euery dying hart :

Thou kilst by kindnesse, if thou kilst; No lowre

Ads greater grieffe to them that feelee thy smarte.

Thou countes it paine enough, by prooffe to finde,

How two kind hartes may fast remaine in one.

Thy captiue bounds make but a constant mind,

And all thy warre is for long Peace alone.

Thou ties the mind, and lets their handes goe free :

Thou woundes the hart, and neuer hurtes the skinne :

Thy victory is, loue for loue to see :

Thy greatest conquest, where there is least sinne.

Ah, sweetest loue, thou wounds to cure for aye,

Whose sharpe short-night² procures a sweete long-day.

[² orig.
shor-nitght]

Such is loues enuy, and himselfe no worfe an ennemy; hee fightes strongly, but to free euerlastingly; he tormentes happily, and cheereth

Non mihi
[m]ille
placeat.
[n]on sum
def[ul]tor
amo[r]is:
Tu mi[h]i
(si qua
fi[d]es) cura
pe[r]jennis
eris Tecum,
quos
dederint
annos mihi
fla
[S]ororum,
vi[v]ere
contingat
teq[ue]
dolente,
mori.²

[2 sig. G]

frowardly; and both his smiles & frownes are so equally tempered, as his pleasing mixture makes a perfect medley, which yeelds most melodious constancy. One loue and one life shall knit so perfect a knott of amity, as one death shall ende both their ioyes and miseries. Her loue shalbe his life, and his life her loue, thee shall endure no torment without his torture, nor shall he suffer any extreamity without her agony. His sickenesse shalbe her sorrow, and her griefe woofe then his deathes wound. Their care shalbe to encrease each others hartes-ease; and their strifes, which of them shall exceede the one the other in courtesy. Their dalliance shall bee rewarded with darlings, whose sweete faoured faces shal be continuall pledges of their faithfull kindnesse. The daughters shalbee like to their fathers, and the sonnes haue the countenances of their mothers. Their encrease shalbe multiplied, their substance doubled and trebled, till it come to aboundance, living so longe as three folde gene²rations shall make ioyfull great grand-mothers, and degrees of honour make happy posterities. They shall adde so great a blessing to their flore, as time shall not take away the memory of them, nor fame suffer their antiquitye euer to die. A woord[¹]d shall ende with their honour, neither shall that world decay vntill their dignity be registred in the true cronicles of eternity.

Thus shall loues followers be thrife happy, and thus Robin goodfellowes well-willers, in imitating his care, bee manifolde bleffed. They shall haue their hartes desire, and I
my wishe, which I pray may happen to
both our contentmentes; and
so, farewell.

¹ A good deal of the Latin side-notes comes from Ovid's *Amores*, book 3, elegy 4.—W. C.

¹ *To the Gentlewomen and others of England.*[1 sig. G
back]

Ourtious and louely Dames, some, to winne your fauour, prouid fuche costly giftes as may befeeme your acceptance; and others, fo rare deuifes as a yeares trauell hath purchafed; but Tell troth, though as feruiceable as they which are moft passionate, and as amorous as who excede in affection, hath only bought for you a dramme of wit, amounting to fower penny charges to paffe for a new-yeares gift. The dedication whereof, I haue rather fubiected to your curtefie, then to mens patrocinie; for that your felues, being of the pureft mettall, and hauing your hartes framed of the kindeft moule, will be both more ready to defend our good meanings, and willing to hinder that haggis proceedings, your wills will be leaft followed, and therefore your wits muft be moft vfed; wherby you, whofe sweete flowing tounge charme more then the Orphean musicke, muft straine your melodious notes to that heigh[t], as by your fingularitie you may make Ielofie afhamed, & by folemme vowes, breake the necke of fufpition. You muft difwade with wordes, and perfwade by modeft behauiour, confounding by wit, and confirming with difcretion; Following Robins rules to preuent the diuells praftife, and making much of loue, to withftand Ielofies counsell. And for that Tell troth tells the truth, which by triall you muft proue, vfe Robins falue to heale your fore, and performe his will to inioy your weale, whereby your confirmation may approue his cunning, and allowe my perfumption in a ² greater matter. Robin hath here but onely touched that generall knowne enimie to a quiet life; but hee meanes, by your further fauourable protection, shortly to arme you againft many pettie aduerfaries, which worke againft loues welfare. If, in the meane time, your good reportes knocke downe the bufie carppers, it fhall bee a fufficient fpurre to make both Robins wit and my pen to triumph in fpite of them, which fhall, by wading further to anger them, light into that vaine which will better content you. Vntill which time (becaufe I would not be tedious) I will leaue you, fubmitting the wifh of your welfare to the pleafure of your owne wills.

[² leaf G 2 r;
the back of
this leaf is
blank.]

Yours, as he hath euer beene,

Tell troth.

[Mr H. C. Levander has kindly identified the side-notes of *Tell-Troth* by means of his Ovid Index, and copied them out as follows :—

- Quo tibi formosam, si non nisi casta placebat?
 Non possunt ullis ista coire modis.—Ovid. III. Am. IV. 41.
 Indignere licet; juvat inconcessa voluptas
 Sola placet, Timeo, dicere si qua potest.—III. Am. IV. 31.
 Quicquid servatur, cupimus magis; ipsaque furem
 Cura vocat: pauci, quod sinit alter, amant.—III. Am. IV. 25
 Ferreus est, nimiumque suo favet ille dolori,
 Cui petitur victa palma cruenta rea.—II. Am. V. 11.
 Flectitur iratus voce rogante deus.—Art. Am. I. 442.
 Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
 Testa diu.—Horace, Epist. I. ii. 69.
 [. . . ex malis eligere minima oportere Cic. de Off. III. i. 3]
 * Obsequium tigresque domat *timidosque* leones. Ov. Art. Am. II. 183.
 Flectitur obsequio curvatus ab arbore ramus.
 Franges, si vires experiare tuas.—Art. Am. II. 179.
 Nec mentem servare potes, licet omnia claudas;
 Omnibus exclusis intus adulter erit.—III. Am. IV. 7.
 Si sapis, indulge dominae; vultusque severos
 Exue.—III. Am. IV. 43.
 Centum fronte oculos, centum cervice gerebat
 Argus: et hos unus saepe fefellit Amor.—III. Am. IV. 19.
 Quod licet, ingratum est; quod non licet, acrius urit:
 II. Am. XIX. 3.
 Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata.—III. Am. IV. 17.
 Cui peccare licet, peccat minus: ipsa potestas
 Semina nequitiae languidiora facit.—III. Am. IV. 9.
 O utinam arguerem sic, ut non vincere possem!
 Me miserum! quare tam bona causa mea est?—II. Am. V. 7.
 Per Venerem juro, puerique volatilis arcus,
 Me non admissi criminis esse reum.—II. Am. VII. 27.
 Haec tibi *sunt* tecum, mihi *sunt* communia tecum:
 In bona cur quisquam tertius ista venit?—II. Am. V. 31.
 Si nec blanda satis, nec erit tibi comis *amica*;
 Perfer, et obdura; postmodo mitis erit.—Art. Am. II. 177.
 Desine (crede mihi) vitia irritare vetando;
 Obsequio *vinces* aptius *ipse* tuo.—III. Am. IV. 11.
 En ego confiteor; tua sum nova praeda, Cupido:
 Porrigimus victas ad tua *vincla* manus.—I. Am. II. 19.
 Blanditiae comites tibi erunt, *Terrorque*, Furorque,
 Assidue partes turba secuta tuas.—I. Am. II. 35.
 His tu militibus superas hominesque Deosque.—I. Am. II. 37.
 Nil opus est bello: pacem veniamque rogamus.—I. Am. II. 21.
 Pinguis amor, nimiumque patens, in taedia nobis
 Veritur; et stomacho, dulcis ut esca, nocet.—II. Am. XIX. 25.
 O facies oculos nata tenere meos!—II. Am. XVII. 12.
 Non mihi mille placent: non sum desultor Amoris:
 Tu mihi (si qua fides) cura perennis eris.
 Tecum, quos dederint annos mihi *fiat* Sororum,
 Vivere contingat; teque dolente mori.—I. Am. III. 15.]

* There are several various readings of the words in Italics.

[THE
PASSIONATE MORRICE,

A SEQUEL TO

TELL-TROTHES NEW-YEARES GIFT, 1593.

By A.]



To the Gentlewomen and others of *England*.



Nce more (most beautiful damfels) I am bold to presume of your wonted fauour, thereby being lead to a performance of a vowed duetie: where a kinde zeale bindeth to offer the acceptance of a seruiceable good will, there a carefull feare that forewarneth to incurre the hazard of offence, maketh the hart to stagger betweene hope and despaire; hoping through the kindenes of your gentle dispositions, to obtaine a defence against iniurious cauillers, and fearing by an ouer-bolde presumption, to offer offence to the affable sweetenes of your soueraigne curtesie. But seeing my desire to bee possessed of the better cordiall, makes me hart-strong to suppe of that potion which is likest to lengthen my welfare, the same being an assured confidence of your continuall carefulnes, in shrowding with your affection the slender substance of my humorous Morrice.

It is not long since, for *Tel-troths* Newyeeres-gift, I presented vnto your liking *Robin good-fellow* his newes, with his inuectiue against Loues most iniurious enemy, Ielousie; which, though it was a token to gratifie the day, yet, if with indifferent iudgement, the matter therein contained be considered of, I doubt not, though it was a New-yeeres day toy, it may proue a many yeeres helpe to hinder that haggis enterprises. The worke tooke his title according to the time of his creation¹; but shall *Robins* prescript²ions be followed? the patients maladie shall continually finde it a gifte to signifie the³ good beginning, and prosperous proceeding of many new yeeres vnto them. But now to send *Tell-troth* packing, *Honestie* hath thrust himselfe into your seruice, who, though at the first sight he may seeme a crabbed companion, yet let me beseech you to stay your

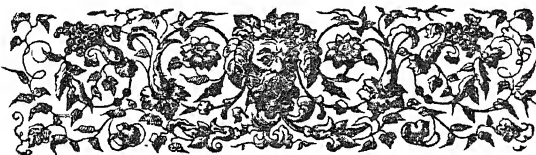
[1 orig. creation]
[2 pt-orig. pr-]
[3 sig. A 2, back]

cenſure til you haue thoroughly tryed what is in him; and if then he ſhewes not himſelfe a diligent pleaſer of your immortal vertues, memorize in the Cronicles of Diſdaine the fame of that runnagate ſimplicite, and let me, for his faulte, be baniſhed from your good thoughts to euerlaſting ignominie.

I was rather deſirous to trauel altogether inuiſible, then to haue had a title which might giue light to the vnderſtanding of me your vnworthie profeſſed Author; but ſince the higher powers denie me that priuiledge, I am content to ſubieſt my ſelf to the opinions of courteous diſpoſitions; beſeeching you to beare with my vaine, for that the vanitie of this age regards no other; nor would any be content to heare of faultes, vnleſſe they be tolde them in meriment. I proteſt there is nothing ſcandalous therein, nor which is ment to offer iniury to any; onely my purpoſe is, that if you ſhould know any like vnto any of thoſe in diſpoſition, that either you forewarne them thoſe monſtrous iniurious vices, or accompt of them as peſtilent fooliſh wretches. To ſhun tediousnes, I commit my intention to your

miſticall conſideration, my woorke to your courteous protection,
my ſelfe to your fauourable opinions, and your
ſacred felues to the heauens
tuition.

*Yours in ſervice and affection
moſt loyall, A.*



[sig. B]

THE PASSIONATE¹

Morrice.

[¹ orig.
PASSION-
ATE]



IN the moneth of *March*, a time as fit for wooing, as *May* is pleafant to fporte in, *Honeftie* traueilling, as his cuftome is, to fearch fuch corners as good fellowfhip haunteth, it was my hap, comming into *Hogfden*, to light vpon a houle, wherein were met fuch a troupe of louers, as, had not the hall been wondrous bigge, a multitude fhould haue been forced to ftand without dores. Yet, though the rounge was fo fpacious, as an armie might haue lodged therein without pefterment, notwithstanding it was fo well filled at this infant, as all the place *Honeftie* could get amongft them was, to fit on the rafters on the top of the houle, which fitted beft my humour, that defires rather to fee then to be feene. There, feated in my Maieftie (as ready to heare newes, as the pickthanke is forward to tell newes), I might eafely perceauie my louers mated, as if they ment to make *Marche* birds, euery man hauing his sweete hart, and euery couple their corner. There were of all fortes, and in many manners fortod,—fome batchelers fewed to widdowes, others to maides; widdowers likewise wooed fome maides, and otherfome, widdowes; there was age and youth coupled together, equalitie of yeares courting each other, and diuerfity of difpofitions, arguing to make a fympathie.

² Amongft them I lent my eares firft to a couple that had chofen forth the moft fecret corner in the houle, which were not worft fitted for yeares; for it was a youth of three and twentie, that had matched himfelfe with a maide of eighteene; hee, holding her vpon his knee, with his right hand clafping hers, & his left about her middle, made many proffers to win her fauour, and breathed many fighes to fhew his loue; he vowed conftancie with proteftations, and confirmed with

[² sig. B,
back]

[1 sig. B 2]

othes the pledge of his loyaltie; he shewed her how long he had
 loued her before he durst tel her of his affection, how many iournies
 he had made with losse of labour, and how many complaints to the
 God of Loue, not finding any remedie. Hee made her priuie to the
 many houres he had at fundrie times spent in watching to haue a
 sight of her, shewing vnto her how ioyfull he were, had he, per-
 chance, but seene any creature belonging to her fathers house, yea,
 were it but the little dog that turned the spit. 'Many times (quoth
 he) haue I lookt vp to the windowe, imagining I haue seene thy
 picture engrauen in the glasse, when, with long gasing to viewe the
 true portrature thereof, I haue at last recalled my selfe, by letting my
 foule see how mine eyes were deceiued, in expecting that true forme
 from the glasse, which was onely pictured in my heart. Then would
 I sorrowe to my selfe, and power forth such passions into the ayre, as
 my heart, being ouer loaded with the extremitie they would force,
 would constrain me to sit downe, ending my speeche with such
 sighes, as my breathed sorrowe would no lesse darken the ayre, then
 a mistie fogge doth obscure the skie. But at last, comming to my
 selfe, I would returne home, locking vp my selfe within my
 lodging, a close prisoner by the commandement of loue; where,
 to passe away the time, I would write passionate lines, amorous
 ditties, pleasing fancies, pleasant rondelaies, and dolefull drecelays.
 Now would I thinke to winne thee by letters; anon I thought it
 better to pen speeches; but suddainely, both misliking mee, I would
 throwe ¹ my selfe vppon the bed, so long thinking which way to
 obtaine thee, as in the end I should fall into a slumber. Yet, amidst
 my rest, my thoughtes concerning thee were restless; For then should
 I dreame sometimes thou spakest me faire, repaying my kindenes with
 sweete kisses, granting my requests, and forward to doe my will; but
 awaking from forth that soueraigne elusion, looking to finde thee, I
 should feele the bed-poastes, that hard hap, turning my glad heart to
 a new bread sorrow, which was the more painefull, by how much
 my dreame was pleasing; at another time, I should thinke, that suing
 to thee for fauour, thou wouldest bestowe frownes, & profering my
 seruice, thou wouldest offer skornes. If I sighed, thou wouldest smile,
 laughing at my teares, and ioying at my grieffe, requiting euery kinde
 demande with so cruell answers, as if thy bitter words could not force

me to leaue my fuite, thy skornefull farewels should frustrate my wil ; offering to touch thine hand, mee thought thou profereds[t] thy foote, and stouping to catch that, being glad of any thing, thou wouldst in a rage fling from me, and leaue the doore barred against me. There should I sit till my teeth chattered in my head, and my heart ached in my bellie ; then should I shake for colde, and sigh for sorrowe ; when, thinking to knock my legges against the ground to get heate, I should kick al the cloathes off me, being in the end constrained to awake through colde. At what time that colde fare would better content me, then the former flattering cheare did please me, being as glad it was false, as I would haue been glad if the other had been true. Many like to these did I endure before my acquaintance with thee, not knowing any meanes how to obtaine the same of thee, vntill happely finding thee in a sommers euening at the dore, I presumed to enter parlie with thee, offering my selfe your seruant, which had been a tweluemonth your sworne subiect, doubting of your patience, though you seeme to be a patterne of pittie. How, and after what order I haue since that time besought your fauour, your selfe shall ¹ be my iudge, for I list not to rehearse my dayly shifts to shewe my zeale, my manyfolde conclusions to obtaine your companie, my giftes to wooe the seruants, and my presents to gaine your good will. But to be brieue, thereby to come to that I like best, one whole yeare I loued thee before thou knewest me, & three more are passed since first I spake to thee ; yet then was I as neare as now I am, and now as farre off as I was then. Say, therefore, sweete, since to stay longer yeelds but little comfort, shall my fuite now end with the verdit, You loue me ? ' [x sig. B 2, back]

To which long preamble, shut vp with so whot a conclusion, she no lesse prepared herselfe to answere him, then Frier *Tuck* vsed ceremonies before he song mattens. She cast her eyes vp to Heauen, as if she had been making her praiers to loue, sighing so bitterly, as I thought hir placket lace would haue broken ; then to the matter thus she answered : ' Alas, gentle sir, I must confesse I haue found you kinde, and you haue been at a great deale more cost then I could wish you had ; your fuite hath been long, and my kindenes not much, nor doe I hope you expect more at my hands then you haue had, before my friends haue granted their good will. Maidens are modest, and

muft not bee prodigall of their courtesie; children are bound, and cannot consent without their parents counsell; pardon mee, therefore, I pray you, if I fay I loue you not, fince my father knowes you not; and thinke not much if I defire you to leaue to loue mee, vntill my mother giue me leaue to like of you. At which time, affure your felfe I will bee as ready to performe your will, as they fhall be forward to wifh me that good; and thus, in the meane time, I hope you will reft fatisfied.' This was a fhroade bone for my passionate youth to gnawe on, that being fo ftrucken on the head as his heart aked therewith, thought to eafe his forrowe with this replie: 'Ah, my sweeteft sweete (quoth hee), Thinke not on thy fathers counfel, feeing a greater friend craueth his deferte, nor let me reft their leafure without pitie, that hath thus long remained
 [1 sig. B 3] constant vnto ¹thee. I loue thee not ²for thy freendes fake, though I
 [2 orig. nor] loue them for thy fake; nor doe thou lothe me for their pleafure that liues but at thy pleafure. But, sweete and foueraigne of my hart, as thy thoughts be not tied to their wils, fo let not thy loue be linked fo faft to their liking, as their milike should end my life by remouing thy loue. Say, my goddeffe—' and therewithall, as he was proceeding, ſhe cut off the reft with this ſhort anſwere: 'I befeech you, fir, to leaue off your courting, vnleffe you entend ſome other conſolution then as yet I can gather; for, of my faith, loue you I wil not, nor conſent; I dare not, without my freends giue their conſents firſt; and thereupon ſhe thruſted through the throng, and poaſted out of doores, leauing my passionate louer to ſay his pater noſter alone; where we will leaue them.

What I thought I will tell you, and I hope you will not doubt of the matter, for that *Honeſtie* ſpeakes it. One yeeres loue without acquaintance, and three yeeres ſuite to be neuer the neerer; either he was a bad lawyer, or ſhe a monſtrous vniuſt iudge; but be it, both a passionate Affe, and a peeuiſh wench were well met. But marke his folly and her cunning; he, building Caſles in the aire, and ſetting trappes in the Sunne to catch the ſhadowe of a coye queane, was pleaſed by her, with wagging his bawble and ringing his bell, while ſhe pickt his pocket and cut his purſe. A proper peece of ſeruice of a passionate Souldier, and a prettie ſleight of a flattering Slut; I would we had more of them, nay, why wiſh I that, ſince the worlde

is too full of such alreadie? Yet, of my honesty, she was as fitte a match for such a foole as might be found in the worlde. A great deale of fond fancie repaied with a sharpe shorte deniall, and three yeeres affection rewarded with an ounce of flatterie, mingled with a pound of discourtesie, a good cordiall to comfort so kinde a hart. Oh, the subtilty of the diuell, that vnder the shadow of obedience couers *the* craft of cofonage. It is hotte loue that buildes on freendes liking, and pestilent affection that relies rather on the mothers ¹ loue, [x sig. B 3,
back] then on the Louers loyalty. Such as stands so curiously on their Parents good will, hauing dealt so craftily without their consent, are worthie, by *Honesties* doome, to stand in a Cage, vntill either their freends good will be got, or her sweet harts licence obtained for her deliuerie. And this is too good, for that the kinde Assē wil too too soone release her; I thinke this punishment would be worse welcome vnto her, namely, that she be bound from mariage, so long as she hath kept him without his answere, which will so pinche her prodigall desire, as either she will forswear honesty, or neuer commit the like knauerie. Oh, there is a companie of minions which delight to haue many sutors, that they may bragge amongst their mates of their diuersitie of louers; they thinke it commendable to haue store of customers. But knewe they so much as I know, they were better to goe once in a fortnight to *Greenes* Cunnyberries, then to haue such refoorte to haunt their companies.

Honestie honours the consent of Parents, but abhorres such loue as is built on their liking; if there be no remedie but that either they shall like, or thou wilt not loue, let him haue thy Fathers good will before he obtaines thy countenance; for doubtles she that will entertaine louers, and repay their courting with kindenes, will care as little for her freends counsell, hapning on a mate she can fancie, as the horse wil for haye, that hath his manger full of prouender. And, what is the cause why so many stande so curiously on their freends consent? nought, forsooth, but the presumption of a double baite, that being sure of their countenance, they may be assured of an other dinner if their owne likes them not; or otherwise to haue a hole to hide a Fox in, for that her owne denne is not secret enough. If her Husband controlle her for any misdemeanour, or reprove her of any dishonest behauiour, then on goes her pantoples, building the

[leaf B 4]

reckoning of her honesty on her fathers countenance, so far presuming of his bounden dutie for the match making, as if he kept the keye of ¹ her hufwiferie. Her long tounge vtters large speeches, standing at defiance vnder the banner of her Fathers defence, and his house must be her Castell to keepe her from her Husband. This is the commoditie a man shall reap by such a match; and this is their meaning that would couer their rebellion with the cloak of obedience. Is not he wel preferred that is so well married? and how can he mend it? Marry, no way but this, that he which is mated with the like inconuenience, to learne more wit against the next time, struiuing, in the meane time, to please both her and her freends, since he had so much reason to woo both her freends and her, to be bound to so bad a bargaine.

It is follie (quoth a wise man) to be sorrowful for things irrecoverable, and *Honestie* thinks it madnes to repent for deedes done, whereof her selfe is culpable; can any man be so witle (especially in matter wherein wisdom is so much required) as to doe, and wish vndoone in a moment? yea, doubtles, *Honestie* knowes such, they being the hotte spurres of our age, that thinke every day a twelue moneth vntill they be married; and after they are matched, every houre seauen yeeres vntill they are parted. It was hotte loue that will be so soone colde, some of you will say; but I say, if it had been hot loue (as it was burning lust), it would not haue been so soone colde. For whereas *the* prouerb goes, that *hot loue wil be soone colde*, it is ment by such affection as wants matter therby to continue longer. For as that is the purest wood which yeelds the perfectest heat, and *the* purer it is, the sooner it wilbe it own destruction, leauing the fitters by without fire, vnles a fresh supply be as neede requires added,—so wil our hotte loue (whose kindled affection is come vnto it perfection, the hart being on such a blaze, as every part of it is on a light flame,) decay (as reason and nature requireth), vnles new faggots of kindenes adde fresh matter for fiering, the supply thereof remouing all suspection of want of affection. How pure *the* loue is where there is so light a regarde of proffered kindenes, as ‘my Fathers will,’ or ‘my Mothers leaue’ must be a Spurre ² to my liking, let every one iudge that knowes loue.

² leaf B 4,
back]

But, in my opinion, as I confesse that the dutie we owe to our

Parents may doo muche where the knowledge thereof bindes to obeye; so must I confirme that loue is a duetie, himselfe binding to so great obedience, and tying with such strong conuainces, as he remoues all thoughts of lower dueties; I, tearming al dueties lower, for that by commaundement those dueties must be reiected in respect of the louing duetie that a Husband shall require. Now, how far my nice Minion was from knowing this duetie, her coye demeanour and cunning behaiour hath manifested. Yet how happie was my youth at last to be rid of such a monster! And monster may I tearme her, in respect of her lewde behaiour; for was it not much better that her inconstancie should haue beene knowen before he was fast linked vnto her, then it should haue beene found when it had been incurable? Doubtles it was a good cause he had to double his orisons vnto loue, for so louingly preferuing him from so pestilent a prittie-bird,—I should haue said pricking-burre, or paultrey bauble.

BUT to come to my second couple, which were seated opposite to these in an other corner, being a lustie widdower that was courting a gallant wench, both of them being highly beholding to nature for her liberall skill in their making, which were thus placed: She was set down, ouerlooked by him standing before her, hauing one of his hands leaning on her lap, and the other resting on the wal, hauing therby (as I gesse) the more libertie to vse his pleasure, in bestowing kinde kisses and louing fauours; so he was seated, and thus he began to sue: ‘ Faire Maide (quoth he), I know my experience to be greater then your practise, for that I haue tried, rules me by reason; hauing loued and liued with my loue, vntill by the fates I was bereaued of that fruit. so well liked I of my last losse, as my former good hap breeds an assured hope of the like good fortune, that being a helpe to further my will, and a meane to make a new choise; which change, what good it shal yeeld, ¹ your selfe shall chal- [¹ sig. C] lenge, whose good reporte hath bound me to commence my deserts, to receiue their censure by your doome. To boast what I am, were friuolous, for that your freends are already priue to my estate; and to say how well I loue you, were booteles, for that women loue to trie ere they trust; yet, vnles I should say more then I haue saide, I should seeme to say nothing; though to say more then is spoken

already, were meereely foolifh. For thus ftands the cafe : I haue made choife of you for my fecond wife, and haue already your freends good will ; there refles therefore nothing but a confirmation of your duetie, in agreeing to that they haue confirmed : ' thus comming to a full point, he clofed vp his period with a brace of fmirking kifles, which wrought with his Louer, as a ftroing pyll dooth with a fore ficke patient ; namely, they forced her to anfwere him thus fhrewdely : ' The affurance of your good fortune, Sir, hath made you highly beholden to her deitie, that dauncing in the morrice of good matches, you fhould be led by her to fo good hap ; but, belike, it was ouer good to continue long, either her kindenes being ouermatched with your vnconftancie, or your good happe ouer ruled by fortunes cruelty ; They euer change, and lightly, neuer but for the worfe ; which the rather feemes fo vnto me, by the fure knowledge I haue of your fecond choice, that is fo far vnequall to your reported firft match, as I know your liking would not remain long, or my mifliking would come too too foone ; becaufe I am not able to follow what your firft wife hath performed, and you will be vnwilling to beare with the wants your fecond choice muft be enriched with. But, peraduenture, I miftake your meaning ; for whereas I thinke you fue to haue me to your fecond wife, you feeke but to haue my good wil to liue with my freends ; alas, good fir, my duetie (as you fay) muft not gainfay their pleafure, nor will I, for that matter ; but with all my hart, if you haue their licence for your boord, haue my good will to obtaine your bed there alfo, for their houfe is at their owne commaundement.' ' Then doubt I not (replyed he) to ¹ haue you for my bedfellow.' ' But that doubt I (anfwered fhe), for that I know the contrary.' ' Why dare you (quoth he) to difobay your Fathers commaundement ? ' ' No (fayd fhe), fo it be for my commoditie.' ' It fhall be both for your profite and preferment.' ' Make me to beleene that (quoth fhe), and then, peraduenture, it may be a bargaine.' ' Why, woman (faide he), I deferue your better.' ' Take her (anfwered fhe), and I will not be matched to your inferiour.' ' Why, then, I fee you do fcant loué me ? ' ' I vfe it not (quoth fhe), and yet I fweare I will mocke you, rather then marrie with you.' With which, being highly difpleafed, he beftowed three or foure crabbed tearmes, being liueries of his cholerick long tounge, and fo departed.

A shame goe with him, thought *Honestie*, whatfoeuer she thought, and with all such Louers ! louers, with a halter,—lubbers, I may better tearme them. What monstrous matches are such as are shuffled vp after the selfe same order ! Suppose she had beene fearefull, and durst not to haue resisted the receipt of what she lothed ; imagine she had beene foolish, and could not haue iudged of affection ? thinke she had beene forward, and would haue beene glad of any one ? alas ! poore wretch, I pittie the supposition ; what should I haue said to the confirmation ? I know assuredly she should haue fighed, whatfoeuer I had saide ; and mourning should haue been her companion, what ere had been my communication : he would haue daunst with her portion, while she had drooped through want of affection ; he would haue loathed her company, for that she was not a dayly commoditie ; her life should haue been like the hacknies that are at euery mans commaundement for the hire, and her ioy as momentary as the flourishing greene grasse in Iuly. Pitifully should she haue liued, punished by him without pitie : and this is my reason of the possibilitie ; for that it is most likely he loued her not, & how well any body vse them they loue not, let them speake that suspect not. Now, that he loued her not, may be proued both by his kinde of wrong, carelessly suing vnto her, peremptorily vsurping her Fathers [sig. C 2] authoritie, which was a band to tye her to obedience, though a bad meane to obtaine her curtesie. For affection is not to be limited, nor loue to be compelled ; but, contrarily, hatred followes feare, and feare forerunnes dislike ; and how we loue those we regarde not, iudge they that woo and obtaine not. But this custome is too common and ouer cruell, namely, a wooing of freends, and a constraint of loue, I would not say compelling, but for feare it should haue been taken for compelling. Were *Honestie* a Iustice, they should either lye in the stockes a fortnight, or marry her I would match him with, which should seeke a wife after this order. I thinke, verily, he would rather stay his stint by the heeles, then be bound to the other inconuenience ; and yet he could finde in his hart to binde another to *the* bad bargain. This is charitie, yea, & neuer a whit of honestie, being so farre from ciuilitie, as the Millers craft is from true dealing. Now, truly truly, to deale as we would be dealt with, is sent to the hedge a begging, and neighbourly loue is made a hacknie,

being so worne to the bones with seeking a good Maister, as his skinne will hang on the bush shortly.

I haue heard a reporte of a passing kinde man that complained of his wife at a Sessions for pissing a pot full, iudging thereby she was dishonest; and that same man shortly after burying his wife, sued to a maide, after the manner aforesaid; he had obtained her freends good will, and were at a point for the Maidens loue; yet on a time she was troubled with the head-ake at his being with her, whereof he so misliked, as in the morning he went to the Phisitions to haue their opinions to what disease it coulde turne, and vpon their reporte left her. I am assured I haue erred in no point, vnlesse I haue mistooke the last, putting the Phisitions opinion in the roome of his owne bad meaning: it was no disease, indeede, that misliked or misled him, but it was of the Fathers purse, not of the Daughters head; well, she was well prouided for in missing of him, and if he sped any thing the better, let him boast of it; but ¹*Honestie* can iudge no better of the remnant of his companions, then his action giues the verdict of him, which is as bad as may be.

¹ sig. C 2,
...154

But to another that hapned on one that had the toothake, with whom he would not marry for feare the hollownesse of her tooth should corrupt her breath, and so annoye his colde stomack. It was colde indeede, and I would such stomacks might be heated with redde hotte gold, as cheerfull as scalding leade. Well, to a third: he liked her parents wel, for that they were honest & godly, and as well of the maiden, because she seemed modest; to be breef, he could find no faulte in either of them, onely his feare was, that the Daughter would be somewhat shrewish, for that she had a long nose, and thereupon gaue her ouer. If her nose had beene long enough, I think she might haue smelt a knaue, but I am assured she knewe a churle, and so let her claime him wheresoeuer she sees him. Yet one more of the same stampe, and so we will leaue them. This was a wooer in graine, who had gone so far, as they were at next doore to be aft in the Church. The wedding apparel was bought, the day appointed, yea, and I may tel you, many of *the* gette bid, only there was no assurance, for that he abhorred; but it fortunated that before the day there dyed a rich man that left a welthie widdow, to whom he made so secret loue, as he wonne her good will within a

fortnight after the death of his predeceffour; well, notwithstanding, to faue his counterfeit credit and preferue his hypocriticall honeftie, he reforted dayly to his olde sweete hart, with whom vpon fome smal reafon he fel at ods, vſing her ſo vnkindly in ſpeeches, as he drew teares for ſorrow. Glad of this, though turning his earneſt into leſt, he called her vnto him, in the preſence of many of her Fathers ſeruants; then ſwearing that if ſhe tooke him not about the necke & kiſſed him, he would neuer marry with her as long as he liued. Which *the* yong Gentlewoman refuſed to doe, partely for that he had iniured her highly, but *the* rather leaſt ſuch fondnes ſhould ſeeme immodestie to the ſeruants; vpon whoſe denial, in a great ¹ fume he ^[1 sig. C 3] flung forth of the doores, and in a rage as if of ſpight, within one fortnight after he matcht with the widdowe aforeſaid. But to tell you what a life ſhe lead with him, were to hunt from the purpoſe; yet aſſure yourſelfe it was ſo bad, as *the* world iudged this maid neuer better bleſt then in not being beſtowed ne caſt away vpon him.

Such, and of the ſame ſorte, are theſe money-woers, that ſue firſt to the Father, to faue labour; for, ſpeede they will; and if they miſſe in one place, they knowe another where they will praſtiſe. And how can it be iudged otherwiſe, ſeeing their meaning in vſing that meane importes no leſſe? for, thinke they, ‘if I haue the Fathers good will, the daughter will be eaſilie wonne; and if I miſſe of his, I faue that time and labour, in ſuing to the maide, beſides the giſtes I ſhould beſtowe.’ Ha, ha! I haue him by ſent: and what thinke you of him? in faith, no otherwiſe then *Honeſtie* beleuees. You ſmell a Foxe? I, and a ranke one too, whoſe breach is ſo ſtaine with this gilding matter, as it may eaſely bee iudged what muck hee loues. ‘Alas! good hearts, that are coupled with ſuch bad mindes, this is loue; true; but what loue? couetous loue, hatefull diffimulation, hypocriticall affection, and what not that is contrarie to the sweete ſoueraigne loue, which ſues for kiſſes and not for coyne, which craues the heart & nothing elſe; for with it, al ſhe hath is his; and he that wil looke for more, I would he had a halter; and he ſhall not want it in hell, howſoeuer he ſpeedes here. Fie, fie! mariages, for the moſt part, are at this day ſo made, as looke how the butcher bies his cattel, ſo wil men ſel their children. He that bids moſt ſhal ſpeed ſooneſt; & ſo he

hath money, we care not a fart for his honestie. Well, it hath not been so, and I hope it wil not be long so; & I wil assure you, loues common-wealth wil neuer flourish vntil it be otherwile. Why, it is a common practise to aske the father what hee will giue with his childe; and what is that differing from cheapening an Oxe? And it is as common, that if she be fat, it is a bargaine, but if leane, she must stay another customer. Out, alas! what loue is this? in faith, if I¹ might haue sped better in another place, come to notice after I haue bought your daughter, she shall pay for it, or I will make dice on her bones. A pittifull partnership, where there is no greater loue; and how can but one of them be vndone? He will vse her ill, because he loues her not; and shee cannot loue him for not vsing her well; for whome we feare we hate, and what then? Hee will practise her ende; she will wish his death; and while they liue together, it will be so full of heartbreakings through quarrels and contentions, as woe to them both, I, and to the third too, that was so forward to make so bad a matche. But, howsoeuer they two speede, I am assured shee will speede worfe: as for hir husband, he will not want excuses to defend his knauerie; and hir Father must beleue him, because of hir former credit giuen vnto him; so that contented she must be, how discontented so euer she liues; and beare it she must, vntill her hart breake; which happie day must ende her miserie, and set my craftie wooer at libertie.

Thus much for my second corner: and now to my third couple, which were ciuilly seated on a benche together, they being, the one a batcheler, and the other a widdowe, which was wooed by him after this like order: 'It were follie, forseeth (quoth he), to vse circumstances, since you are so well acquainted with the like practise; but to leaue them and come to the matter, which is (as I thinke) the best meane to please vs both, you shall vnderstand that vpon the good reporte your honest life hath deserued, I haue conceiued so good liking of you, as I should thinke my selfe happie if I should speede no worffe.' 'I thanke you (answered she) for your good will; but surely, Sir, I thinke you haue deceiued your selfe. For, peraduenture, you imagine, or it hath been vntruely reported, that I am the woman, which indeede I am not; namely, ritche, for that my deceased husband made some shewe to the world; but if that bee your thought, I

affure you you are deceiued.' 'You mistake my meaning (replied hee), for it is no such matter; I respect not so much your wealth, as [¹ leaf C 4] I doo your matronlike modestie; my selfe is young, and I haue a trade, and am, I thanke God, of my selfe able to maintaine a woman. But I doo rather desire to match with your like, then with a younger, for that you knowe better both what belongs to a man, as also to vse thriftely what I get. And, moreouer, my selfe is not so young, but that I am meeter to match with a widdowe then to marrie with a maide, and would be most glad if it might be my good happe to speede with you.' 'I cannot tell (quoth she) what your good speede may be; I knowe you not, and therefore I hope you will giue me leaue to enquire of you; which done, I will send you your answere by such a day; in the meane time, I wish you well.'

I, mary, *Honestie*, & what then? no marry these: forth she went to her broker, to will him to search after his substance, vsing that manner which vsurers can best disclose, which is their practise in putting forth their money. This was a passing commoditie; for what better then a ritche widdowe? but that foolish enquirie spoyled all; had shee thankd him heartily, desired farther libertie, and had made search into his estate secretly, shee had shewed her selfe the wiser; but so bluntly to saie, 'giue mee leaue to enquire of you,' shewed as bad bringing vp as might bee possible. But, tut! I like her the better, because she could not dissemble; for she, alas! did but followe the common trade, dooing with the ape but what she had seene done before her. She had heard her husband instruct his prentices to make a profit, and she thought she might trie the same for her own good. I would shee and others knewe what was good for them; they would then rather respect the man then money. But this couetousnes spoyles all, though 'I would I had more,' is too much in our mouthes; for, followed she not the greedie desire of adding muck to muck, might shee not as well haue liued with this man, that had a trade as good, yea, much better then her husbands was, as shee did before with him? Shee had no children; suppose she had, they ² were provided for well; and what greater charge would this haue brought? he had a care to liue, or else hee would haue sought to loue without respect; for who knowes not that she is as able to satisfie a mans desire that hath little, as she that hath much,

[² leaf C 4,
back]

if we onely regarde pleafure? Take this on *Honesties* credit, that hee that buildes his loue on fuch reafon, as hauing little, hee will chofe one that hath fomewhat, wil proue a better match vnto thee, then him that brings mountaines. Beware when loue is vpholden with maintenance; if the heart remembers, 'I am thus much beholden vnto her, thee loued mee or elfe thee would neuer haue matcht with me; fhe made me a man, being before worfe then nothing; how much better might fhe haue done, if fhe had not been led with affection,' and fuch like; It will alfo remember the duetie this kindenes requireth, euen like for like, leaft the worfe crie fhame of him. How happie should parents be, were this in their remembrance at their mariges making! how bleffed should their children be, if the like practifes were vfed! and what a florifhing commonwealth would that be, where equalitie of birth (which alwaies should bee regarded, fpecially on the mans fide) should bee linked to abundance, whereby the number of gentle beggers should be decreafed, and the mifgouernement of wealth will be auoided. One man should not haue his cofers ful, and twentie want it that better deferue it. How many able men should we haue (if this were vfed) to ferue and fet forth men for the princes feruice, where now I am but one man, and I am bound but to my flint, to finde one mans charge, though I haue foue mens liuings. But no more! this is too ferious for *Honestie*, & I meruaile how I fell into this vaine, fince I studied to bee pleafant. What, thinke you, did my widdowe after her fearch of enquirie, for you muft thinke that the batcheler longed for his anfwere? Marry, though fhe was not a foxe in her fpeeches, yet fhee proued no leffe in her dooing, for now fhee kept her houfe as clofely, as hee dooth his holde craftely. She miflikt of the man: for what caufe, geffe you? ¹ if you knew as much as I knowe, you would fweare, not for lack of honeftie, or becaufe he was vnthriftie. But wil you knowe whie? he had not the hundreds lying by him, as the reporte went fhee had left her, and therefore fhee thought it needeles **any** one should lofe fo much labour, as to fulfill her promife in carrying his anfwere. Yet, if that were all, it were well; I, and it had been well for him (for the fauing of fhoo lether) if fhe would haue fpoken with him at his comming to fetch it: But my widdowe would not be within, or elfe fhe was bufie; and thus was his kindenes

[x sig. D]

required. Now, fie of the diuell ! is this a meete reward for affection ? nay, suppose it be no more, the good will, was it well required ? Me thinks that if his dog had come, hee deserued better entertainment then to haue been beaten away ; and shee had dealt better if shee had sent himselfe away with a crabbed answere, then so vnmanly to vse him by sleeueles excuses. And well it were if shee had no more fellowes ; but out vpon them ! there are too many such, whose coye nicenes expresse their mischieuous fondenes ; for, speake they will with any man that come, vnles a Herald fore runnes the fewtor.

In my opinion, and it shall bee grounded vpon reason, such widowes are worthie to sit while their breeches growe to their seates, as refuse to answer all commers of what degree soeuer ; and because I promise you reason, this shall be it. Who knowes not, that whoso-euer sues for the like match, winneth a thousand incombrances with his good speede ? for he that knowes not that care shall be mingled with his best contentment, shall fall into a pitte before he be ware of it. And who, were it not for his soules health, would imbrace such an inconuenience for a little commoditie ? I, and the best mariage is but a little commoditie, in respect of the continuall carking that comes with it. If, then,—as who saies it is otherwise ?—a man makes so great suite for so small hearts ease (respecting the earthly pleasure), deserues not he a good countenance, or at least a welcome, that longs for so bad a bargain ? In my iudgement,¹ and it shall iumpe with [¹ sig. D.
back] mine opinion, that woman is much more beholden to the man that would match with her, then to her parents that haue brought her vp ; for they did what ere they did, of duty, & this doth what might be vndone, of mere deuotion. Why, thinke the best you can, thinke for your selues : suppose one that hath nothing, comes to craue your loue : did he only respect your wealth, without his owne welfare (and hee that thinkes to haue welfare without dealing wel with you, he reckens without his hostesse, and shall finde a new bil of charges), had he not much better to hazard the taking of a purse by the high way ? Yes, doubtles ; for were hee by that means brought vnto miserie, he might haue death at his cal, to rid him from extremitie ; but now being grieved vncessantly, he may seeke for death, but meete with the diuell ; hope for an ende, but feele the want of it con-

tinually. Yet come we to one further point: imagine some men that bee ouer-unruly, desire to haue access into your companie: if you knowe them for such companions, I would holde you vnwise to admit them into your prefence; but shall your hart but say, I suspect without trial, you cannot out-runne the crime of want of discretion. It is best, therefore, you that feare such resort, to harbour your felues, during the time of the heate of the market, in such places as the countenances of your protectors shall preuent suspect, and disparage the practise of such vndecent behauiour; or otherwise, to appropriate vnto your houses such helps as shall bee likely to forestall the like mischiefe. That euery one may bee answered, is *Honesties* meaning; for vnles they bee, they haue not their due, nor doo you shewe your felues to be enriched with that curtesie which widdowes discretion dooth challenge. For, let me tell you, and ensure as many as knowe it not, that a man shall finde more pleasure in lying in the campe, being dayly threatned with the bullets of his enemy, then in lodging with a wife, vnles his wisdom be the greater. And I knowe you looke for my reason: then for this cause, for that their vnconstancie¹ breedes more feare then the shot brings hurt; and their tender heart will craue more gouernement to content them, then the other will aske forecast to preuent the danger they bring with them. For a Steele coate resists the harme of a musket; but what garment shall out stand her threatening of the horne? That man amongst Souldiers is counted accursed that is stricken with a great shot; and that husband thrice blest amongst married men, that is not continually wounded with some misdeameor or other he shall espie in his wife; well, I say no more, because I am a batcheler; but *Honestie* must speake the trueth, or shame will follow him.

It is wisdom to looke before lepping, but extreame follie to stand vpon nothing; hee or shee that makes many doubt, shall neuer want care; and she wil il rule a charge, that cannot charme a knaue. Speake the diuell faire, and he will be satisfied; and what woman knowes not how to flatter? It is good to knowe vice, that we may shun that euill; and as good to trie the honestie of wooers, that you may not speede the worse. You shall often finde a kings heart clad in a thred-bare coate, and a senators wisdom harbored in a youthfull

head; vertue goes not by birth, nor defcretion by yeares, for there are olde fooles and young counsellors, counterfeit knaues & crabbed churles, the one being clad in a lambes skinne, and the other kept warme with Foxe furre. Nature makes, but fortune clothes; a ritch knaue therefore may march in the habit of a true meaning gentleman, when poore *Honestie* muft goe as he is able, bee it in a mouldie caffock. I haue heard it credibly reported, that there was a ritch widdowe fell here in England, which had left her liuing enough to maintaine a younger brother; and vnto her did reforte fuch an one, as had not fildome flung out at a bootie, nor would haue cared much if it had been his father, fo he had met him in a conuenient place. This young gentleman (yet not very young, for he was about fortie) came vnto this widdowe, to craue her good wil, vſing as speedie tearmes as he ¹ defired quicke speede. Hee tolde her his name, fo well knowne throughout the countrie for a ſhifting liuer, as he ſpake [x sig D 2,
back] no fooner then hee was well knowne vnto hir. Whome ſhe vſed courteouſly, anſwering him after this order: ‘I hope, gentle ſir (quoth ſhe), you will giue me leaue to anſwer you as ſpeedely as you bluntly aſke the queſtion.’ ‘And with all my heart (replied hee), for that is my deſire.’ ‘Then aſſure you thus much (ſaid ſhe), that if there were no more men in the world beſides your ſelfe, I would not marrie with you.’ ‘A ſhort and ſower anſwere (quoth he); yet let mee aſſure you, that onely ſuch an one (naming himſelfe) will haue you,’ and ſo tooke his leaue, departing in as good order as ſhee had in kinde manner vſed him. Shortly after, at a meeting with many of his companions, he craued their aide, finding them as forward to performe any thing hee ſhould require, as hee would wiſh. Vnto whome hee ſhewed his whole intention, the rather deſiring their helpes, for that they had been partners with him in as great hazards; well agreed vpon the match, they rode towards the widdowes houſe, comming thither in the euening about ſupper-time, when it was very darke, whereby their companie coulde not bee defcried. They knockte at the gate, and was anſwered by the porter, that being aſked who was within, certified them according to his knowledge. Him they ſo hampered, as gagde hee was and bound, being laide forth of the way; which done, they paſſed further, entring the hall with their drawne ſwordes, where they found all the ſeruants at Supper. They

had no weapons neere them but bones, being vnmeete instruements to resist armed men; and dogges, they were not to be wonne by such baites. Therefore, easily one by one they were bound and laide on a heape; the wooer in the meane time, with two of his mates, being in the Parlor with the widdowe that was garded with two futors, being Gentlemen of account in that Country, he vnmasked himselfe, for they had al vifards, and tolde the widdow he was ¹ come for her; at what time one of them grewe cholerick, and I thinke it was he that was likest to haue sped best, for he was placed on the benche neerest to her hart, and drew his poyniard, the best weapon he had at that instant, making as if he meant to darte the same; but vpon better consideration had, he put vp his Dagger, and was contented to be bound with his fellowe. All of them being bound, they got *the* Widdowe forth, and bound her with a towel behinde one of them, hauing before their departure hid all the Saddles, and turned forth the Horses out from *the* house. Ouer a long plaine they rode, & so through a wood, where, being out of greatest danger, he himselfe, the wooer, got vp before the widdowe, entreating her to consider of their estates, not so much he himselfe respecting his own weale, as he regarded his freends welfare, whome he had drawn into that desperate action. But it was all in vaine, for agree she would not; she sware rather to dye then to consent, which seemed little to remedie his affection. Wel, in short time they were come to a place prepared for *the* nonce, where they found a good fire with a Parson, and other good company assembled together about the same matter. It was a wonderfull rainie euening, so that all of them were throughly wet; but there she wanted nothing she could desire, nor spared he kinde words to winne her good will, which was so long in graunting, as before the obtaining of it, Hue and cry was followed into that Towne. Whereof he, hauing notice, came to her with his last hope, willing her, that as she was a woman, either then or neuer to consent to the sauing of all their liues. When she, seeing no remedy, but either she must relent, or they repent it: 'will you (quoth she) be good to my boy *Tom*?' for she had one onely childe called *Thomas*. 'To say I would (replied he), in this extremitie, might be saide to be but flatterie, but assure thy selfe I will, and much better then I will boast on;' vpon which agreement, they were forthwith married.

[¹ sig. D 3]

Soone after he called her afide, and tolde her she was now his wife, whose credit was her good regarde: 'we ¹shal, I know (quoth he), be brought for this before *the* counsell, at which time, vnlesse you vse *the* matter thus cunninglye, as to affirme this was your owne practise, to shewe your loue, and shun a bad reporte, we shall, notwithstanding, smart for it.' Which she promised to doo, and did indeede no lesse, all them being shortly after apprehended, and brought vp to answere it at the counsell Table, where she tolde so good a tale for him and his fellowes to the effect aforesaide, as the faulte was remitted, and they discharged. Now, that you may vnderstand how well he requited this her kindnes, she liued with him a long time, and yet lesse then a dosen yeeres; and dying, left this good reporte of his vsage towards her: namely, that neuer woman liued with a more kinde man then she had found him, with other such probable tokens or the certainty thereof, as a Countrie can witnes the same. Him selfe liued not long after her, at his death leauing her sonne *Thomas* fise hundred pounds by the yeere, ouer and aboue his own Fathers liuing, which he himselfe had purchased by his good husbandrie.

What say you to this vnthrift? was not she put to a shrewde triall? she was, and it proued passing wel. Wherefore, then, should yonger brothers be reiected, or why they that haue little, be vnregarded? surely, because the hart is couetous and mistrustfull, and womens mindes are aspiring, being neuer contented. They so much thirst after preferment, as often they ouer-leape amendement, and iumpe iust into a worser predicament.

Many looke so long for abundance of mucke, as ² they fall into a quagmire of miseries, hauing siluer to looke on, though wanting mony to supply many wants; hauing a faire shewe and a shrewde keeper, one that hath more then enough, & yet will not part with any thing: *Honestie* knowes many of these, and they feele more then I can tell you. Who goes, for the most parte, worse shod then the Shoemakers childe? and who hath lesse money in her purse, then she whose Husband hath most in his chest? ³ But, for that I am some- what straid out of my way, I will return to my first widdowe before my shooes be quite worne: My forenamed Bachelor, that neither by himselfe or his freends could speake with her to know her answer, deuised this conclusion, to send her a Letter by a freend, not so much

[¹ sig. D 3.
back]

[² orig. as as]

[³ leaf D 4]

for the matter there in fet downe, as that *that* might be a meane to entice her to be spoken with, which, indeede, proued to some purpose. For to the Messenger she came, and after notice giuen from whome the Letter was sent: 'gods Lord (quoth she), did not my freend giue him his answere?' 'No,' replied the Messenger; 'for he craues no more by this Letter.' 'Surely (quoth she), I thanke him for his good will, but I am not minded that way.' 'What way? (replied he), not to marry?' 'Yes,' saide she, 'but not with one so yong.' Now you shall vnderstand her simple excuse, cleanly made; for in a mans iudgement it would not be thought there was much difference betweene their ages. And, as it was gathered after, the meant one way, and the Messenger tooke it an other; for she meant yong in substance, though he vnderstood it for yeers; as, after further talk, she plainly expessed. What shall *Honestie* say more of her? in sooth, nothing, but to pray, either for the amendement of her and her companions, or else that this punishment may be inflicted vpon them; that is to say, that they may be so haunted, vntill they deale better, as they may not peepe forth of their houses, without as much wondermen[t] as the Owle hath that flieth in the day time. And doo they deserue lesse that make fooles? it hath beene a fustie saying, *Qui moccet moccabitur*, and, vntill that proue true by practice, as it falles out true often vnlookte for, we that are to speed shall neuer finde better. If all men will agree to *Honestie*, we will keepe a Cronicle of such wenches; my selfe will be speak the registreship, and though it be no great office, yet it may doo much good. But now to a fourth kinde.

Which were a thrife-made, not a threed-bare Widdower, and a fiuie times left Widdowe, both of them being so much in Fortunes bookes, as they were endowed with the ¹thoufands. They soone agreed vpon the matter, and within a shorte time were married; vnto whose house, hauing heard them boast of their substance, I often reforted to see what good cheere they kept; I was twise there together in Christmas time, but neuer could see hotte meate, yet good store of cold, by reason they had had foure daies before many guefts. But since the holly dayes, hoping for hotter fare, I found him and she set at a couple of red Herring & a slice of barrel butter: colde fare, as I thought, for a tuesday supper. Alas! how were the seruants dicted,

when they had no better? I would haue thought *the* faulte to haue beene in her, vntill she saide vnto me, that she was forrye she had no better fare for *Honestie*; when the olde Churle replied, 'holde thee content, wife; he is welcome, I thanke God I haue this for him!' 'I thanke your worship,' saide I; though I thought, 'I befrewed the Churles hart!' But there of force must I lodge too, for that I had ouer farre home, and he that had fedde me so hungerly, had found talke enough to keepe me with him till midnight. I must confesse I lay better then I had supped; lodgde in the next Chamber to themselues, there being nothing but a thinne wall betweene vs. After my first sleepe, I heard them two very lowde, and though I did not greatly desire to be a partaker of their secret, yet I could not choofe, vnles I had beene either naturally or artificially deafe. They were at so hotte words, as he cryed, 'out vpon thee, old beggarly whore!' with other most shamefull tearmes; she therby being forced thus to complaine: 'Alas, that euer I was borne to see your face; I was no begger when I met with you, for I brought with me as good as twentie thousand pounds, which now being at your disposition, you deale thus crabbedly with me; meeting together in respect but yesterday, what hope resteth to me of the end, seeing the beginning is so bad? you diet me with hardmeat, and cheer me with crabbed vsage; I can neither haue a penny in my pursse, nor a good shooe to my foote. I greeue to heare my seruants repine thereat, though I cannot amend it, and ¹for that I tell you of it which may redresse it, [^x sig. E] thus you reuile me.' 'Holde thy peace, olde whore (quoth he), or I will make thee; if they like it not, let them mend theirselues, and either charme your tounge, or I will clapperclaw your bones;' with which cooling carde, she was glad to be quiet, as I gesse, for I could heare no more of her at that time.

Now, *Honestie*, hauing leasure to thinke of what he had heard, still harpt of *the* twentie thousand pounds, which, as I thought, was meeter to haue made a King, then to haue pleased a churle; with *that* I condemned his cruelty, and pitied her chaunce, so long thinking on her hard fortune, as I fell a sleepe, taking vp the remnant of my mornings nap. Well, before I rose, my olde carle was vp, and before I was ready, gone abroad; when suddenly comming soorth of my lodging, forced to passe through his Chamber, I found the good olde

woman shedding teares so abundantly, as I could not but greeue for company. But, seeing me, she rowzed vp her selfe, and would haue shadowed her discontent; yet, at last, assured I had heard the iarre, she saide she was forrie I had beene disquieted; the which I excused, saying, ‘I was more greeued for her then for my disquieting, for had that beene the worst, *Honestie* hath beene farre worse troubled.’ ‘Ah, good sir (quoth she), this is their fortune that are couetous; for I had enough left me to haue liued like a woman, if I could haue been so contented; but aiming at dignitie, hath been my destruction, and longing after promotion hath brought me to this miserie; my last Husband was accounted a good housholder, and companion to the best in the parish; but he being gone, and my hope to become a Lady, hath ledde me to this ill bargaine. Ah, gentle *Honestie*, I was no meane woman when I met with him, but he thinkes, for that I haue turned my Cloth to filke, he hath made me happie. How happie had I beene, if I had neuer seene him; but too late it is to with, and folly to complaine, for that it was my owne choice that hath matcht my selfe with such a churle. He clothes me in gay
¹ coates for his owne credit, but with them cloyes me with multitudes of discontentments; abroad he is gone, and perchaunce I shall not see him till bed time; nor are such trickes plaide seldome, when he leaues nothing, what need soeuer we should haue of any thing, but what the household prouision is, the best being no better then your yesternights fare. If he brings any bodie home with him, we must run to the Cookes to saue fiering; nor can a bit of bread be eaten without an account giuen to him; he searcheth euery corner, & chides for euery candles end he findes misplaced; and if, perchaunce, he happe on a cruft, he will make as much stirre as if it were the losse of a Cow; he will prie into the greace pot, and hunt after the Tappe droppings: to be breefe, the creame pot should be overlooked by him euery day, once at the least, and his fiering furued as often; a Cheese cannot be cut without his leaue, nor a sticke be burned without grutching. Nor doo I so much greeue at this in respect of my selfe, as for that my seruants want their due, their want being more irkesome vnto me, then this scant; for what will they let to reporte? and who can blame them? or who will staye in such an house, and not without reason? so that dayly discredit is heaped on vs, and con-

[sig. E,
ack]

tinuall care for looking after new seruants, neuer from vs. This is my greatest hart breake; and my fute to haue this redressed, is our only breake-peace. He fumes when I informe him of what I haue heard, and stampes when I tell him it is not well; nor wil I tel thee all, for that this is too much, nor shouldst thou haue knowne of thus much for me, except his crabbednes had made the path. But, hark! he is come in; for the passion of God, hide thy selfe! for if he should know thou wert not gon, he will mistrust vs, and smart I shall for vs both.'

Now, the Diuell breake his necke, or God amend him, thought I; yet, for feare of her harm, I was content to be lockt vp by her into a closet, where I was constrained to stay, while *the* teeth chattered in my head, before we could be rid of him. Well, at last, by good fortune, a companion of his fetcht him ¹ forth to dinner, who, being [^t sig. E 2] gone, I was let forth, an extraordinary fier being made for my welcome down; & to make me a mends, she had sent a bracelet she had, of which he knew not, to paune, prouiding so good fare for my Dinner, as I was not at better all the Christmas. But while we were eating of it, our mirth could not be much, her feare was so great of his comming home; but we, making as quick speede as our teeth would let vs, after we had doone, I thanked her, taking my leaue and departing. Wel, my backe was scarce turnde, when she bid her men and maids to bestirre them, that the kitchen might be drest vp, and the remnant of our Christmas fire to be quencht and cast into the priuie, least his search should finde out the brandes, and that breede no little disquietnes to them all. Alas! poore wretch, thought I, how much seruants are there which liue at more ease, and stand in lesse awe, then thou doost! Is this a wines portion? doubtles, no; but a iust plague for couetousnes; for they which cannot vse a benefite when they haue it to a good purpose, shall want it when they would, and seeke it when they cannot finde it. Couetousnes shall not escape hell; for how farre, I pray you, was she from it? her good daies died with her matching with him; and if there be any purgatory betweene vs and hell, she was in it, and thereby at the next doore to that dungeon. I would but all couetous mindes were plagued but with a dramme of the like discontent; I would haue theirs but a seauen-nights punishment, whereas she must endure, peraduenture, seauen

yeeres torment. *Honestie* thinks such a messe of miserie would bring them to a banquet of happines at their deliuerie from that wretchednes. If many of our coye dames, that cannot be content with any thing, and are so curious, as daily dainties seeme nothing vnto them, were but pincht a while with her morfelles, I am perswaded it would saue their husbands a great deale of charges in their diet thence after, and would make their seruants much happier, by being freed from much needeles labour. Their houses would be pulled downe, and the ¹delight of their curious poked ruffles would be set aside; they would not respect *the* superfluous dishes they vse, nor regarde their superstitious curiositie in rubbing *the* flowres of their houses: what should I say more? they would vse obedience towards their Husbands more, and brawling with their seruants lesse, they would thinke of their owne happie liues, & pittie others: they would seeke to please, and be more easly pleased; they would liue contentedly, and be thankfull for so great prosperitie.

sig. E 2,
ick]

The fishe that hath beene stricken with the hook, feares the baite; the childe that hath burnt his fingers, dreads the candle; the horse that hath beene punished with the spurre, suspects the wagging of the heele; and the apprehended theefe begins to thinke on the halter. What delight brings sweete things vnto them that neuer tasted of sharp sauce? or, what an indifferent opinion carrie they of prosperitie, that haue neuer beene in miserie? The vnriden Colte bites the snaffle, while the olde horse is glad to play with the bit; and they that are vsed to shackles, weare *them* without much annoiance; for that it is vse that gets experience, and experience that brings profit. When a curst Cow hath short hornes, harme is lesse suspected; and if a crabbed cur be musled, there can be no danger. There are both baites to entice, and bobbes to make to forbear; allurements to winne, and corrections to driue away; and he that thought this to be needefull, knowes best to vse it, which happens alwaies to vnbridled nouices, once good speede egges vs to a second aduenture; and, if twise a theefe hath escaped the halter, he will neuer leaue vntill he purchase tiborne. 'My last Husband was so good,' makes some so desirous of a second, as their hastie bargaine bringes ouerlate repentance. 'Like will to like,' quoth the Diuell to the Collier, and some will neuer be satisfied vntill their mouthes be filled

with Clay. He that hath enough, seekes for more, and so I carrie a great countenance, I care not how I am beloued. Indee, what cannot money doo, that will buye any thing? and yet honestie will purchase that ¹ which all the muck in the world cannot compaffe, [¹ sig. E 3] namely, a good report for euer. Who knowes not that the couetous man cannot liue quietly? and why wil we not knowe that the aspiring minde shall be brought lowe? The loue of your wealth is in your owne hands, but the key of your wittes kept by a higher guide. You may chose a ritch man, and hunt after an honest (yet ritches and honestie goe sildome together), but to say it shall be for your weale, must craue anothers leaue. Hee that giues all things, can giue thee both; and if thou wilt taste of his liberalitie, built on his charitie, suspect not, and speede well, feare, and speede ill; let therefore all thy care be built on his kindenes, and thou wilt be better contented with a kinde begger then a crabbed churle. To take heede by another mans harme, is a louing warning; but if thou wilt needes try, take the hazard. When our neighbours house is on fier, we haue neede to bestirre vs; and he that sits still at such an extremetie, is worthie to taste of the like miserie. To looke ere we lep is good counsell, yet, to looke hartely, and lep faintly, makes many to fall into a ditch dangerously; well, a word to a wise man is enough, and there are few women but haue store of wit, if they adde discretion vnto it. *Honestie*, therefore, wishe them to vse it so well, as they neuer speede ill.

A fift forte now followeth, which was a couple standing in the midst of the company, both of them being of equall yeares. He was a young ciuill gentleman, no lesse proper then hee seemed wife, his discreet gouernement beautifying both; but she, though shee had wit at will, and was very proper, yet lacked shee the other step to wisdom, namely, discretenes in her behaiour. Her immodest fondnes gaue suspect of vnciuill lightnes, so that her ouerforwardnes seemed to ouerlay her louers affection. Shee would hang about his neck before all that company, as a iacke of Napes doth fitting on the bearheards shoulder, and kisse as openly, as a dog scombers carelesly. She followed him at heeles like a tantinie pigge, and hong about him as if pinned to his shiue. He could not stirre without ² her company, [² sig. E 3, back] nor scarce goe to make water, but she would awaite on him. Thus

much did she not let to doe openly, and therefore I had the more desire to see how she spent her time secretly, which was as contrarie as might bee; for whereas she would bee mad merrie in his company, in his absence she would be as mad melancholie. Shee then would sit in a corner, as a dogge doth that is crept into a hole, hauing done a shroude turne, wetting her couch with teares for the lack of her sweet heart, as a childe doth the bed for want of a chamber-pot. But, being in a good vaine, shee would pen passionate sonnets, and, in that humor did I once take her, when she had newly finished this amorous dittie:

S Ad is the time while my deare loue is absent;
 Eise waile my misse, and tongue bewailes him wanting;
 Heart bleedeth teares that doo encrease my torment,
 And yeelds forth sighes which set it selfe a panting;
 While he is absent, such is my delight,
 As is the saylers in a stormie night.

*If I chaunce sing, with sighes my songs be graced,
 And in my tunes, my grones my laces be;
 Griuous complaints are for the trebles placed;
 The meanes be teares, the tennor miserie.
 Foure partes I beare, and want the fyste alone,
 Which is my ioye that with my loue is gone.*

*When I should speake, my tongue forgets it talking;
 When I should write, my fingers are benommed;
 When I should goe, my feete haue lost their walking,
 And euery part is dead, of sence bereaued:
 Nor can I tell what is the cause of this,
 Except because my heart with him gon is.*

*Thus dayes are nights to me, while he is wanting,
 And meriest songs are plaintes for ioy departed;*

¹ leaf E 41

¹ *My mirth is mone, my sorrowe succor wanting,
 And senses gon, my bodie haue unharted:
 So that I liue aliue, as being dead,
 And by his absence sole, this death is bread.*

After the selfesame order spends shee her well spent time, yeelding

such bitter fighes, while she is setting down the like passions, as a horse doth hartie neefes, that is troubled with an extreame colde. Then, pausing a while on that she hath done, weighing the estate of her lamentable case, she castes her selfe vpon hir bed, breathing against the fates the rancor of her heart, after this manner : ‘ Vniust and cruell sisters, that haue prolonged my dayes to endure this miserie ; is this the force of your decree, to decrease my ioy by increasing my dayes ? Haue you drawne to this length the thread of my life, now to cut the same with so sharpe an edge-toole ? Cruell and vnkinde are ye, so crabbedly to deale with a poore virgin, suffering me to liue to endure this crueltye.’ There, making a full point, would she lie gasping as if she were giuing vp the Ghost ; till at length, hauing gathered winde, shee would thus begin to murmur against *Fortune* : ‘ Vnconstant dame, so much delighting in mutabilitie, as all thy ioye is to alter chances ! How wauering is thy wheele, and how vncertaine thy fauours ! the one still turning, and the other neuer remaining long, where so ere they are bestowed. Was this the pittie of your heart, to set downe so vnmercifull a doome, as I should alwaies rest vnhappye ? You whirle your wheele about to please your selfe with the turning, tossing thereby vnto me one miserie vpon another ; then easing me of that burthen, to make the next seeme more displeasing vnto me ; thou shewes me my harts ioye, and sets me on the top of delight, to beholde the difference betweene weale and woe. But, from thence thou throwest me as quickly downe, as I was ioyfully seated, letting thy wheele rest as ouerlong, while I lie in the dungeon of vnceasing paine, as it did too too little stay at the ^{[+ leaf E 4,} height of my pleasure. Thou giues me kinde words and cruell fare, ^{back]} happye fighes and horrible heart-akes ; thou shewes me rest, and fees me with trouble, setting me at the table of dainties, yet binding my hands leaft I should touch them, so far am I from tasting of their sweetnes. Vnkinde and vnconstant fortune, what chance had mankinde to be charmed to thy beck ? and, wherein are we more vnfortunate, then in being forced to obey fortune ?’ To which interrogation, her selfe would answere with a flat mad fit ; cursing her parents that begot her ; her birth day wherein shee was brought forth ; the nurse that gaue her sucke ; the cradle that lulled her asleepe ; death, for that hee ended not her dayes ; and her selfe, for that she

was. Now tearde she her haire from her head ; anon she vnappareled her selfe to hir smooke ; then, like a spirit would shee daunce the Morrice about the chamber, and soone foffing her selfe downe by the fiers side, fit no les fenceles then her actions had been witleffe, a long time resting as in a traunce. But, at last, as ouerlate comming to her selfe, shee would, looking on her selfe, seeme to bee afraide of her selfe ; sorrowfull to see the fruite of her forsaken reason ; and rising, would soone make her readie. Being readie, shee fell vpon her knees, crying the Gods mercie, and powring forth abundance of teares, in token of her penitencie. And after that, being indeede in her rightest minde, shee tooke her lute, finging to her fingering this sonnet :

W*hat booteth loue, that liking wants his ioye ?
Griuous that ioy which lacks his hearts-content ;
The sight of sweete in tastling of anoy,
Ads but more grieffe to former hearts-torment.*

*What sweet in loue to liue debarr'd of loue ?
Soure is that sweete as honny mixt with gall ;
Loue with vnrest the heart to passions moue,
That sighing sing, and finging sigh withall.*

g. F]

¹*While eyes beholde the pleasure of my heart,
Heart ioyes through eyes in gayning of that sight ;
But when that pleasure from mine eyes doth part,
Heart partes with ioy, and rests in heauie plight.
And tongue may sing a hei ho for my heart,
That through mine eyes doth finde both ioy and smart.*

Which musick would bee so metamorphosed, as, in truth, her finging would turne to sighing, and her playing to complaining, when, in a rage, she would throwe her lute downe, beginning to dilate on her loues vnkindnes, that could be so cruell to stay foure and twentie houres from her. Now, found she fault with her selfe for being so fond on him, that forbearde so carelessly her companie ; and, by and by, in a great rage swearing to forsake him, she settled her selfe to frame a rayling letter for a last farewell. But, before shee had scarce written an vnkinde worde, she paused on the matter, casting both pen,

inke, and paper from her; yet, vpon her second aduice, about she goes with a fresh charge to pen a crabbed charme, and had gone so farre as she had set downe, *Fie, unkinde wretch!* And there, againe, in a doubt of going forward, or leauing the rest vndone, shee gnawed so long vpon her pen in studying what to doe, as she had eaten it almost quite vp. But, at last, with a resolution, she played the woman, falling into so kinde a vaine of scoulding, as she had charged him with a thousand discourtesies for missing one nights reforte vnto her. And, as she was concluding her colour, with a protestation neuer to desire to see his face againe, in came one of her sisters with newes that Master *Anthony* was belowe. Which so quite purged her of her melancholie, as in a rage she rent the paper, and cast all her anger with it into the fier, posting with such haste to her sweete-heart, as in stead of running downe, she tumbled downe a whole paire of stayres. Which bad beginning was carelesly put ouer with the conceiued ioy of his presence; shee entertaining ¹ him with a kisse, for that he was not forward enough to bestowe on her the like fauour. But ere long, shee began to perceauie that Master *Anthony* was changed, being nothing so frolick of his kindnes as hee had been, and it was no maruel. For some reporte of her fore-used fondnes was come to his eares, that being no small frost to nip his former affection; so that his onely comming was to make that conclusion she was of late imagining, soone finishing in wise and discreet tearmes that her suspect was penning. Vpon whose departure, with the paune left of his resolution, my minion fel into a sound, there being such a stirre for her recouerie, as what for running for *aqua vitæ*, posting for ale, plying warme clothes, and such like, there was no lesse rule then is in a tauerne of great reforte. ‘Here, forsooth,’ saith she that had the *aqua*, ‘come quickly;’ ‘By and by,’ answered shee, being called that went for the ale; the rest no other wise replying to euery question and commaunde. Well, at length life was got in her; though no words could bee drawne from her; but, being got to bed, she song ere long like a bird of Bedlam.

In which fit I left her, more pittying her peeuishnes then her passions; the rather lesse regarding either, for that I knew that violent fit would not stay long. But, to tell you what *Honestie* thought all this while, for I knowe that is your longing; and, if you

bestrowe any body, blame her for not letting you haue your will sooner, by keeping me so long there against my will. For vnwilling I was to stay there so long, and as loath to leaue her before shee had left at a full point. That you might know all, was my wish; and since I haue mine now, you shall not bee long without your wil. She neuer fighed hartely, but I laught as merely, being as often readie to pisse my breeche for ioye, as she was to shed teares, which came from her as had at commandement. And, wherefore was *Honestie* thus vncharitable, thinke you, reioycing at his neighbours miserie? Surely, because her selfe was so foolish to bee so disquietly moued with nut-shells: would it not haue made a ¹ horse breake his halter, to see her mumble to her selfe as an ape mowes at his own shadow? Doubtles,—may I speake it without the suspect of arrogancy?—*Honestie* hath as much holde of his ciuilitie, as a mare hath of her honestie; and yet, I might as well be hanged as be kept from being merry when she mourned. A Camelion cannot change her selfe into more kinde of colours then shee would vse change of motions. Sometimes shee would walke with her hands clasped, and her eyes cast vp to heauen, as if shee were sent for, with all speede to render an account of her passions. Anon, she would runne about the chamber like a hare that had lost her way; then, by and by, would she houle like a kinde dogge that had lost her master. After that, girne like a Monkie that sees her dinner; and ere long be as dead as a dore naile, lying by the fier side as a block doth at the backe of a chimney. And this last *smile* proues not worst, for she burned no lesse through the cinders of too kinde affection, then the logge dooth with the helpe of charke-coles.

Was not this a monstrous fit, that had so many motions? Why, if *Honestie* should tell you how shee would sometimes bite of her owne nailes, knocking the wall with her feete, praunfing on the ground, and lepping of and on the bed, you would thinke hee had to doe with an vnuly iade. Fie, no, she was a mankinde creature! and I would not offend them for a kingdome; but this *Honestie* is such a pestilent spie-fault, as he cannot see a wench out-start the bounds of modestie, but straight he hollowes the sight of a striker, thinking it vnpossible that if shee want maidenly behauiour, shee can haue womanly honestie. Well, I knowe some will say hee is a pick-

thanke; but were not they shonne-thankes, they would speake better of *Honesties* sonne. But thus much for *Honesties* credit; and now, againe to my craft-loue, that had crauled so farre into affections extremitie, as she had lost the habit of her customers curtesie. I went once more of deuotion to see her, because I left her in so extreame an agonie, and it was ¹within two dayes after; Whome then I found clasped within a new louers pawes, as iocunde with him of mine honestie, as euer I sawe her pleasant with Master *Anthonie*. And what thought *Honestie*, then, thinke you? in faith, no otherwise then I am assured you doe now. I thought vpon such fondnes the prouerbe was builded, 'hot loue wil be soone colde;' but enough of that in another place, and thus much more of her at this time.

She was as glad, I warrant you, of a louer, as a wried iade is of a faire way; and he, being tyred, is not more glad of a stable, then she was desirous of a babell; it is onely for rime at this instant, and therefore let it passe (I pray you) with your fauour; but, whether it doth or no, I beshrewe my name if I get any blame. For my tongue will not amble out of the trueth, though I should digge out my guttes with the Spurre, 'Beware least you offend.' There is one still at mine elbowe, and sayes I must take heede how I dissemble, since *Honestie* is become a deitie. I would I were not, or went not so vnuisible: for then I should not craule so easly into maydens chambers, and heare them boaste of so many fauours bestowed by them on this day; so many kisses giuen to one; another vnloosing her garter, yea, and she thought hee went not high enough. Well, but that I am mercifull, and will not name you that are so immodest as to boast of such lightnes, for if I should, I should quite fray away many of M. *Anthonies* companions from bestowing their affections on so liberall whipsters. But I saye no more, for shame, hoping I shall haue no cause to speake of the like againe, you will become so ciuill; then, thus much for you, and now to another.

This way a coy dame, whose nice strangenes moued me not to the least admiration; she stood iust at the doore, to whom not so few as twenty had in my veine made suite. They were of fundrie sciences, and of all degrees, that had tooke the deniall of her, which made mee the rather to admire the cause; and, to obtaine my longing, I lodged my ² selfe that night vnder her bed. When she was layed, and one of

her mothers maides with her, shee began thus to parly: 'Wot you what, *Nan* (quoth she), how many futors thinke thou haue I sent packing to daye?' 'Not so many (answered the maide) as you did the last time you were there.' 'Yes, faith, girle, double' (replied she). 'And found you so many faultes in these (quoth *Nan*) as you did in the other?' 'Nay, I trow, wench (answered she), I let not them passe in whom I discouer not many ouer-flippes.' 'And what were their faults, I pray you?' quoth the girle. 'Some of them had store of wealth (answered she), but little honestie; other were honest enough, but too too hard fauoured; some had good faces and bad bodies; other being proper, had crabbed countenances; some were amiable for fauour, perfect of bodie, yet ill legged; other, which were well legde, shaled with their feete, or were splafooted; and, to be briefe, they that trode right, were either clouterly caulfed, tree like fet, spindle shankte, or bakerly kneed; onely there were two exquisitely shapte, whereof one was too tall, and the other too too lowe. Thus much for their parts, and now to their properties.

'They that were wealthy were meanelly qualited, and they that had many good properties were moniles; some had good touns, and spake well, hauing as ill gestures; others were rich and seemed wise; those I suspected to be wenchers. And, to make as shorte worke in telling thee of them, as I made speedie haste in sending them packing, either I mislikte their estates, scorned their personages, lothed their want of qualities, or could not away with their kinde of wooing.' 'But shal I be so bolde (quoth *Nan*) to aske you one more question?' 'I, twentie, and thou wilt; for, in faith, I haue no list to sleepe.' 'In sooth forsooth, then (quoth the girle), what manner of man shall he be with whom you will match?' 'Mary, such a one (answered she) as shalbe the onely matchles creature in the worlde.' 'But how will you meete with him?' replied *Nan*. 'As he shall light vpon me by Fortune.' 'But Fortune is blinde (quoth ¹ the wench), and may lead him to another in steade of you.' 'Yet, as she is blinde (replied the other), so is she a Goddesse, a good supporter of my chaunces; and I know my reporte is set so neere her elbowe, as she cannot forget me if she would.'

* sig. F 3,
back]

I, marry, sirs, you talk of a wench, and what w[o] is this of a proud one? is it not great pittie but nature should haue compassion on this

neate creature, and shape for her a mirrour of meane worth? Now, of my troth, *Honestie* likes such an one; and why, thinke you? I will tell you my reason, and if it iumpes with your conceite, say you mette with a kill Crowe. I am assured that they that are of my minde shall escape a great deale of trouble; for, of mine honestie, if I should light on such an one, I know certainly I should be quickly rid of a neere mishap, in being preuented of matching with a nice minnie by a nice body; for not being the paragon of the worlde, would keepe me from marrying with the onely paltrie one of *the* worlde; whether, then, thinke you such to be profitable members of a common wealth? Howsoever you think, *Honestie* hath said, he thinks them hurtfull to none that escape them, for *that* their folly onely hurtes themselves, dooing good to others, in the like manner as he hath tolde you. Trot you, and you will, to trye your Fortune, and runne to wooe such curious customers; but say I bid you take heede, least you resist good lucke, by being importunate to wooe them, with whome you shall winne a masse of manner-les Monkish trickes. And I speak especially to you, that hunt after monsters of modestie, desiring to haue the maidens you would matche with, as very matrones as your mothers. Beware you light not vpon an ouerweariied, conceived follom-bird, being one that hath beene so curious to be talkte with of any, as, hauing liued ouer long without one, is become glad of any. *Honestie* knowes such, and you may be troubled with such, and how can you thinke your selues vnworthie? In faith, ill conceited birds, if you thinke your selues so vnwise, as you are vnable to gouern a wilde wench, you will ¹ shewe your selues more foolish if you match with a nice no- [^r leaf F 4] maide. But what saide *Honestie*? be there any such? I, that there are, ordained, for the nonce, to nurture such noddies. It is as easie to be misled by hypocrisie, as it is follie to trust to an vncertaintie; and it is more vncertaine to know now a daies whether a woman bee honestly modest, or knauishly coye, then whether a Smithfeelde horse will proue good or iadish.

See how I haue a tale by the end, of a minnie of my now handled maidens qualitie, which was a Mifers Daughter in the low Countries. Who was so proper a peece of flesh, as I can tell you we haue not many Oyster women that out goes her in hooke shoulders. By reporte she was a louely one; but that she was monstrous blobber

lipt, and stoopt somewhat vnreasonably in the vpper parte of her backside; but that is no matter, her father was richer then most in that Countrie, and why should not she thinke her selfe the properest of a thousand? of *Honesties* word, so by likelyhoode she did; and if you say not so anon, then say I haue heard a lye. She thought her selfe so proper, as none vnder a Burges his eldest Sonne might sue vnto her, and he too to be no faultie gallant; for he with all comers should be so surely sifted by her, to see whether they trod their shooes awry or no, as the Miller doth the grist before he mingles chalke amongst it. She would haue a sling at their heades, to see whether they were round like a ball, or long like a bottell; and so from euery parte, til she were past the vndermost parte of their Pantoples. And, in all of them she would be sure to finde some fault or other, the least being a sufficient cause to cut off their proceedings. Thus dealt she so long, as at last her doulfifh age was vnawares come vpon her, making her fustie curiositie a shamefull mockerie throughout the Countrie; so that the generall reporte of her bruted ignomynie made her growe glad of any companie; and now faine would she be married, though loth to encrease her shame by matching with farre worse then she had refused being offered, and ¹therefore, thinking to hinder the make-speede of murmured ignominie, with a craftie colour of a continuing care to couple her selfe to one of Fortunes darlings, she concluded there should be a Lotterie, and whose chaunce it was to be drawn by her should onely possesse her withered self. You must thinke that many were glad to win her; for whom almost will not wealth wooe to a bad bargaine? My storie reportes that of all sortes, some for pastime, and others for profite, put their scrolles into fortunes budget, and on the day when my minions draft should be manifested, who should haue her by lot, but such an one as *Tom-witles* is, that will cry if one offer to take away his bable!

A futable mate for so long a search; there was but one grand foole in a Country, and see how Fortune had kept her for him. Now, such chaunce follow like curious coye wenches; and may neuer wiser persons match with them. And are they not, thinke you, the meetest for them? For they desire to haue them that haue the smallest faults, and *Honestie* thinks it the least fault in a man to be a foole. Who is more proude then a foole? and what woman more

coy, for the most parte, then she that hath least reason for it? The Crow likes her own birde best, though it be the blackest; and would not we haue women thinke well of themselves? I pray you let them haue their willes; or they will, whether you will or no; and if you like them not, you may leaue them; and with as good reason as they will be sure to deale so with you, vnlesse you highly please them. The Affe hath a curious eye, and *that* makes his pace so slowe; for short legges will trippe at euery stone, and what, she is not afraide to fall on a stone! And reason too, but they will neuer be happie, vntill Tom foole and his fellowes be banisht for throwing stones at them, which often hurt their bellies, whereas their falling breakes but their knees. Alas! poore affes, that your eyes cannot keepe you from burthens, as they make you ouer-leape often vnknowne diamonds. But what are more pretious then pleasing thoughts? and what fancies are more full of pleasure then ¹those that most extoll ²sig. G1 our selues? This arrogancie is an infectious pestilence; for we get pride one from an other, as we purchase the plague in a mortalitie. But once more returne we to the merry talke of our coye Maiden.

After a long progresse passed in description of the sweet hart she would haue, being such an exquisite proper qualited Squire, as is scarce one in a whole Countrey, *the* maid fell with her to this point: 'Now, of my troth (quoth she), by your leaue, I am not of your minde; for such a matchles fellowe is as meete a baite to entice many women to doo his wife wrong, as a faire woman shall haue futors to doo her Husband a shrewde turne. And, therefore, as I would not wish to be matcht with such a crabbed peece of flesh as none can fancie, so desire not I to holde a mark for euery one to shoote at, the rather for that there are fewe men which will refuse a kinde offer. Beware when the woman wooes! if she be perceiued to be forward to some dispositions, she shall not want the offering of a bob; so that the bobbing bable shall bob the foole with her own curious choice.' Which knauish quip did so nip my Mistres Daughter on the head, as in troth she left arguing, and fell harde to scolding.

This is bobbing with a witnes, thought *Honestie*; but surely it were pittie it should not be true in some cases; and in those onely would I wish it true, that striue so far to out-goe their fellowes in superexcellent obiectes.

Beware the Foxe that hath the smootheft skinne! it is signe his coate is olde, and his wit not young; he will be fure of a goose in store, when many of his neighbours shall want one. I know some, about whome Nature hath bestowed so long time in shaping faire faces with proper bodies, as she hath at last for haste beene constrained to let them passe with vnperfect hartes. She must performe her suite, and a time is limited her to fashion euery childe; by reason, then, they must haue the purest harts, *that* haue the vnlikest shapes. I know what you will say, and therby, wil onely seeme to gainsay *Honestie*, for that it is a Prouerbe, ¹*Crooked without, and crabbed within*. Of troth, I must confesse, that it is very likely, though not alwaies true (for, no work-man but hath sometimes a mischaunce happen to his most curious worke, after the finishing therof, either by a fall or such like casuall chaunce), that a halting bodie hath a dissembling hart, and a mishapen creature a crabbed disposition; and we doe finde it commonly, that vnder foulest aspects are hidden the fairest harts, though I know women accompt blacke thinges to be of least worth. But search againe, and looke what dye is more perfect, or what will take soile sooner, then the milke-like white? well, the maidens proposition pleased *Honestie* ouerwell, as you may gesse by my long stay vpon it; but I will assure you it displeased no les my yong mistres. Alas! it is a little thing that will not displease them whom nothing can please: and shall we thinke a wench could possibly please her long, vnto whom so many men were disliking? Now surely he shall haue a new accompte, that reckons on lesse then this; namelye, that his matching with such a minion, which was so curious to be pleased, will craue as great care to be kept pleased, as a iade will require arte to be kept from tiring. Nor doo I say she wil be tired; I would rather be driuen to affirme he shalbe iaded, though with such an one as will neuer be tired.

But let such as my Mistres Many-mislike is, take heede least by their coye kindenes they kill their harts whome they would gladly faue after, with all their arte, and cannot. How easie is it to put that away with our little finger, which we would willingly recouer againe with both our hands. I haue knowen some Faulkoners that haue beene so curious in dieting their Hawkes, as a nice curtesan is of her fare; and yet sometimes they haue searcht a whole day after the kill-

ing of a carrion Crowe, and mist of it too. The faire lastes not alwaies; and such as lightly regarde a good bargaine when it is profferred, may trie the market a twelue moneth after, and misse of the like offer. The rolling stone gathers no mosse, nor the running faulcie is worth the catching. They shalbe sure to meete with a fickle hart that match with such a wauering loue; and an vnconstant affection is better lost then found. And for that I am entred into the path of vnconstancie, I wil come to a seauenth enemie, which a couple harboured that stood behinde the doore.

He was a Prentice that had foure yeers to serue, which I certainly vnderstoode afterwards, though at that instant I gested no lesse by his fearefulnes to be seene; wel, these had so wooed and wonne the one the other, as sure they were, hauing remained so by the space of three yeers; yet now there was dislike growen betweene them; firste, springing from the woman, that was discontented that she had alreadie lost so much time, being yet bound to endure a longer stay. Who knowes not the certaintie of her presumption, confirmed by an order of the Cittie of London (which is, that if any man, standing bound for the seruing of yeeres, entangle himselfe and marrie before the tearme of his yeeres ended, he shall double his prentiship), and, therefore, must she either out-stay them, or binde him by the hastie match to seauen yeers more seruice. Vpon this inconuenience, mislike harboured in her bosome, hauing tied that with her tounge which she could not loose with her hands; so that mad melancholly she was for the matche made by her selfe, that tooke so small delight therein.

Now, I would all might be serued with the same sauce, thought *Honestie*, that so soone tying themselues, desire as soone to be loosed; and, it is great maruell when it falles out otherwise, especially in these daies, wherein constancie is made a hackney. *Lingring loue breeds mislike*; and how can that loue be faithfull that is fastned with so slender a thong? There is a thing which maintaines the coherence of two harts, which, if it be long wanting, our loue will proue but watrish affection; I meane, that certaintie of an euerlasting happines, with an assurance of a continuall earthly pleasure. There comes many faire Horfes into Smithfeelde in a twelue moneth, which make many that ²are sped alreadye, to wish themselues vnprovided, to ^[² sig. G 2, back]

deale with them; for all men haue not keeping for two Geldings. It is time that makes a iade knowen; and our knowledge *that* wishes him further from vs. Many thinges muft alter in feauen yeeres, for that wonders happen in a moment. In one day a begger and a King are made equal; both the pompe of the one, and the poore eftate of the other, being buried in duft. Loffes come foonest vnlooked for, and the worft bargaines are gotten with the greateft fearch; neede raifeth the market; and much enquire after a commoditie engenders fufpect there is scarcitie thereof. What cannot golde doo? and may it not, then, eafily conuert a hart that longes after it? There are many entifing baites that change many mindes; & who wil not ftrive for the golden Apple? onely except thofe that know they cannot get it, though they are deferving thereof, which impossibilitie muft needs hatche miferie. How be cormorants more plagued, then by a difappointment of their purpofe? They that foreftall markets, make often times but bad bargaines, as well as the fluggard that comes a day after the Faire.

Is it not folly to ftrive to keepe a wet Eele by the taile? or what commoditie arifeth of holding the Diuell by the great toe? the one is ouer-quick, and the other wonderous ftrong; and, in *Honesties* iudgement, a knowne losse, the fooner it comes, the leffe it greenes; and better it is to be without company, then to be matcht with anemie. Slipperie ware is not *the* beft Marchandize; and what requires more care, then Glaffe that is moft brittle? I know you wil fay a womans hart is as tender, and *that* I think no leffe. Then, fince we muft hazard our welfare, that are conftained to deale with fuch pure metall, being tied to that traffique; let vs not beftowe all our hope on a peece we know muft stay fo long by vs, before we can make profite thereof. *Honestie* is rather a professed folicitor for a woman, then a counfeller to a man; but, for that both men and

[ig. G 3]

are troubled with the like difeases, let them ¹use my plafter that like beft of my knowledge. Where loue strikes the bargain, their liking cannot ftart backe; but vnles he be bound by his agreement, affection is a fickle fellowe. What furer couenant then fetled loue? But they which refpect not their worde, will hardly regarde an oathe. *Honestie* is all, for hee is the father of conftancie; and a fig for that loue which muft be tied by the lawe! If we fofter a

snake, she will sting vs by the bosome; and hee that sues for an enemy, is worthy to haue his pate broken with want of honestie. A tedious suite makes rich lawyers and leeching clients; and a desire to haue all, makes vs often to loose all.

I haue heard of a Gentleman that tied himselfe to a poore maide after the manner aforesaide, meaning to marrie with her after the death of his father, for that hee durst not doe it while hee liued. Hee maintained her passing brauely, running himselfe greatly into debt, through the large expences shee last out. Which curious and rich setting forth, made many to looke after her, which otherwise would not haue thought on her. A blazing starre presages alteration, as the Astronomers holde it; and doubtles, a proper woman gayly apparelled, breeds miracles in mens mindes. A prancing horse moues wondring, when a sure nagge onely pleaseth the rider; so while shee liued according to her birth, few or none regarded hir; but now set forth as readie for sale, her gallantnes engendred thoughts of some great portion to be fallen by an vnlooked for accident. Nor will friends let to speake, to make a friend speede well, and hire of the same minde gaue forth that it was so indeede; vpon which reporte many wooers were drawne to trie their fortunes, and amongst them a rich farmers sonne set in his foote to hazard his happe. Whome her parents and friends so well liked, being his fathers onely childe, as they began to perswade their daughter to take it while it were offered, after this maner: 'Tut, wench (quoth they), while the grasse grows the steed starues; and, as soone goes the young steare as the ¹olde ox

[¹ sig. G 3,
back]

to the market. Young heads are fickle; and suppose he should play false, how should we remedie it? Golde bies lawe now a dayes; and may not a bribe eate vp a sure title, as wee haue heard a fat hog did a poore mans glasse of oyle? He that can giue moste, shall be sure to speed best; and you knowe; daughter, your father is not able to wage lawe against so rich an enemy. Why, woman, you haue not seene him this fortnight; and how knowe we but he hath a wife in a corner? By our Lady, girle, such windfallies happen not often, as is this day put into your mouth. By cock and pie, doo as you will, but if you doo refuse this proffer, we will denie you our blessing.' Which counsell strooke so deepe into her conscience, as it sent packing all the affection her protested loyaltie had promised, and

turned it so to the farmers sonne, as in short time hee married with her.

By that time, as my minion had been married three or foure dayes, thither comes posting my out-loynted Gentleman: of whose starke staring mad discontentment, vpon the hearing of his willow guift, *Honestie* lifts not to stand, since you can imagine it was great: but what remedie? What wise man would sue for a false-hearted begger? or what gaine should be got by the recouerie of a broken pipkin? In seeking to haue plagued her, he should haue punished himselfe, adding but shame to the losse of a greater expence, and in the ende, recouered a flap with a foxe tale. Well, I pittie him, because of his kindnes which was so crossed; but if *Honestie* heares of any such kinde asses hereafter, he will make as good sporte thereat as the boyes doo at the foole of a Morrice. Are they not worthie to lie by the heeles, that purchase the countertenor with so plaine a pricksong? I warrant you it priet and pincht him too; but his father was the more willing to release him, for that he hopte that losse had gaine him more wit. *Honestie* could tell you of a thousand that haue been serued after the same order, they hauing promised to stay one for another; some a yeare, others more or lesse, whereof some haue had their ¹ hope found within a fortnight of their day, and then, thinking themselves neere to haue their willes, in come takers, putting their noses quite besides the sweete sent of their forespoken bedfellowes. This can be no small grieve to a kinde, constant heart, that hath, peradventure, refused many good likely hoods to stay for such a light hufwife. He that will thinke himselfe sure to a woman, or shee that will build on a mans constancie, till the parish priest hath saide *God giue yee ioye*, and the brides bed hath borne it first nights waight, he is not of *Honesties* minde, though I wish it were otherwise.

It is as good to bee assured of the horne, as to bee made sure to an vnconstant heart, for they that looke for les shall be disappointed. God forbid *Honestie* should say it were vnpossible, that two may loue constantly vnmarried seuen yeres; but he may about that two say, such are scarce found in seauen ages. Walke but to Westminster,—a place, in faith, where constancie is as little vsed as wit in Bedlam,—and yet there (I warrant you) you shall haue your head filled with tales

of vnconstant louers. Goe, likewise, to Poules (a path as well haunted with hunters of honestie as *Kemps* head is sometimes pestered with knauerie), and blame *Honestie* if there you heare not outcries of wauering wenches. Long lanes and broad freetes, little cottages and manner places, are at this day, by report, bolstred with naught so much as with vnconstant mindes. Whereby, what through the sorrowe Constancies complainte moues, and the grieve honesties broken pate procures, it is great pittie wee should not haue many knackes to knowe knaues by, and as many liggess to gird garish girles with. I[n] peticoate lane is a pocket ful of new fasshions, the drift whereof is, that first commers should be first serued; but they meane no commers which enter not the placket. In Shooelane there is one that felles running lether, the vertue whereof is maintained with liquor of a careles heart; so that hee or shee that cannot play light of loue, shall not be customed there. Withdraw your selues ¹to Crooked [^x leaf G 4,
back] lane, and, of *Honesties* credite, you shall finde more traps to catch Rats and Mice there, then constant louers in *Shordich* Church at midnight.

What shall I say, since the art of Cony-catching hath forestalled good inuention? but fie on the diuell that driues such wits to so bad a bargaine, as to be forst to spend their time in no better studies. They haue need of good intelligencers that shall intermeddle with trickes of Coning-shifts; for mine own part, I had rather wade to the middle in Loues whirle-pooles, then to the ankles in the brooke of vnconstancie. And yet, force perforce, by Loues appoyntment, I must haue a sling at her followers. Let them flye to the gallows, for *Honestie*, that loues her so well; and my sling will driue them to a worse place, vnlesse they leaue her. Vp hill and downe hill is a very troublesome labour; but vp the ladder and downe the rope ends many ones miserie. What steeper way then to the height of affection? and how many often post vp and down betweene that and the valley Likings-recantation. 'I recant' now a daies followes Loues heeles like his shadowe; it is a halting crack-halter, and a hurtfull hinderloue, and best he shall be knowne by his stumpe foote. I meane not a mishapen ledge, but a resting loue, that either makes such a full poynt in the beginning, as he can goe no further, or els stands at a stay two or three quarters, not knowing

whether it were best to goe forwards or backwards. Extreames are as daungerous as stretches: for, as many ioynts are out-set or crackt by the one, so many vncurable hurts are receiued by the other. *Honestie* thinks a feuen nights space is too short a time to fasten a true louers knot; but he that out stayes *the* moneth, may learne as much in that time as is needfull to be knowne. A longer time is pleasing to them that haue barres to hinder their forwardnes, but he that may goe on without hinderances, if hee aimes at a longer respite, take it on *Honesties* word, hee workes but vpon aduantage. They that build their affection vpon reason, are like to remaine most constant; for
 [ig. H] ¹ where a condition of profite binds the sutors, there a long day will not likely be broken. But this reason craues wisdom, the experience whereof must awaite on Loues followers, the practise being nothing but this, a care in our choyce to maintaine the maine chaunce. That is, that they which haue little, doe fancie none but such as haue somewhat, and they that haue nothing, either to match with such as haue enough to serue themselues and others, or els to sit still in the chimney corner. Al must measure their liking according to the depth of their desire, to the end they may liue with contentment, which will (I warrant you) nourish constancie.

Now followeth another sort, which are not the least enemies Loue hath, being our common courting lads, who take such pleasure in their pregnant wits, and so great glorie in their readie tongues, as a wench cannot peepe forth the doores, but they must haue a sling at her beautie. First comes, 'faire ladie, God saue you'; and then followes, that the sight of such a blazing Commet makes them stand at the gaze, for that such sights are seldome seene. After, ensues their application, falling from the celestiall creatures to their earthly Goddesses, extolling their beauties to such a height, as, when they can goe no further, hauing forgotten their way backwards, they fall downe headlong, breaking the necke of Good reason. Then come they to the good parts of their bodies, and from thence to a supernaturall view of their hidden vertues, building vpon the prouerbe, *A faire face cannot haue a crabbed heart*, though many of them find by experience, but crabbed entertainment to proceede from those their celestiall objects; yet the most, what through their quicke conceits, false protestations and vsuall resorting into their companies, bring

many into such a fooles paradise, as they harpe on nothing but mariage. And maruell not, seeing we haue many so forward wenches, that if a man looke but earnestly vpon them, they thinke verely hee is inamoured of their beautie; but shal he speake, and say he loues them, "my father, my mother, ¹ and all my friends must be made priuie to his proceedings, for I know he will haue me." [¹ sig. H, back]

Alas! light hearts that are lead away with euery kinde blast; know ye not that our age flowes with fine wits, that must borrow their practise of such like patients? Doe not many men cheapen, that meane not to buy? & think you to want such custumers? How many come into a Faire with neuer a farthing in their purses, and yet for fashion sake will aske the price of a costly peece of worke! Our tongues stand vs in little charges for reparations; and seeing they weare not, we will not spare to wagge them. But this is best knowne to you women, whom nature bindes to the greatest practise, hauing giuen you no other weapon; yet, I may tell you, men cannot want that instrument, especially in their wooing matters. But did many of both kindes vse it leffe, both you and they should speede neuer the worfe, for you should misse of many fond faithles speeches, and they should march without as many kinde hit-home floutes. They should not, playing with the fire, be burnt with the flame, and remaine helples through your careles pitie; nor should you be intrapt in the snares of their smoothe words, decreasing your glorious beauty by hopeles conceites of obtaining your wished happines.

Many honest mindes taken at their words, are bound to bad bargaines, when, on the contrarie part, a crackt credit regardes neither his own reputation or anothers welfare. How easie is a free horse tired, a good edge-toole spoyled, and a kinde heart surfeited? A dull iade will rather be spurde to death then breake his pace; and with a bad knife we may assay to cut any thing, without dooing it much harme; but woe bee vnto that heart, whose mildenes makes it selfe subiect to a counterfeit kindnes. You shall fighe forth your sorrow, while they smile at their good successe; they, building their assurance of being no losers on your good dispositions, that serue for stables to rest their hopes in; your good natures must bee but rouses for hacknes that neuer knowe their masters, and your kinde ² hearts to [² sig. H 2] serue for mangers to feede their bad conceites. Their trotting shal

fasten to your heads heapes of proclamations, the clauses whereof shall breede thousand of doubted miseries, and ten thousands of carefull heartbreakings. Their counterfeit frendship shall hinder faithfull and louing proceedings, hurting affection by hindring it from its deserte, with keeping it from receiuing the due of requitall. That bootles constancie shall banish faithfull loyaltie by crabbed crosses, and purchase to it self, through a haples conclusion, a cart-loade of carefull extremities. True-meaning thereby shall be deceaued on both sides, and kind-heartednes plagued with ouer-surefet affection. Loue shal be banded away with the racket of dissimulation, and beaten at last into the hazard Despaire by his sporting enemy. What a great losse will followe such a chase, and how great expence of hearts grieve must ensue so shroude a game, gesse you, that lie condemned in the like charges. Onely *Honestie* pitties such a pastime that ends with so smal pleasure, and wil now come to giue you warning of what he hath seene happen in the like cases of little conscience.

There was one of this societie that had so courted vp a wench, as through a potion of pleasure he had giuen her, her belly rose like a blowne bladder. Belly round she was, so that, through his craft, her credit stoode vpon cracking; which she perceauing, entreated her phisition, that as hee had tasted of her curtesie, so he would saue her honestie, declaring that she was with childe, as the truth was. 'Of my faith (quoth he), what care I? You might haue tooke better heede; you are best to make haste and get a father for it.' 'I hope (answered she) you will not serue me so; are these your faire promises? and can your vowes bee so slightly passed ouer? Haue you not made loue to me by the space of a quarter, being vsed kindly of mee, and can you finde in your heart thus cruelly to requite my extraordinarie fauour, putting me to shifts in this extremitie? Is it possible

ig. H 2, k] your professed whot loue should be so soone cold, or that ¹ your large promises should turne to so little performance? I cannot thinke you, being a man, can be so cruell as to cast away a poore maiden.' 'Away, beast (quoth he), thy perswasions are as bootles as thy thoughts; and I am assured thou art not so foolish as to build of any thing I haue saide, or of that I haue done, but as of a iest; if thou

dooft, it will be a bad foundation ; ' and with that, he flong forth of the dores, leauing my maimed-maide in a bad taking.

Doe you tearme such dooing iesting? thought *Honestie*; if *Chaucers* iapes were such iestes, it was but bad sporte; well, a sporte it was, though it proued a sure earnest; and who knowes not that sweete meates craue sowre sauce? Her laughing lye-downe came to sad rising-vp, a shrewde sporte to turne to such sorrie pastime; and if such an earnest penny cannot binde a bargaine, nought wil holde the like chapmen but a halter. Now, Tiborne and Wapping waite on such for Porters, as post to markets, so to iest with lac't-mutton. If saying had been all, thee had beene foolish indeede to haue regarded a foolos speeches; but, seeing he crept so farre into credit with her, as he crackt her placket lace, how could he of conscience call that iesting? Doth *Honestie* talke of conscience to *Buls* bailiffes, that haue no care of any thing but to saue their cassokes from being his purchase? Now, fie of all the Beadles of Bridewell, if they spare such a sporter comming vnder their correction, without double the dole they punish one of *Baals* common Priests with. I would their blewe coates might fall to be *Hindes* fees, vnlesse they giue such foure lustie lashes at euery kennell and streets corner they passe by. Why, vnder the cloake of honest satisfiſſaction, to allure an honest minde to lewde corruption, is no lesse thefte then robbing of Churches; onely the Clarkes consent seemes in the one to craue some tolleration ouer it doth in the other. Then you will say they deserue both to be hanged, and so would *Honestie* say, but that their christianity merites charitie. But, of my troth, if *Honestie* were a Iustice, such as sue after the selfe-same order, should either marrie with them they¹ haue deceiued, or [^r sig. H 3] hang without them, my minion going vnpunished, for that time in hope of amendment. Loue is a kinde hart, and mariage is a sweete baite; what, then, will not such promises gaine of a faithfull louer? This iesting turnes to lingring loue, when the weakest hath surfeited in affection. Sweet speeches haue vowed euerlasting constancie; and running in the pleasant meddowe of kindenes, it growes lustie, spending the remnant of his wooing to winne vnto such bad fare; courting endes with such a charge, changing professed loue into burning lust. Loue lookes to be maintained with kindenes, and when he hath got

what wordes can affoorde, then falles he to iesting, which turns contrary to *Chaucers* meaning, to *the* satiffying of a leachers lust in earnest. But too too much of this, except it were better; and once more returne we to our melancholly lefte marde maide.

She, poore soule, fet so lightly by in her fortie weekes reckoning, so thought on her present hard hap, as she quite forgot her account, wherby now she was in a worse taking then before; for if, being put to her othe, she should misse of that, his counter othe would make but a so so end for her; and, therefore, thus she bestirred her selfe in the matter. She made her case knowne to a freend, and, falling downe vpon her knees, entreated him, for the passion of our Lady, to stand good helpe vnto her, to draw her mate to marry with her. Who, being a very honest man *that* had some care of her credit, laboured so effectually in *the* matter, as, what through promises and a peece of money, he made it a match; so that, what through a little honestie my man was endued with, and a peece of money my maiden was endowed with, we had a choptlodgicke. Now, woe vnto such wooed spouses, if their mates want altogether honestie, and they haue no money; and this might haue, perchance, wonne the standing in a white sheete without so good a maister. Take heede, girles, how you trust to such helps, for *Honestie* can tell you they are not ordinarie. It is harder to finde one such in euery parishe through a Countrie, ¹ then to finde a honest woman in a house of Westminster Hospitalitie. Alas! how many honest mens children come to decay through this practise? Talke with any corrupted Virgine; and, excepting one amongst twentie, if they all not agree that such enticements were the procurers of their miserie, neuer belecue *Honestie* for a halfe pennie. Beware if a rich mariage be offered for a rewarde of breache of honestie; there are fewe that will not consent to leacherie with such bribery.

But the opening of an other wound remaines, with which loue is hurt by his courting enemies, for they which haue beene once deceiued by flatterie, will hardly be drawn to belecue sinceritie, whereby the faithfull sutor is hindred from his due. The beaten dogge shuns the stick; the tormented patient feares the Potheccaries drugs; the childe that hath beene fore whipt for a fault, will feare, by offending, to hazard his breeche. Who is more warie of his wel

[¹ sig H 3,
back]

fare, then he that hath been in greatest extremitie? and if loue hath been wounded with a dissembled affection, he will be afraide to enter into an action from whence the like sorrowe may flowe. What giues greater hope of constancie, then vowed loyalty? or what seemes sweeter then sugered flatterie? Affection springeth of kinde vsage, and loue settles on a continued shewe of professed zeale, which, being sure set, cannot be remoued without great danger, except wisdom be a helper. What sorrowe danger brings, and what care discontentment harboureth, he knowes not. But of the vnceasing hartsgreefe, with the tormenting foure-lauce which seasoneth the destruction of entire affection, none can iudge, saue those that haue tasted thereof; onely it may be imagined by the effects that haue followed the like causes (as by the vntimely death it hath brought to some, a deprivation of their wits to others, languishing diseases to many; namely, the greene sicknes, the mother, and such like; and lastly, to all mad melancholye fits), that they which are fauoured with the least mishap that comes through want of their longing, are rewarded ¹ with [x leaf H 4] the losse of a present wel-fare, hauing that supplied by a gifte of sighing heauines. Now, after the freedome from such a mischief, who will not sweare to flie from the like danger? And since flatterie cannot, without dangerous triall, be knowne from faithfull freendship, who will not shunne both, fearing to mistake the one for the other? If a kinde hart hath beene deceiued by a crooked knaue, clad in the robes of a courteous loue, she will euer after mistrust the habite, for that it is vnpossible to know the hart. Who can forbid the Tailor to vse his arte? and doo you thinke that any one for an aduantage will let to trie his crafte? The Diuell can change himselfe into any shape; and the onely meanes to knowe him (as is saide before), is his stumpe foote.

Liking wil not be long a dooing; and loue that followes is but little, whereby he brings no great harme; but al the mischief comes with desire, which swelles the affections, and predominates ouer loue and liking; he makes the mis-rule, and keeps the open Christmas; he desires the sporte, and maintaines the pastime, so that, though he be long in comming, and staies but little in his Lordship, yet the remembrance of his iolitie is not forgotten a long time after. He keepes his custome euery yeere; and a yeere with him is but a short

[² leaf H 4,
back]

space; so that after he comes to his full age, he makes many Christ-masses; for Desire is not short lived. It is therefore this lingring loue that dooth all the harme, because by him Desire is onely begotten. He that, beating the market, is willing to buye, will not stand long a bargaining when he hath met with his liking, for feare a francker customer steppe betweene him and his longing; but if he be careles, he will not deale without a good penniworth. Very easily, then, is the mischeefe of repentance taken from women, seeing a true-meaning sutor may be as quickly discerned, as a careles chapman may be perceiued. And how fondly doo they entrude themselues into the needles hazard of great discontent, that will let their loue runne so farre without reason, as it ¹ cannot be called backe without great greefe at the least. Though a buyer be not able to giue the seller his asking, yet will he be earnest to haue it at such a price as he doth offer; and, although this louing customer be not of abilitie to answere thy freends expectation, yet shall he not be forward to be possessed of thee; he is but a watcher for aduantages. So that if either his abilitie be such, as of himselfe he can maintaine thee, or be thy possibilitie so great, as by his good endeouour he may winne a liuing, thy freends good will, by the possession of thee, thy affection is too too colde, it thou keepes him lingring without his longing; and his deuotion is small, if he be not an vnceasing sutor for it.

And truly, in *Honesties* minde (and pardon me, I pray you, with whose conceits it iumpes not), those matches shall prosper best, where loue is rather respected then wealth; provided there be a care had of the likelyhoode of possibilitie which must come with one of them. But shall one that hath nothing, ioyne louing issue with an other that hath, or is like to haue as little, he hauing no meanes to make a liuing, he shewes himself to be a foolish follower of repentance, and an vncharitable procurer of an others wretchednes? There are many good wits, that, wanting matter to worke on, wade into the triall of dangerous conclusions, which otherwise being employed, would become profitable members of a common wealth. All cannot be heires, and many yonger brothers children are but barely left, though they haue had good bringing vp, which nothing hinders their gentrie, onely, now a daies, it is a barre to their preferment. For men wil sooner match their daughters with my yong maister, a rich Coblers

Sonne, though they be their heires, then with a Gentleman of a good house, being a yonger Brother. Heerby comes the decay of ancient gentilitie, and this *the* making of vpstart houses; heerby, those that haue had good bringing vp, must either goe to plough and carte, being drudges to such drones, or their natures, disdaining that, and more abhorring to begge, leade them to lewde practises to maintaine ¹ the [^t sig. I] state of their birth. And did you, Fathers, which are to match your Children, know the hart-breakings many parents (which haue beene of your mindes) haue found by triall, then would the feare of vnciuill behaiour, which springeth by succession from their carterly progenitors, turne your greedie desire of golden gaine, to a ioyfull gaining of your posterities happines.

But fie of couetousnes, that is the roote of all mischiefe; for men that haue enough to make their Daughters Gentlewomen, by matching them with houses of no small antiquitie, will, with the desire they haue therevnto, wooe men of great liuing with large offers, to match their sons and heires with them; Who, being drawn therunto, will vse them their wiues meetely well during the life time of their owne and wiues Fathers, for that their estates are by their great portions better maintained, and their best freends thereby well pleased. But let your Daughters beware, after your and their Fathers death (when all hope is taken away of a further gaine, and a search made of their auncestors alliance), for then, seeing the basenes of your pettigree, and *the* noble descents of their predeceffors, that corruption of blood which you, with your corruption of money, hath made, and their Fathers couetousnes hath purchased to their succession, will (as for the most parte it doth in the like cases) moue such hartbreakinges, as either quarrelles of diuorcement or futes of separation will surely followe. When, on the contrary parte, if respecting gentrie, thereby to aduance your houses, you would match them with Gent. yonger brothers (of whom there ought to be lesse regarde, the chiefe house being maintained), your Daughters portions being the onely maintenance of their estates, would be so strong a helpe to encrease their affection towards your children, with purchased happines to their posterities, as knowing no household quarrelles can be without charges, they will be glad to studie to encrease the sweetenes of vnitie, thereby to continue euerlasting prosperitie to their following ages.

[¹ sig. I,
back]

¹ *Honestie* knowes what the fairing-monger will saye, when he shall heare of one so flat against his opinion touching mariages, not letting to affirme that it is most necessarie that the consent of parents should be last sued for, and little regarded in respect of loue, especiallye seeing his Pamphlet buildes so diuinely on farre-fetcht arguments to proue the contrarie. Therefore, to preuent him, and to prouide against the great danger their matches-making procure, *Honestie* must tell him, and assure all those that are of his minde, that were the worlde like vnto that wherein *Abraham* liued, or were Fathers of these daies of his disposition, his argument drawn from the gift of *Euah* to *Adam*, by God, and such like, might seeme to proue some thing. But, seeing these times in effect are quite contrary to those, and the dispositions of men in our daies altogether disagreeing to theirs of that age, his time had beene better spent in a worke to some other purpose. For a little to seeme to flie from my matter, and to haue a sling at him: how many Fathers now a daies are there so carefull of prouiding conuenient mates for their children at a seasonable time as our great Grandfather *Abraham* was? Againe, how manye haue children that are so obedient to bend their loue to their Parents liking as was *Isaac*? Oh, Sir, you are deceaued, our yong ones are of riper wits, and far forwarder then Children were in those daies, and our olde ones are of more couetous mindes, and far forwarder to be drawn to their childrens good; for what greater good then to enioye them they loue? and what will offend our parents more then to entreat that he sent his seruant to search forth one of his next kinne, not to enquire after one that had most wealth; and should some children entertaine no loue in our time vntill their parents procured it, nor sue for a match before their freends made it, it were requisite their honestie should be great, or I knowe what will follow. Yet, againe, Fathers liue not now adaies ordinarily aboue a hundred yeeres, whereby they haue a long lasting gouernement ouer their Children; but beholde it is far contrary, and therefore it requires contrary proceedings. And lastly (for that I will not be long at this time in this matter), the holy writ beares not such sway in our consciences, as it workt wonders in theirs of those daies; and therefore, to helpe our weaknes in the want of that warrant, we must vse the meanes—loue—to drawe vs to that euerlasting happines.

[² sig. I 2]

But once more to my courting companions, to make as speedie an end with them, whose haire-braine fancying and fickle affection is no small hindrance to loues proceedings. *Honestie*, hauing set downe the meanes to finde out their knauerie, hath also provided a batte to beate downe such flatterie, the instruement to finde out their dissimulation being a search into their lingring, and the clubbe to match their clubbe feete, a loathing of their company. But to come to the punishment I would haue such to be plagued with: in my opinion, and by *Honesties* doome, they are worthie to be set for scarre-crowes in newe sowne fieldes; and the rather thus goes my iudgement, for that seeing they are so skilfull to doo harme in townes and cities, if that bad-used wit were forst to be employed about that commodious doo-good, they would inuent excellent meanes to preuent the spoyle the rauinous birds commit. Their pregnant wits and cunning deuices to catch womens affections, that farre exceede crowes in reason and discretion, confirme they would be strange, and therefore profitable; yet, because it is somewhat too base, though their practises are as beaftly, I will ende with them with this resolution:—That they are as worthie to stand in white-sheets in Churches, for leauing women in desperate cases, hauing drawen them into that fooles paradise of ouer-passionate affection, as they that poyson strangers bellies; This would make faithfull sutors happie, constant louers ioyfull, and courting dissemblers feareful.

Honestie, hauing noted these enormities harbored in lewde dispositions shuffled into this Morrice, at last lent ¹his eares, and bestowed his eyes, ioyning with him his best vnderstanding, to search into the natures of *the* remnant, to see whether *the* multitud were mixed with these in bad conceits. But, behold, so contrarie practizes were performed by them, as those proceedings are disagreeing to the furtherance of perfect vnitie. Amongst these did I beholde *Loue* dandled with sweete musick, and constant affection vpholden with modest demeanour. The foueraignes of Virginitie displayed their heauenly dignitie, by the imperiall colours of matchles beautie, grounde with the *Ambrosian* oyle of celestially courtesie; and the matronly deities proued their ethereall discreetnes, in following the heauens prescription for Loues true imitation. I saw Kindenes matched with Goodwill, Affection linked vnto Liking, & Loue embraced with

[1 sig. I 2,
back]

Loyaltie, Vertue leading them to eternall happines. They liked not for a moment, loued not vpon aduantage, nor wooed but with a good intention. These shaked not hands with hatefull hearts, nor vsed smoothe tongues with dissembling thoughts. They courted not kindly, to corrupt shamefully, ne protested with vowes, to wound with wordes, and kill with deeds; but hand and heart went together, and the tongue vttered their passionate conceites; their heart louing them as faithfully as their tongue labored to winne their courtesie. And you no earthly creatures, though ioyned with men for their eternall good (you heauenly saints, I meane, masking in the shadowes of terrestriall shapes), you beautifie this crue with your deuine motions, whose mindes are onely inriched with the true wisdomes that vpholdes Loues welfare. Your sacred actions ayde his simple followers, & naught but your carefull kindnes binds mens weake affections from vnconstancie. You make their praiers effectually, their request gayning through you the safetie of their longing. Your pittie brings them to pietie, and your almes relieues them from the captiuitie of Despaire. Destressed *Honestie* is soly harbored within your milke-white bosomes, and were it not for your bountifull charitie, his end

[¹ sig. I 3] ¹ would be tormenting beggerie. Your allablasther pappes do wholly minister moisture to my consuming welfare, and from their sugered teates doe I onely drawe my liquor of life, so that by your motherly kindnes to decaying *Honestie*, they reape likewise their blisse, that would giue mee my baine; recouering contrarie to their wils the remaynder of their weale. For how marcheth the passionate souldier, without you sound the alarome of his good-speede? or, how fareth the amorous gallant, except you play the galliard of acceptance? Vnfortunate eyes, your pearching fightes shal be cruelly curst, and vnnaturall vsage shall be offered to your obedient hearts; for seeing and adoring celestiall obiects, vnles their relenting pittie take mercie on your destressed abiects. And blaspheming tongue, thy vnbridled impudencie shall heape vpon thy owne back a bundle of vtollerable miseries, by being forced to vtter execrable flanders against them for their hard hearts, that were purchased to worke your hard happe through your owne iniurious follie. Passions of discontent must please your fancies, and sorrowfull poems must grace your musick; deep sighes must straine your heart-strings, and direfull forrowe lull

you a sleepe, when visions of new distressed must disquiet your greatest happines, and dreames of fresh vexations forbid you the least ease. You shall sue in vaine, because you haue delighted in vanitie; and hope without obtaining, for that your heart haue harbored dissembling, except these goddesses, whose goodnes is vnspcakable, vouchsafe to minister a plaister of pittie to your louing pietie. It is their courtesie that must make you chereful, and their good conceits must cherish your dying mirth; their liking must honour your affection, and their gratefull kindnes must aduance the zeale of your protested loyaltie. It is in their choyse to change your chance, and in their power to bridle Fortune; for that the Fates, being their sisters, are at their calles to set downe your destinies. If they say they doe hate you, beware, for they can hurt you; but if they affirme they loue you, strue to continue your present happines, and feare to lose the prof-^[x sig I 3, back]fered blessednes. Why are women accounted weake, but because their nature is pure? Or, wherefore are they necessarie, but that men cannot liue without their companie? When we are succorles, they comfort vs; being melancholy, they cheere vs; and they are the meanes to redeeme vs from the gates of hell. Being mad, their muscall tongues chase away the euill spirits; being bewitched, their loue charmes the tormenting diuels; and being swallowed vp by the gulfe licentiousnes, the heauens haue created *them* the helpe to redeeme vs from that hellish furnace

Thus much for their power; & now, a little of their properties. O, sacred mercie (neuer more honored then in the pittifull bosomes of these feminine deities), thou holds thy chief harborow within their passionate bosomes, & only art nourished in their relenting harts. Thou singst within the closets of their pittifull consciences, & reioycest within the castles of their celestially soules; thou liuest with them secure, and makes through them multitudes of miserable wretches possessors of the higheest happines. Thou heares the sighes of suing sweet-hearts, & comforts the pinching grieve of pining louers. Thou meditates of their vowes, and studies to requite their carefull affection with kindest curtesie. Thou pittiest the foolish maladies of fond nouices, & sorrowest at the weaknes of many mens wisdome. Thou struest to do no wrong, that thou maist be free from iniurie; and labours to shunne suspect, that thou maist bee without misdoubt.

Thou studiest to repay, that thou maist reape thy due; and keepest thy day, that thou maist bee well dealt with. Yea, much more, and so much the better for man; thou pitties them that would spoile thee, and forgiues them that would hurt thee; thou wishest them well that would bereaue thee of thy weale, & louest them (which is thy only fault), ouer entirely that esteeme of thy proffered kindnes too too carelessly. Yet let discretion haue the second place with you, for she guides them by reason, and that gouerns men with wisdom.

[² leaf I 4] She knowes when to charme with ¹ sweete melodie, and when to correct with louing perswasions; she vseth to dandle vertue, and reprove vice, to embrace good and flie from euill, and willingly to subiect obedient imitation to holtsome counsell, as also dutifully to desire libertie from stooping to iniurious doctrine. Shee searcheth into the depth of subiected seruise, and discouering whether it be offered of curtesie, or proffered of knauerie, regards it according to it value, and rewardes it with it full worth. She teacheth to like ere they loue, and louing to encrease, or deminish the heate of their fancie, according to the proportion of kinde coales that nourisheth the fire of their affection. She perswadeth to launce, courting to the bones to finde out the danger; and seeing what likelyhoode, either of weale or woe is likest to ensue; shee sheweth them what is good to withdrawe the putrified liking, and what is holtsome to preferue the sound loue. And she studies to make them happie, by wishing men their welfare to make them constant, by endeuoring to encrease a sparke of loyaltie, and to make them honored by instructing them in the true rules of modestie.

And now step in further, thou beautifying modestie; for thou addest no small renoune to their adored natures, nor doth thy bashfulnes meanelly adorne their highly prised excellencies; thy rosie blusshes bring no small honor to their admired beauty; nor euer dies that sacred stayning colour, vntil by mans corruption that maidenly marke be extinguished. Yet then (but, ah! that man should do so much!) thy decent sobrietie aduanceth the dignity of their womanly chastitie, and thy matronly behauiour displayeth the soueraintie of their motherly nurture. Thou giues examples that, imitated, preuent occasions of enticing offers to draw to folly, and escapes the iniurious slanders of suspitious searchers, that hunt after shewes of sensuality. Thou main-

tainest peace at home, escapest suspect abroad, and keepest thy louers heart from harboring ielousie, the chiefe procurer of greatest miserie. And thou gaineest liking, and encreasest affection, receiuing loue and loyaltie with an affu^red pledge of neuer-dying constancie. Neither art thou, euerlasting goddes, a stranger to mens-helpers; for thou, with all the vertues, waite vpon these beautiful spectacles, and they, with the Graces, extol those the earths miracles. Their praises are vnspokeable, for that their worth is vnualuable and their desertes vnrequited, because through mans weakenes misprised; but such and so great were the adorned excellencies of these humaine deities, as their practises layde open their princely courtesie, and their performances made their louers happie. And men reioyced through their faithfull affection; studying to requite womens euerlasting kindnes with the reward of neuer-ceasing constancie. Men vsed heavenly wisdom to obtaine liking, and carefull behauior to confirme loue being purchased; and women were forward to bestowe modest kindnes, being faithfully dealt withall, and effectually requited proffered curtesie; neither being too too coye, or shewing themselues ouer forward to be wonne. But briefly, and so to end: euery one of them rendred like for like with proofes of neuer-altering affection, they thereby gaining vnto themsel[e]s the sugred sweetnes of celestiall amitie, & tying vnto their kinde thoughts, the affections of their well-willers, with euerlasting constancie.

[leaf 1 4,
back]

F I N I S.

T O M
T E L - T R O T H S
M E S S A G E , A N D
H I S P E N S C O M -
P L A I N T .

*A worke not vnpleasant to be read,
nor vnprofitable to be fol-
lowed.*

Written by Jo. La. Gent.

Nullam in correcto crimine crimen erit.



L O N D O N .

Imprinted for *R. Howell*, and are to be sold at his shop,
neere the great North doore of Paules, at the signe of
the white horse. 1600.



[p. 5]

TO THE WORSIPFULL

MASTER George Dowse, GENTLE-
MAN, Io. La. WISHETH FRVITI-

on of endlesse felicitie.



F writings may quittance benefits or goodwill, more then common curtesie, then accept, I beseech you, these first fruites of my barren braine, the token of my loue, the seale of my affection, and the true cognizance of my vnfaigned affection. And for so-much as the plot of my Pamphlet is rude, though true, the matter meane, the manner meaner, let me humbly desire, though slenderly I deserue, to haue it patronized vnder the wings of your fauour; in requitall whereof I will be,

Yours euer to command,

Io. La.





[p 6]

TO THE GENTLEMEN
READERS.

I	Vdiciall Readers, wise Apolloes flocke,	1
	Whose eyes like keyes doe open learnings locke;	
	Daigne with your eye-lampes to behold this booke,	
	And in all curtesie thereon to looke :	4
	Thus being patronized by your view,	
	I shall not be ashamed of his hew.	
	O graunt my suite, my suite you vnderstand,	
	That I may you commend, you me command.	8
	Io. La.	





TOM TEL-TROTHS

Message, and his pens complaint.

[1]



Thou that didst earst Romes Capitall defend, [p. 7] 1
Defend this sacred relique of thy wing,
And by thy power Diuine some succor send,
To saue the same from carping *Momus* sting: 4
That, like a tell-troth, it may boldly blaze,
And pensill-like paint forth a iust dispraise. 6

[2]

Goe, naked pen, the hearts true secretarie, 7
Imbath'd in sable liquor mixt with gall,
And from thy master these rude verses carrie,
Sent to the world, and in the world, to all: 10
In mournfull verse lament the faults of men,
Doe this, and then returne heart-easing pen. 12

[3]

Time sits him downe to weepe in sorrowes fell, [p. 8] 13
And *Truth* bewailes mans present wickednes;
Both *Time* and *Truth* a dolefull tale doe tell,
Deploring for mans future wretchednes. 16
With teare-bedewed cheeks, help, help therefore,
Sad tragicke muse, to weepe, bewaile, deplore. 18

[]

Mee thinks I see the ghost of *Conscience*, 19
Raisde from the darke graue of securitie,
Viewing the world, who once was banisht thence,
Her cheeks with teares made wet, with sighs made dry: 22
And this did aggrauate her grieffe the more,
To see the world much worse than twas before. 24

[5]

She wept; I saw her weepe, and wept to see 25
 The salt teares trickling from her aged eyes;
 Yea, and my pen, copartner needs would be,
 With black-inke teares, our teares to simpathize: 28
 So long wee wept, that all our eyes were drie,
 And then our tongues began aloud to crie. 30

[6]

Come, sad *Melpomene*, thou tragicke Muse, [p. 9] 31
 To beare a part in these our dolefull cries!
 Spare not with taunting verses to accuse
 The wicked world of his iniquities! 34
 Tell him his owne! be bold, and not ashamed,
 Nor cease to speake till thou his faults hast blamed! 36

[7]

I seeme to heare resounding Ecchoes tatling, 37
 Of misdemeanors rainging heere and there,
 And party-coloured Pyes on greene bowes prating,
 Of foolish fashions raging euerie where: 40
 Then blame not my muse, what so ere she say,
 Sith birds and Ecchoes, mens fond faults bewray. 42

[8]

O world, no world, but rather sinke of sinne, 43
 Where blind and fickle Fortune Empresse raigneth;
 O men, no men, but swine that lie therein,
 Among whom, vertue wrong'd by vice complaineth: 46
 Thus world bad, men worse, men in world, worldly men,
 Doe giue occasion to my plaintife pen. 48

[9]

Sinne, like the monstra *Hydra*, hath more heads, [p. 10] 49
 Then heauens hie rooffe hath siluer-spangled starres,
 And in his lawes,¹ mens soules to hell he leads, [1 orig. lawes]
 Where fierie fiends meete them in flaming Charres: 52
 This Pirate, like a Pilate, keepes each coast,
 Bringing his guests vnto their hellish hoast. 54

[10]

If all the earth were writing paper made, 55
 All plowshares pens, all furrowes lines in writing,
 The Ocean inke, wherein the sea-nimphes wade,
 And all mens consciences were scribes inditing : 58
 Too much could not be written of mans sinne,
 Since sinne did in the first man first begin. 60

[11]

But as the Ægyptian dog runs on the brinke 61
 Of Nilus seuen-fold ouer-flowing floud,
 And staying not, nowhere, nowhere doth drinke,
 For feare of Crocodiles which lurke in mudde : 64
 So shall my pen runne briefly ouer all,
 Reciting these misdeeds which worke mans thral. 66

[12]

Nature, that whilome bore the chieftest sway, [p 11] 67
 Bridling mans bodie with the raignes of Reason,
 Is now inforc'd in vncloth walkes to stray,
 Exilde by custome, which encrocht through treason : 70
 Instead of Art, Natures companion,
 Fancie with custome holdes dominion. 72

[13]

Ouid could testifie that, in his time, 73
Astraea fled from earth to heauen aboue,
 Loathing iniustice as a damned crime,
 Which she with equall poised schoales did proue : 76
 And this pen in my time shall iustifie,
 That true religion is constrainde to flie. 78

[14]

The two leafe-dores of *quondam* honestie, 79
 Which on foure vertues Cardinall were turned,
 By Cardinals degree and poperie,
 Are now as heretike-like reliques burned : 82
 Now carnall vice, not vertue Cardinall,
 Plaies Christmas gambals in the Popes great hall. 84

[15]

Well, sith the Popes name pops so fitly in,	[p 12]	85
From Pope ile take the Latin P. away,		
And Pope shall with the Greeke π . then begin,		
Whose type and tippe that he may climbe ile pray :		88
Pray all with mee that he may climbe this letter ;		
For in this praier each man is his detter.		90

[16]

I passe not although with bell, booke, and candle,		91
His bald-pate Priests and shoren Friers curse ;		
My plaintife pen, his rayling text shall handle :		
Nor doe I thinke my selfe one iot the worse :		94
Yea, though my pen were in their Purgatorie,		
Yet should my pen hold on his plaintife storie.		96

[17]

Oh, what a world is it for one to see,		97
How Monkes and Friers would religious seeme ?		
Whose heads make humble congies to the knee,		
That of their humble minds all men might deeme :		100
These be the sycophants, whose fained zeale		
Hath brought-in woe to euerie commonweale.		102

[18]

The Monkes, like monkees, hauing long blacke tailes,	[p 13]	103
Tell olde wiues tales to busie simple braines ;		
The baudie Friers do hunt to catch females,		
To shriue and free them from infernall paines.		106
Thus Monkes and Friers, fire-brands of hell,		
Like to incarnate diuels with vs dwell.		108

[19]

But I as loath, so will I leaue to write,		109
Against this popish ribble rabble route,		
Hoping ere long some other will indite		
Whole volumes gainst their slander-bearers stout :		112
Poets and Painters meane while shall descry,		
With pens and pensils, their hypocrisie.		114

[20]

As thus my pen doth glance at euerie vice, 115
 Needs must I heare poore Learnings lamentation,
 Which whilome was esteem'd at highest price,
 But now reiected is of euerie nation : 118
 She loueth men, yet is shee wrong'd by men ;
 Her wronged loue giues matter to my pen. 120

[21]

Pallas, the nurse of Nature-helping Art, [p 14] 121
 Whose babes are Schollers, and whose cradels, schooles,
 From whose milch teates no pupils would depart,
 Till they by cunning shund the names of fooles : 124
 She, euen she, wanders in open streetes,
 Seeking for schollers, but no schollers meetes. 126

[22]

Englands two eyes, Englands two Nurceries, 127
 Englands two nests, Englands two holy mounts,
 I meane, Englands two Vniuersities,
 Englands two Lamps, Englands two sacred founts, 130
 Are so puld at, puld out, and eke puld downe,
 That they can scarce maintaine a wide sleeu'd gowne. 132

[23]

Lately as one CAME ore a BRIDGE, he saw 133
 An OXE stand ore a FORDE to quench his drouth :
 But lo, the Oxe his dry lips did withdraw,
 And from the water lifted vp his mouth. 136
 Like *Tantalus*, this drie Oxe there did stand :
 God grant this darke *Ænigma* may be scand ! 138

[24]

The Liberall Sciences, in number seauen, [p. 15] 139
 Which, in seauen ages, like seauen Monarchs raigned,
 And shin'd on earth as Planets seauen in heauen,
 Are now like Almesfolkes beggerly maintained, 142
 Whilst in their roome, seauen deadly sins beare sway,
 Which makes these seauen Arts, like seauen slaues obey. 144

[25]

Grammer, the ground and strong foundation 145
 Vpon which Lady Learning builds her tower ;
Grammer, the path-way and direction
 That leadeth vnto *Pallas* sacred bower, 148
 Stands bondslaue-like, of Stationers to be sold,
 Whom all in free Schooles erst might free behold. 150

[26]

Add *Rhetoricke*, adornde with figures fine, 151
 Trickt vp with tropes, and clad in comely speech,
 Is gone a Pilgrime to the Muses nine,
 For her late wrong assistance to beseech. 154
 Now rich Curmudgions, best orations make,
 Whilst in their pouches gingling coyne they shake. 156

[27]

Logicke, which like a whetstone sharpes the braine, [p 16] 157
Logicke, which like a touch-stone tries the minde,
Logicke, which like a load-stone erst drew gaine,
 Is now for want of maintenance halfe pinde ; 160
 And sith in Colledges no maides may dwell,
 Many from Colledges doe her expell. 162

[28]

Musicke, I much bemourne thy miserie, 163
 Whose well-tunde notes delight the Gods aboue,
 Who, with thine eare-bewitching melodie,
 Doest vnto men and beasts such pleasure moue : 166
 Though wayling cannot helpe, I wayle thy wrong,
 Bearing a part with thee in thy sad song. 168

[29]

Arithmeticke, she next in number stands, 169
 Numbring her cares in teaching how to number ;
 Which cares, in number passing salt-sea sands,
 Disturbe her minde, and still her corps incumber : 172
 Care addeth griefe, griefe multiplies her woe,
 Whose ebbe subtracting, brings reducing floe. 174

[30]

<i>Geometrie</i> , as seruile prentise bound	[p. 17]	175
Vnto the Mother earth for many yeares,		
Hath long since meated out the massie ground,		
Which ground the impression of her foot-steps beares.		178
Great was her labour, great should be her gaine		
But her great labour was repaid with paine.		180

[31]

<i>Astronomie</i> , not least though last, hath lost		181
By cruell fate her starre-embroidred coate ;		
Her spherie globe in dangers seas is tost,		
And in mishap her instruments doe floate :		184
All Almanacks hereof can witnesse beare,		
Else would my selfe hereof as witnesse sweare.		186

[32]

But how should I with stile poetically		187
Proceede to rime in meeter or in verse ?		
If Poetrie, the Queene of verses all,		
Should not be heard, whose plaint mine care doth pierce ?		190
Oh helpe, <i>Apollo</i> , with apologie,		
To blaze her vnderdeserued iniurie.		192

[33]

<i>Horace</i> did write the Art of Poetrie,	[p. 18]	193
The Art of Poetrie <i>Virgill</i> commended ;		
<i>Ouid</i> thereto his studies did applie,		
Whose life and death, still Poetrie defended.		196
Thrice happie they, but thrice vnhappie I,		
They sang her praise, but I her iniurie.		198

[34]

O princely Poetrie, true Prophetesse,		199
Perfections patterne, Matrone of the Muses,		
I weepe to thinke how rude men doe oppresse		
And wrong thine Art with their absurd abuses.		202
They are but drosse, thine Art it is diuine,		
Cast not therefore thy pearles to such swine.		204

[35]

The sugred songs that sweete Swannes vse to sing, 205
 Floting adowne *Meanders* siluer shore,
 To countrie swaines no kinde of solace bring;
 The winding of an horne they fancie more. 208
 No marueile then though Ladie Poetrie
 Doe suffer vnderued iniurie. 210

[36]

Like to *Batillus*, euery ballet-maker, [p. 19] 211
 That neuer climbd vnto *Pernassus* Mount,
 Will so incroach, that he will be partaker
 To drinke with *Maro* at the *Castale* fount. 214
 Yea, more then this, to weare a lawrell Crowne
 By penning new gigges for a countrie clowne. 216

[37]

When *Marsias* with his bagpipes did contend 217
 To make farre better Musicke then *Apollo* :
 When *Thameras* in selfe conceit would mend
 The Muses sweete songs note, what then did follow ? 220
 Conuicted both, to both this was assignde :
 The first was hangd, the last was stroken blinde. 222

[38]

And may it happen to those bastard braines, 223
 Whose base rimes striue to better Poetrie,
 That they may suffer like deserued paines,
 For these be they that worke her infamie. 226
 Thus hauing blazed false Poets in their hew,
 Deare Poetrie (though loth) I bid adiew. 228

[39]

As Poetrie in poesie I leaue, [p. 20] 229
 I see seauen sinnes which crost seauen Liberall Arts,
 Which with their fained shew doe men deceaue,
 And on the wide worlds stage doe play their parts: 232
 As thus men follow them, they follow men,
 They moue more matter to my plaintife pen. 234

[40]

These mincing maides and fine-strict truls, ride post 235
 To *Plutoes* pallace, like purueyers proude;
 Thither they leade many a damned ghost,
 With howling consorts carroling aloude : 238
 And as one after one they post to hell,
 My plaintife pen shall their abuses tell. 240

[41]

First praunceth Pride with principallitie, 241
 Guarded with troupes of new-found fashions :
 Her hand-maides are Fancie and Vanitie :
 These three a progresse goe throughout all nations ; 244
 And as by any towne they passe along,
 People to see them gather in a throng. 246

[42]

Now fine-ruft Ruffines in their brauerie [p 21] 247
 Make cringing cuts with new inuention :
 New-cut at Cardes brings some to beggarie,
 But this new-cut brings most vnto destruction : 250
 So long they cut, that in their purse no groate
 They leaue, but cut some others purse or throate. 252

[43]

Bedawbd with gold like *Apuleius* Asse, 253
 Some princk and pranck it : others, more precise,
 Full trick and trim tir'd in the looking-glasse,
 With strange apparell doe themselues disguise. 256
 But could they see what others in them see,
 Follie might flie, and they might wiser bee. 258

[44]

Some gogle with the eyes, some squint-eyd looke, 259
 Some at their fellowes, squemish sheepes-eyes cast,
 Some turne the whites vp, some looke to the foote,
 Some winke, some twinke, some blinke, some stare as fast. 262
 The summe is infinite ; eye were a detter,
 If all should answere I, with I the letter. 264

[45]

Many desire to foote it with a grace,	[p. 22]	265
Or Lion-like to walke maiestically :		
But whilst they strue to keepe an equipace,		
Their gate is foolish and phantasticall.		268
As Hobby-horses, or as Anticks daunce,		
So doe these fooles vnseemely seeme to prounce.		270

[46]

I will not write of sweatie, long, shag haire,		271
Or curled lockes with frised periwigs :		
The first, the badge that Ruffins vse to weare,		
The last, the cognisance of wanton rigs.		274
But sure I thinke, as in <i>Medusaes</i> head,		
So in their haire, are craulling Adders bred.		276

[47]

Men, <i>Proteus</i> -like, resemble euery shape,		277
And like Camelions euery colour faine ;		
How deare so ere, no fashion may escape		
The hands of those whose gold may it attaine :		280
Like ebbe and flow, these fashions goe and come,		
Whose price amounteth to a massie summe.		282

[48]

The sharp-set iawes of greedie sheeres deuoure,	[p. 23]	283
And seaze on euery cloath as on a pray,		
Like <i>Atropose</i> cutting that in an houre,		
Which weauers <i>Lachese</i> -like wrought in a day.		286
These snip-snap sheeres, in al shieres get great shares,		
And are partakers of the dearest wares.		288

[49]

When fig-tree leaues did shroude mans nakednesse,		289
And home-spun cloath was counted clothing gay,		
Then was mans bodie clad with comelinesse,		
And honour shrouded was in rude array :		292
But since those times by future times were changed,		
Thousands of fashions through the world haue ranged.		294

[50]

Ambitious thoughts, hearts haughtie, mindes aspiring, 295
 Proud lookes, fond gates, and what not vndescreete,
 As seruants waite, mens bodie still atyring
 With far-fetcht gewgawes for yong children meete : 298
 Wherewith whilst they themselues doe daily decke,
 Brauado-wise they scorne to brooke the checke. 300

[51]

Some couet winged sleeues like *Mercurie*, [p. 24] 301
 Others, round hose much like to Fortunes wheele
 (Noting thereby their owne vnconstancie),
 Some weare short cloakes, some cloakes that reach their heele. 304
 These Apish trickes vsde in their daily weedes,
 Bewray phantasticke thoughts, fond words, foule deedes. 306

[52]

Bold Bettresse braues and brags it in her wiers, 307
 And buskt she must be, or not bust at all :
 Their riggish heads must be adorn'd with tires,
 With Periwigs, or with a golden Call. 310
 Tut, tut, tis nothing in th'Exchange to change
 Monthly, as doth the Moone, their fashions strange. 312

[53]

It seemes, strange birds in England now are bred, 313
 And that rare fowles in England build their nest,
 When Englishmen with plumes adorne their head,
 As with a Cocks-combe or a Peacocks crest. 316
 These painted plumes, men in their caps doe weare,
 And women in their hands doe trickly beare. 318

[54]

Perhaps some women being foule, doe vse [p. 25] 319
 Fowles feathers to shroude their deformitie :
 Others perchance these plumes doe rather chuse,
 From weather and winde to shield their phisnomie. 322
 But whilst both men and women vse these feathers,
 They are deem'd light as feathers, winde and weathers. 324

[55]

Some dames are pumpt, because they liue in pompe, 325
 That with *Herodias* they might nimbly daunce,
 Some in their pantophels too stately stompe,
 And most in corked shooes doe nicely prauunce. 328
 But here I doubtfull stand, whether to blame
 The shoemakers, or them that weare the same. 330

[56]

In countrie townes, men vse fannes for their corne, 331
 And such like fannes I cannot discommend :
 But in great cities, fannes by truls are borne,
 The sight of which doth greatly God offend. 334
 And were it not I should be deem'd precise,
 I could approue these fond fann'd fooles vnwise. 336

[57]

A Painter lately with his pensill drew 337
 The picture of a Frenchman and Italian,
 With whom he plac'd the Spaniard, Turk, and Iew ;
 But by himselfe he sat the Englishman. 340
 Before these laughing, went *Democritus*,
 Behinde these weeping, went *Heraclitus*. 342

[58]

All these in comely vestures were atired, 343
 According to the custome of their land,
 The Englishman excepted, who desired
 With others feathers, like a Iay to stand. 346
 Thus whilst he seeketh forraine brauerie,
 He is accused of vnconstancie. 348

[59]

Some call him Ape, because he imitates ; 349
 Some foole, because he fancies euery bable ;
 Some liken him to fishes caught with baites,
 Some to the winde, because he is vnstable. 352
 Then blame him not, although gainst Englishmen,
 This Englishman writ with his plaintife pen. 354

[60]

But hush ! no more ; enough's enough ; fie, fie,
 Wilt thou thy countries faults in verse compile ? [p. 27] 355
 Desist betimes, least thou *peccau* crie,
 For no bird, sure, his owne nest will defile. 358
 Well, sith thou brak'st his head, and mad'st a sore,
 With silence giue a salue, and write no more. 360

[61]

The world began, and so will end, with Pride ; 361
 With Pride this poynt began, with Pride it ends :
 And whilst in pleasures Chariot she doth ride,
 My plaintife pen, page-like still by her wends. 364
 Thus hauing painted out Prides roysting race,
 At this poynts end, a periods poynt I place. 366

[62]

Now pyning Enuie whining doth appeare, 367
 With bodie leane, with visage pale and wan,
 With withered face, and with vnkeamed haire ;
 She doth both fret and fume, sweare, curse, and ban : 370
 She fareth ill, when other men fare well,
 Others prosperitie is made her hell. 372

[63]

She peepes and pries into all actions, [p. 28] 373
 And she is neuer well but when she iarres :
 She is the mother of all factions,
 She broacheth quarrels, and increaseth warres : 376
 Anger is hot, and wrath doth roughly rage,
 But nothing, Enuies heating hate can swage. 378

[64]

This Trull inticed *Pompey* to contend, 379
 And with great *Caesar* ciuill warres to moue :
 This dame allured kings their liues to spend
 In bloodie broyles, and braules deuoyd of loue : 382
 Incensing subiects gainst their gouernours,
 Sonnes against Sires, Captiues against Conquerors. 384

[65]

As Iron doth consume it selfe with rust, 385
 By eating which, it selfe it still doth eate,
 So doth the enuious man soone come to dust,
 And doth consume himselfe whilst he doth fret. 388
 Thus Enuie still conspires to end his life,
 That liuing with another, liues at strife. 390

[66]

We reade that Enuie twixt two men did grow, [P. 29] 391
 And that the one of them one eye would lose,
 So that he might pluck both eyes from his foe,
 And plucking both eyes out, his eyes might close. 394
 O who would thinke, a man should beare the minde
 To lose one eye, to make another blinde ! 396

[67]

What trade so base but there is Enuie in it, 397
 When Minstrels with blinde Fidlers daily strue ?
 What strife is there, but Enuie doth begin it,
 When iusling Iacks, to walls their betters driue ? 400
 The truth hereof I shall not neede to sweare,
 Sith *Hesiod*e old hereof doth witnesse beare. 402

[68]

What is the cause that many mop and moe, 403
 That many scoffe, and scorne, and gibe, and iest,
 With rimes and riddles rating at their foe,
 Flouting the base, and powting at the best ? 406
 What is the cause ? the cause one line shall show :
 Enuie is cause, which in mens hearts doth grow. 408

[69]

Knowledge, within the hart of man doth dwell ; [P. 30] 409
 And loue, within the liuer builds his nest :
 But Enuie, in the gall of man doth swell,
 And playes the rebell in his boyling brest. 412
 O would to God men had no gall at all,
 That Enuie might not harbour in the gall ! 414

[70]

Enuie and Charitie together stroue 415
 Which of them two a man should entertaine :
 The one with spight, the other sought with loue ;
 The first in gall, the last in hart would raigne : 418
 So long they stroue, that Enuie lost the field,
 And Charitie made Enuie captiue yeeld. 420

[71]

Enuie, adiew, and welcome Charitie, 421
 The bond of peace and all perfection,
 The way that leades to true felicitie,
 Filling the soule with most diuine refection. 424
 Enuie shall goe, Ile cleaue vnto thy lore,
 Thee will I serue, and thee will I adore. 426

[72]

Next followes Wrath, Enuies fierce fellow-mate, [P. 31] 427
 Attired in a roring Lions skin,
 Letting along with a giant-like gate,
 Which aye a tyrant terrible hath bin. 430
 A butcher like, within his hands doth beare
 Their harts, which he with woluish teeth doth teare. 432

[73]

Wrath moued *Herod* with blood-thirstie hart 433
 To slaughter infants from their mothers brest
 Like lambes scarce ean'd, or doutes new-hatcht to part,
 And with liues losse to leaue both damme and nest. 436
 O, had King *Herod* knowne what would ensue,
 He had not done what he did after rue. 438

[74]

He shed their blood ; their blood did vengeance craue ; 439
 They first too soone, he last too late did dye ;
 They led the way, he followed to the graue ;
 Both they and he a pray for wormes did lye. 442
 Yet thus they differ, wormes them dead did eate,
 But him aliue, the wormes did make their meate. 444

[75]

Wrath in <i>Caligulaes</i> mad head did grow,	[P 32]	445
Making him wish that Rome had but one head,		
That he might smite off that head at a blow,		
Whose pompe he saw, like many heads to spread :		448
But whilst he thought Romes heads in one to lop,		
Romes heads in one, his flower of life did crop.		450

[76]

Wrath is the cause that men in Smith-field meete		451
(Which may be called smite-field properly) ;		
Wrath is the cause that maketh euery streete		
A shambles, and a bloodie butcherie,		454
Where roysting ruffins quarrell for their drabs,		
And for sleight causes, one the other stabs.		456

[77]

Wrath pufes men vp with mindes Thrasonically,		457
And makes them braue it braggadochio-like :		
Wrath maketh men triumph Tyrannically,		
With sword, with shield, with gunne, with bill and pike :		460
Yea, now adaies Wrath causeth him to dye		
That to his fellow dares to giue the lye.		462

[78]

<i>Mars</i> is the Chieftaine of this wrathfull host,	[P 33]	463
Whose embrewd standard is with blood dyed red ;		
Of many he spares few, and kills the most,		
And with their corps his bloodie panch is fed.		466
Tara tantara, sa, sa, kill, kill, he cries,		
Filling with blood the earth, with srikes the skies.		468

[79]

Wraths fierce fore-runner is Timeritie,		469
And after Wrath Repentance shortly followes :		
The first rides gallop into miserie,		
The last procures sadnes, despayre, and sorrow.		472
Who therefore doe desire to liue at rest,		
Let them not harbour wrath within their brest.		474

[30]

Wraths contrarie is Lady Patience, 475
 Who conquers most when she is conquered,
 She teacheth beasts that they by common sence
 Might teach to vanquish, being vanquished. 478
 Rammes running back with greater force returne,
 And Lime most hot, in most cold springs doth burne. 480

[81]

Patience, a cosin hath calde Sufferance, [p. 34] 481
 Neerely akind, because she is so kinde;
 She is most like a Doue in countenance,
 And like an Angell in her humble minde; 484
 All Phænix-like she is but rarely found,—
 Would God she might be seene on English ground,— 486

[82]

Then naked swords themselues would neuer cloath 487
 With wounded skinnues of men whom men did maime;
 Then quarrellers would, after quaffing, loath
 With stabs and strokes to kill or make men lame. 490
 Then, then I say, swords might in scabberts sleepe,
 And some might laugh which are constrainde to weepe. 492

[83]

As thus my pen, writing of Vice, spares none, 493
 It brings into my sight a lazie Gill,
 A sleeping sluggard and a drowsie drone,
 Which snorts and snores, and euer sitteth still: 496
 Some call her Sloth, some call her Idlenesse,
 A friend to neede, a foe to wealthinesse. 498

[84]

They tearme her Mother of all other vices, [p. 35] 499
 Bearing a spawne of many new-bred sinnes:
 Many she lures, and many she entices,
 Whereof most part is trapped in her ginnes: 502
 She is the But at which foule Lust doth shoote,
 And where she toucheth, there she taketh roote. 504

[85]

I once did heare of one *Lipotopo* 505
 (Whose pace was equall with the shell-housde snaile)
 That to a fig-tree lasily did go,
 Whose broad-leau'd branches made a shady vaile : 508
 Thither this lusing lubber softly creeped,
 And there this lazie lizard soundly slept. 510

[86]

But as one *Goffo* by the fig-tree went, 511
 He wakened him from out his drowsie sleepe,
 And earnestly did aske him what he ment,
 Vnder that fig-tree all alone to keepe. 514
 As thus he did *Lipotopo* awake,
 Yawning and gaping, thus he idly spake : 516

[87]

Good friend, it is a paine for me to speake, [p. 36] 517
 Because I vse nothing but only sleeping :
 Yet vnto thee my minde Ile shortly breake,
 And shew the cause of my here daily keeping : 520
 The cause is this, that when these ripe figges fall,
 My gaping mouth might then receiue them all. 522

[88]

As thus he spake, *Goffo* from off the tree 523
 Pluckt a ripe fig, and in his mouth did put it;
 Which when he gan to feele, my friend (quoth he),
 I pray thee stirre my iawes that I may glut it. 526
 Goffo, admiring this his lazinesse,
 Left him as he him found, in idlenesse. 528

[89]

O would my pen were now a pensill made, 529
 And I, a Poet, might a Painter bee,
 That picture-like this patterne might be laide
 Before mens eyes, that it their eyes might see ; 532
 By which they, seeing Sloths deformitie,
 Might flie from sloth, and follow industrie. 534

[90]

Now doth appeare dame niggard Auarice,	[p. 37]	535
Who, being loden with gold, gapes for gold :	*	
She raiseth cheape things to the highest price,		
And in Cheapside makes nothing chaepe be sold,		538
Which coyne, her chests fild full, fulfill her eye,		
Whilst poore folkes perish in great miserie.		540

[91]

She hath been troubled long with one disease,		541
Which some a Dropsie call, or drouth of gaine ;		
She drinkes and drinkes againe, yet cannot ease		
Her thirstie sicknesse and her greedie paine :		544
Still is she sicke, yet is she neuer dead,		
Because her sicknesse still is nourished.		546

[92]

Her bodie grosse, engrosseth all the corne,		547
And of the grossest wares makes greatest gaine :		
Yea, Grocers now adaies, as men forlorne,		
Auerre that they gainst her haue cause to plaine :		550
Yet doth she liue, yet doth she tyrannize,		
Because her coyne her works doth wantantize.		552

[93]

This Auarice a cosin-germane hath,	[p. 38]	553
Which many Londoners call Vsurie,		
Which like a braue comptroller boldly saith,		
She will bring England into miserie,		556
Who, vnder colour of a friendly lending,		
Seemes of her bad trade to make iust defending.		558

[94]

They hand in hand doe walke in euery streete,		559
Making the proudest Caualiers to stoope :		
If with their debtors they doe chaunce to meete,		
They pen them vp within the <i>Poultres</i> coope.		562
And if for gold lent, men would counters pay,		
In Woodstreets Counter there them fast they lay.		564

[95]

Now Charitie, which is the band of peace,	565
Is turned to a*Scriueners scribling-band,	
To <i>Indentura facta</i> , or a lease,	
To racking houses, tenements and land :	568
All this can gold, all this can siluer do,	
And more then this, if neede require thereto	570

[96]

From whence comes gold, but from the earth below ?	[p. 39] 571
Whereof, if not of earth, are all men made ?	
Like will to like, and like with like will grow ;	
Growing they florish, flourishing they fade.	574
But where are gold and men ? in hell ; wher's hell ?	
On earth, where gold and men with gold do dwell.	576

[97]

The prouerbe old I doe approue most true,	577
Better to fill the bellie then the eye :	
For whilst rich misers feedes on monies view,	
Sparing they liue in wilfull penurie :	580
Yea, more then this, they liue vpon a crust,	
Whilst in their heaped bags their gold doth rust.	582

[98]

Come, plaintife pen, and whip them with thy rod,	583
And plainly tell them their Idolatrie,	
Which make their gold their loue, their life, their god,	
Which with their gold desire to liue and die.	586
Tell them, if to no better vse they turne	
Their gold, they with their gold in hell shall burne.	588

[99]

Thus leauing Vsurie and Auarice,	[p. 40] 589
As Sathans limmes, or fire-brands of hell,	
As rauening wolues that liue by preiudice,	
Or greedie hogs that on mens grounds do dwell :	592
I post to that which I had almost past,	
But nowe haue ouertaken at the last.	594

[100]

The name of her whom heere I meete withall 595
 Is Gluttonie, the mother of excesse,
 Which, making daintie feasts, doth many call
 To eate with her the meate that she did dresse : 598
 Who being set to eate her toothsome meat,
 Eating doth eate and neuer cease to eate. 600

[101]

This trull makes youngsters spend their patrimonie 601
 In sauced meates and sugred delicates,
 And makes men stray from state of Matrimonie
 To spend their substance vpon whorish mates : 604
 That by their lauish prodigalitie
 She may maintaine her fleshly vanitie. 606

[102]

With gobs she fils and stuffes her greedie gorge, [p. 41] 607
 And neuer is her gaping stomacke fed,
 Bits vnchaw'de in her bulke, as in a forge,
 Kindle the coales whereof foule lust is bred : 610
 Thus doe we see how lazie gluttonie
 Comforts her selfe with Ladie Lecherie. 612

[103]

One other mate she hath, call'd Dronkennesse, 613
 A bibbing swilbowle and a bowzing gull,
 Which neuer drinks but with excessiuenesse,
 And drinkes so long vntill her paunch is full ; 616
 She drinkes as much as she can well containe,
 Which being voyded, then she drinkes againe. 618

[104]

But when the drinke doth worke within her head, 619
 She rowles and reekes, and pimpers with the eyes ;
 She stamps, she stares, she thinks white black, black red,
 She teares and sweares, she geeres, she laughes and cries ; 622
 And as her giddie head thinks all turnes round,
 She belching fals, and vomits on the ground. 624

[105]

Some men are drunke, and being drunke will fight ;	[p. 42]	625
Some men are drunke, and being drunke are merrie ;		
Some men are drunke, and secrets bring to light ;		
Some men are drunke, and being drunke are sorie :		628
Thus may we see that drunken men haue passions,		
And drunkennesse hath many foolish fashions.		630

[106]

Fishes that in the seas doe drinke their fill,		631
Teach men by nature to shun drunkennesse.		
What bird is there, that with his chirping bill		
Of any liquour euer tooke excesse ?		634
Thus beastes on earth, fish in seas, birds in skie,		
Teach men to shun all superfluitie.		636

[107]

Would any heare the discommodities		637
That doe arise from our excesse of drinke ?		
It duls the braine, it hurts the memorie,		
It blinds the sight, it makes men bleare-eyd blinke ;		640
It kils the bodie, and it wounds the soule ;		
Leaue, therefore, leaue, O leaue this vice so foule !		642

[108]

Now, last of all, though perhaps chiefe of all,	[p. 43]	643
My pen hath hunted out lewde Lecherie,		
Which many sinnes and many faults doth call		
To bee pertakers to her trecherie :		646
Her loue is lust, her lust is sugred sower,		
Her paine is long, her pleasure but a flower.		648

[109]

When chast <i>Adonis</i> came to mans estate,		649
<i>Venus</i> straight courted him with many a wile ;		
<i>Lucrece</i> once seene, straight <i>Tarquine</i> laid a baite,		
With foule incest her bodie to defile :		652
Thus men by women, women wrongde by men,		
Giue matter still vnto my plaintife pen.		654

[110]

Thousands of whores maintained by their wooers, 655
 Entice by land, as Syrens doe by Seas,
 Which, being like path-waies or open doores,
 Infect mens bodies with the French disease : 658
 Thus women, woe of men, though wooed by men,
 Still adde new matter to my plaintife pen. 660

[111]

Whilome by nature men and women loued, [p. 44] 661
 And prone enough they were to loue thereby;
 But when they *Ouids ars amandi* proued,
 Both men and women fell to lecherie : 664
 By nature sinning, art of sinne was found
 To make mans sinne still more and more abound. 666

[112]

If that I could paint out foule lecherie 667
 In her deformed shape and loathsome plight,
 Or if I could paint spotlesse Chastitie
 In her true portraiture and colours bright, 670
 I thinke no maid would euer proue an whore,
 But euerie maid would chastitie adore. 672

[113]

Then married men might vild reproaches scorne, 673
 And shunne the Harts crest to their hearts content,
 With *cornucopia*, Cornewall, and the horne,
 Which their bad wiues bid from their bed be sent : 676
 Then should no olde-Cocks, nor no cocke-olds crow,
 But euerie man might in his owne ground sow. 678

[114]

Then light-taylde hufwiues, which like *Syrens* sing, [p. 45] 679
 And like to *Circes* with their drugs enchant,
 Would not vnto the Banke-sides round-house fling,
 In open sight, themselues to show and vaunt : 682
 Then, then, I say, they would not masked goe,
 Though vnseene, to see those they faine would know. 684

[115]

But in this Labyrinth I list not tread, 685
 Nor combate with the minotaure-like lust;
 Hence therefore will I wend by methods thread,
 And wend I will, because needs wend I must : 688
 Farewell, nay fare-ill, filthie lecherie,
 And welcome vndefiled chastitie. 690

[116]

Vesta, I do adore thy puritie, 691
 And in thy Temples will I tapers beare;
 Thou, O *Diana*, for virginitie,
 Shalt be the matrone of my modest feare, 694
 That both in one, both beeing Goddesses,
 May of my maden-head be witnesses. 696

[117]

O may my flesh, like to the Ermiline, [p. 46] 697
 Vnspotted liue, and so vnspotted die,
 That when I come before the sacred shrine,
 My vntoucht corps themselues may guiltlesse trie; 700
 Then shall I glorie that I haue bin taught
 To shun the snare wherein most folkes are caught. 702

[118]

Thus hath my pen described, and descry'd, 703
 Sinne with his seuen heads of seauen deadly vices,
 And now my plaintife pen hath verified
 That sinne, from vertue, mortall men entices : 706
 If any wicked *Momus* carpe the same,
 In blaming this, I passe not for his blame. 708

[119]

Dictator-like I must confesse I write, 709
 And like a *Nomothetes* criticall,
 Perhaps my pen doth crabedly endite
 In plaintife humors meere Cinicall : 712
 But sooth to say, *Tom-teltroth* will not lie,
 We heere haue blaz'd Englands iniquitie. 714

and his pens complaint.

135

[120]

And for because my pen doth liquour want,

[p. 47] 715

Heere (being drie) he willing is to rest,

Not for that he doth further matter want,

For so to thinke, were but a simple iest :

718

And if (as he hath not) he haue offended,

He hopes (as you) so he wilbe amended.

720

Finis.

TOM of All Trades.
OR
THE PLAINE
PATH-VVAY TO
PREFERMENT.

BEING
A Discovery of a passage to Promotion
in all Professions, Trades, Arts, and
Mysteries.

Found out by an old Travailer in the sea of
Experience, amongst the enchanted Islands
of ill Fortune.

Now published for Common good.

By
THOMAS POWELL.

Summum hominis bonum bonus ex hac vita exitus.

L O N D O N .

Printed by *B. Alsop* and *T. Fawcet*, for *Benjamin Fisher*,
and are to bee sold at his shop at the signe of the
Tallot in *Aldersgate-street.* 1631.

[*Bodleian Press-marks* :—4 : T. 34. Art, and Douce PP. 202.]



The Epistle Dedicatorie.

POORE TOM was set on shore in Kent,
 And to the next good Towne hee went;
 At whose approach the Bosseldir
 Kept a most lamentable stirre, 4.
 That TOM would offer to returne
 Through the good Towne of Syttingborne.
 Hee askt him, If hee had a Passe?
 And told him what the Statute was; 8.
 And like a Reverend Vestry wit
 Swore hee would not allow of it,
 But did advise him to resort
 To fetch his Passe at Tonstall Court. 12
 Our TOM of all Trades hereupon
 Askt what was his condition
 Who was the Owner of that place,
 So farre in all the Countries grace? 16
 For whom (as hee walkt on the way)
 He heard the poore so much to pray,
 The Rich to praise; And both contend,
 To whom hee was the greater friend. 20:
 Didst never meete his name there spread
 Where thou thy selfe didst vse to tread?
² No? not Sir EDVVARD HALES? Quoth he;
 What TOM of Odcombe may'st thou be? 24
 Hee is a man scarce spends a minute
 But hath his Countries service in it;

¹ page iii.

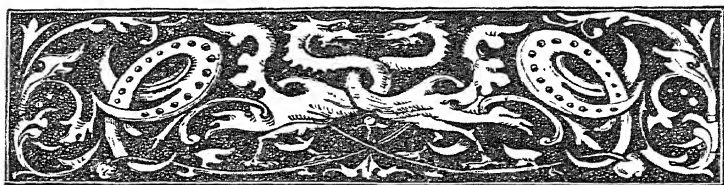
² page iv.

Spends more to make them all accord,
Then other Knights doe at their boord. 28
Hee call'd him Knight and Barronet,
Both wise and Iust; And what more yet?
He swore that if hee were but mist,
The Countrey could not so subsist. 32
With that our TOM repaired thither,
Conferr'd Report and Prooffe together;
And found Report had wrong'd him much
In giving but an out-side touch,— 36
A tincture of a Painters trade,
Where all was substance and in-layd.
Then TOM resolv'd to walke no farther
To finde a Father or a Mother; 40
No other Patron would hee seeke,
But tender all at this Knights feete:
If hee accept what's well intended,
Our TOM of all Trades travaile's ended. 44
Signa virtutum tuarum longe lateque ferens.

THO: POVVELL.

[This text, though copied from the *Douce* copy in the Bodleian, has now been collated with 4: *T. 34. Art.* Variations in the *Douce* copy:—

- p. 137, l. 4, It it true
- p. 143, l. 3 *from the bottom*, gift
- „ *last line*, incumbent (with small i).
- p. 144, l. 2, Dilecct
- „ l. 14, Alchermi
- „ l. 16, Parsonadge
- „ *last line but 2*, immediately
- p. 146, *last line but 2*, Cantiocluerum
- „ *last line but 1*, Yf
- p. 147, l. 4, Person
- „ l. 10, for Induction.
- „ l. 12, peculiar.]



TOM of all Trades :
OR
THE PLAINE PATH-
WAY TO PREFERMENT.



TRINITY Terme was now ended²; For by description of the time it could bee no other parcell of the yeare. In that the Scriveners at *Temple-barre* had no employment, but writing of blanke Bonds and texting of Bills for letting of Chambers in *Chancery-lane*. The Vintners of *Fleetstreet* discharged theyr Iourneymen; A generall humility more then usuall possest the Cookery of *Ram-Alley*. The Ostlers of *Holborne* had more than ordinary care to lay up theyr Ghuests bootes, rather for feare of theyr slipping out of Towne than for any good observance towards them. And your Countrey Attorneys would no longer by any ³meanes endure the vnwholsome ayre of an Eightpenny Ordinarie. Every one that had wherewith to discharge his Horse out of the stable, strove who should first be gone. And amongst the rest, my selfe made shift for so much money as wherewith to abate the fury of Mistrisse *Overcount* mine hostesse, and so I departed likewise.

At the top of *Highgate* hill I overtooke a Gentleman of *Northamptonshire*, riding homeward, whom I well knew; Him I saluted cheerefully, and he received me lovingly. But in travayling together (Me thought) he was not Master of that mirthfull disposition which he was wont to carry along with him to shorten the way betwixt his

house and *London*. I gave him to vnderstand how strange and notable this alteration appeared in him; And withall desired to know so much of the occasion thereof as might be impartible to a freind of so small growth. To which he answered thus: Sir, I come from *London* (It is true), from the Terme (It is certaine true), from *London* and Terme. True and certaine in nothing but expences in all things; yet I would have you know that it is neither the Thunderclap of dissolving an *Iniunction*, nor the Doomesday of a *Decree*, nor Counsaylors *Fees*, nor Attornies *Bylls*, in a language able to fright a man out of his wits, can proscribe me my wonted mirth. It is something nearer and dearer (my deare friend) that robs me of that cheere which used to lift me vp into the very Spheare, where *Ioue* himselfe sits to bid all his guests welcome right heartily.

I remember mee of Children, sixe Soones and ¹ three daughters, of whom I am the vnhappy Father. In that, besides the scars which my vnthriftnes hath dinted vpon their fortunes, the wounds of vnequall times, and a tempestuous age approaching, are like to take away from them all hope of outliuing the low water ebbe of the evill day; all meanes of thriving by honest paynes, study, or industry are bereft them. The common vpon which industry should depasture is overlaid; Numerousnes spoiles all, And poverty sells all at an vnder value.

In this case (Sir) what can be aduisd? Wherevnto I thus replied.

Sir, I haue heedfully attended you in the delivery of your perplexed thoughts concerning the care which you have of your children, taking the true and even leuell of the declention of arts, the distent of trades & trading, the poverty of all professions, and the destemper, not of ours only, but of all Christian clymates at this present, tending rather to a more contagion in the generall ayre then a calmer temperament (for ought that yet appeareth): as for the stormynesse of the sea of state, forraigne or domestick, let vs leave the greater and lesser vessels that be exposed to it vnto the proper Pylates, Masters, and Marryners, who have the charge to attend the line or plye at the tackle; we are but poore passengers, and may assure our selues to partake in their boone voyage, if they suc[c]eed well,—as they may be certaine to suffer in the same Shipwracke with vs, if wee miscarry.

I addresse me to give you the best advise I can, touching the preferment of every of your ¹six sonnes and three daughters, in manner following.

It is true in most Gentlemen, and very likely in you, as in others, living onely vpon the renew of lands, That the height of their Husbandry amounts to no more than to cleere the last halfe yeeres booking, and borrowing at the rent day, That their credit may hold vp and keepe reputation till the next ensuing that againe.

When you dye, the eldest Sonne claimes the inheritance of what you leave, thanke God and nature for it, your selfe least of all, and your fatherly providence never a whit.

If you take some course in your life time to make the rest of your Children some small portions or estates out of the whole of your lands, It is tenne to one but you destroy both him and them by that meanes.

For the heire, commonly striving to vphold the reputation of his Ancestors, He abates nothing of his fathers accustomed expences towards the raising of those portions or estates so deducted. And they, on the other side, presume so much vpon the hope thereof, that no profession will fit them. To bee a *Minister* (with them) is to be but a *Pedant*; A *Lawyer*, a *mercenarie* fellow; A Shop-keeper, a man most subject to the most wonderfull Cracke, and a creature whose welfare depends much vpon his Wives well bearing and faire carriage. What is, then, to be done?

Surely it would be wished, seeing God and nature hath provided for the eldest, your younger sonnes, and your daughters especially, being worst ²able to shift, should bee by you provided for in the first place, while your Land is of virgin reputation, while it is chaste, and vndishonested by committing of single fornication with Countrie Creditors, that trade without sheets (that is) by *Pole deed*, only for saving of costs; or, at least, before it have defiled the bed of its reputation by prostituting to the adulterous imbracings of a Citie Scrivener. But especially, before it grow so impudent as to lie downe in the Market place, and to suffer everie pettie Clarke to bring its good name vpon Record, and charge it that it was taken in the very fact betweene other mens sheets,—As in this Statute, or in that

¹ page 4.

² page 5.

Judgment: Take heed of that by any meanes. And bee sure to match your eldest sonne when your credit is cryed vp to the highest, while your heire is yet in your power to dispose, and will bend to your will, before his blood begin to feele the heate of any affections kindling about him, or before he can tell what difference is betwixt a blacke wrought Wastcoate with a white apron, & a loose bodied gowne without an apron. Put him of in his best clothes, (I meane) in the assurance of your lands; sell him at *the* highest rate. Then dicotomize the whole portion of his wife into severall shares betwixt your other children. Not share and share like, but to every each one, the more, according to their defects: Let impotencie, decreptnes, ilfavourdnes, and incapacitie, rob the other of so much money as they have done them of comlinessse, activitie, beautie, and wit.

Put them not into any course of living according to any prescript order or method of your ¹ owne election, But according to their inclination and addition, seeing that everyone, by instinct of nature, delighteth in that wherein he is like to bee most excellent. And delight and pride in any thing undertaken, makes all obstacles in the way of attaining to perfection of no difficulty.

Now, in the next place, take heed that you put off those your sonnes whom you finde fit and addicted to be bred in the *Ministerie*, or made up to the law, or to be apprentized, betimes, and before they take the taynt of too much liberty at home.

And when they be put forth, call them not home speedily to revisit their fathers house, no, not so much as Hospitably by any meanes.

In the first place, take your
direction for the
SCHOLLER.

His Education.

His Maintenance.

His Advancement.

FOr his Education. The Free-Schooles generally afford the best breeding in good letters.

So many of them also afford some reasonable meanes in ayde of young Schollers, for their diet, lodging, and teaching, given to them by the Founders or Benefactors of such Schooles.

¹ Some of them be of the foundation of some Kings and Queenes of this Land; and they are commonly in the gift of the King, or his Provost, or Substitute in that behalfe. Others be of the foundation of some Bodies or Societies incorporate; And they are commonly in the gift of such Masters, Wardens, Presidents, and their Senior fellowes; such chiefe officers of any other title, or such Master, Wardens, and Assistants, or such Opposers, Visitants, or Committees of such bodies respectively as be appointed thereunto. Others be of the foundation of some private persons: And they are, for the most part, in the gift of the Executor, Heire, or Feoffees of such Donor, according to the purport of his Will, or Grant, or both.

Of every of which severall kindes respectively are:

Eaton.

Westminster.

Winchester.

The Merchanttaylors Schoole, London.

The Skynners at Tunbridge.

Sutton's Hospitall.

St. Bartholomews.

And very many other the like.

Briefly, few or no Counties of this Kingdome are unfurnisht of such Scholes. And some have so many, that it is disputable whether the Vniversities, with the Innes of Court and Chancerie, have where to receive them or no.

Some of such free-Schooles, againe, have *Scholar²ships* appendant unto them, in the one of the Vniversities, or both.

To which, upon Election yearely, they are removeable, As

From Eaton to Kings Colledge, Cambridge.

From Westminster to Trinity Colledge, Cambridge, or Christchurch, Oxon.

From Winchester to New Colledge, Oxon.

¹ page 7.

² page 8.

*From the Merchanttaylors to St. Iohn's, Oron.
And the like, from many the like.*

Some other Free-Schooles have pensions for preferment of their Schollers, and for their maintenance in the Vniversitie.

Some Companies Incorporate (especially of *London*, having no such pensions in certaine) doe usually out of the Stocke of their Hall allow maintenance in this kinde.

Besides that, there be many other private persons (upon my knowledge) who doe voluntarily allow yearely exhibition of this nature.

Now if you would know how to finde what is given to any such Free-Schooles, and in whose disposing they now be,

Search

<i>In the Tower of London, till the end of Rich. the 3.</i>	}	{	<i>For Grants and for License of Mortmaine, inde.</i>
<i>And in the Chappell of the Rolles.</i>	}	{	<i>And for the like.</i>
<i>From thence till the present.</i>	}		

¹ <i>In the Register of the Prerogative Court, for such things devised by Will, by King, Queene, or Subject.</i>	}	{	<i>For such Grants given by Will.</i>
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---	---	-------------------------------------------

And sometimes you shall finde such things both in the *Tower* and the *Prerogative*, and in the *Rolls* and *Prerogative* respectively.

For the time since our reformed Church of *England* began here,

<i>Search</i>	{	<i>Doctor Willets Synopsis.</i>	}	{	<i>For all from the King, or from any other.</i>
---------------	---	-----------------------------------------	---	---	------------------------------------------------------

Search

<i>In divers of our Chroni- cles.</i>	}	{	<i>For the like.</i>
-------------------------------------------	---	---	----------------------

Next, adde certaine helps for discovery and attayning thereof.

First (if it may be) procure a sight of the Liedger Bookes, of such as in whom the disposition of such things resteth, which they keepe for their owne use.

Next, be acquainted with some of the Disposers themselves.

Next, take the directions of the Master or Teacher of such Free-Schooles.

Especially to be interested in the Clarkes or *Registers* of such *Societies* as have the disposing of any such things.

Also to use means by Letters of persons powerfull and usefull to such disposers.

¹For (indeed) it is not the sound of a great mans name to a Letter in these dayes, wherein they are growne so common and familiar to our Societies (of *London* especially), can prevaile so soone as the Letter subscribed by the *Lord Maior*, or other eminent Officer of the Citie, to whose commandement they be immediately subjugate.

Lastly, if you use the meanes least seene, most used, and best allowed, together with these, For discoverie and attaining of any such thing, it will not be besides the purpose, as I take it.

*Now suppose your sonne is brought to the Vniversitie
by Election or as Pensioner.*

THE first thing you must take to your care is: In case he come not by election, but as a Pensioner to live for the present upon your owne charge, how to procure him a Schollership in the Colledge where you bestow him.

Or in case he come elected into one, how to procure a farther addition of maintenance to him.

To bring him into a Schollership, place him with a Senior fellow of the house (as Tutor), though you allow to some Iunior fellow somewhat yearly for reading unto him.

This Senior fellow, if the number of places voide will beare it, may nominate your sonne for one in his owne right; if it will not beare it, he may call to his ayd some and so many suffrages of the rest, as, with the speaking merit of your sonne, may worke your desire.

²Then how to procure a pension for addytament of meanes.

The chiefe skill is to finde it out, being eyther in the gift of some

body Incorporate, Or of some private person, Wherein the discovery is to bee made (as aforesaid).

If you sue to a Company consisting of many persons Tradesmen, you must enquire who bee the most potent Patritians, and best reputed Vestrie wits amongst them, such as carry their gloves in their hands, not on their hands.

Amongst an *Assistance* of many, onely two or three strike the stroke, and hold the rest in a wonderfull admiration of their extraordinary endowments. And how to speake sensibly to these two or three is no Mysterie; You know they are faithfull fiduciaries in the election; And, therefore, you must not presume to offer any thing by any meanes. Onely you may desire them to accept this poore peece of plate, with your name and Armes upon it, and binde you unto their love, in keeping the memory of you hereafter. Doe but try them in this kinde, and attend the successe. I tell you, this, with a Bucke at the Renter Wardens feast, may come somewhat neere to the matter.

But for the pension to be obtained of a private person, the way is not the same. It proceedeth of the givers meere charity, and must be taken by the hand of a desertfull receiver. Though withall it may sometimes fall out, that merit is made by mediation, especially of some such reverend Divine, as he doth most respect and frequent. For other, let¹ters can little prevaile with such persons.

The best note to discover a man inclinable to allow such a pension, is to examine how wealth and charitie are equally and temporately mingled in him; And be sure, withall, that he be a man of some reasonable understanding in what he doth in this kinde. For a Fooles pension is like a new fashion, eagerly pursued at the beginning, but as scurvily left off in the proceeding.

Your next care is, in his due time to put on a fellowship, when he shall put off his Schollership, seeing the Schollership keepes him company no farther than to the degree of Master of Arts, and a quarter of a yeare after, in those Colledges, where Schollerships are longest lived, And in some not so long.

In some Colledges The Fellowship followes the Schollership of course; and as the one leaveth him, the other entertaines him. But

in the most it is not so, but comes by Election. Which Election passeth by the Master and Senior Fellowes, whereof every one doth name one, if the number to be Elected will beare it; or if not, then they passe by most voyces.

Where note, that the Master hath a double voyce, and in some places hee hath the nomination of one, if there be two places voyd, yea, if there be but one at sometimes.

In Colledges, the letters of great persons, espec[ially] of the Lords grace of *Canterburie*, and the Vniversitie Chancellor, have beene of great prevaillance; But it is not so now in these dayes.

¹ There bee beneficiall gradations of preferment likewise, for Fellowes in their Colledges; as *Lecturer*, *Deane*, *Bowser*, *Vice-master*, and *Master*. But, for my part, I better like and commend those who, when they find themselves fit to put forth into the world, take the first preferment that is offered unto them, rather than such who live cloystered like Votaries; who have Sacraments to fill up their places, be it but to keepe out others, such as use no exercise but wiping the dust off their bookes, and have an excellent activity in handling the fox taylor, such as hold no honour like to *Supplicat reverentij vestris*; And to be head *Bowsier* of the Colledge, as good as to be Chiefe Butler of *England*.

These preferments of the Colledge, all but that of the Master, comes of course by order and antiquity. Therefore, no meanes but patient abiding, needs for the acquiring of them in their due time.

I hasten to send your sonne out of the Cloyster into the Commonwealth, and to shew you how many wayes of Advancement are open unto him abroad, with the meanes to discover and attaine.

And first for the Ministrie.

First, for his ease, let him looke no farther then next to hand, and enquire what benefices belong ²to their owne Colledge, and are in the gift of their Master and Senior fellowes (as most Colledges have divers such); and amongst them, which are void at the present, or whose Incumbent is not like to live long. And if he

¹ page 13.

² page 14.

find out any such, than, if he know not, after so long continuance among them, to speake in his Seniors owne *Dilect*, let him never travaile beyond *Trumpington*¹ for me.

More indigitly, For attaining of such a Benefice, let him enquire where the Mattens are read with Spectacles, or where the good old man is lifted vp into the pulpit, or the like, and make a way for Succession accordingly.

Where note, that many times a fellow of the house may hold such a Benefice together with his fellowship, or a Pension, for increment of livelyhood. And such tyes as these are commonly the bond of matrimony, whereby they are so wedded to the Colledge.

Next, he must clime vp to the maine top of *Speculation*, and there looke about him to discover what Benefices are emptie abroad, where the Incumbent lives only vpon the Almes of *Confectio Alchermis* ; Or where one is ready to take his rise out of Sierge into Sattin, out of Parsonage and a Prebendarie into a *Deanarie* and a *Donative*, let him not be slow of footmanship in that case, by any meanes.

² For Benefices abroad.

Benefices a broad are in the gift of

The King imediately,

Or the Lord Keeper for the King :

Some Lord Bishop :

Some Deane and Chapter :

Some Bodie incorporate :

Some Parish : .

Some Private Patron.

You shall find in the Tower a collection of the Patent Rolls gathered of all Presentations made by the King in those dayes to any Church Prebendarie or Chappell, In right of the Crowne, or otherwayes, from i. of *Edward* the first, till the midst of *Edward* the third.

The King himselfe, only and immediately presenteth in his owne right to such Benefices as belong to him, and are aboue twenty pounds value in the *first Fruits* Bookes.

¹ Near Cambridge.

² page 15.

For attayning of any which, I can advice you of no better course, than to learne the way to the backe stayres.

The Lord Keeper presents for the King to all such benefices as belong to his Majestie, and are under twenty pounds value in the bookes.

Now to know which of these are full, and who are Incumbents in any of these,

Search

The first Fruits Office.

The Clarke, who hath the writing of the Presentations.

¹*The Lord Keepers Secretarie being.*

Where note, that the King hath used very seldome to grant any such living in Reversion.

And the Lord Keeper now being, His care is so great in this, as in all cases of common good to provide for mans merit, and cherish industrie in the growing plants, that no one can offer unto him a request² of this kinde without trespasse to his good disposition.

In the next place, concerning Benefices in the Presentation of any of the Lords Bishops.

Note, that most Bishopricks in *England* have presentation to divers Benefices belonging to their Seas.

For the number and present estate of these

Search

Their owne Leidgers.

Their Registers.

Enquire of

Their Auditors.

Their Stewards of their Courts.

And sometimes you shall light upon some of theyr bookes of this kind, in the hands of the heyres or Executors of such as have borne such offices under them.

He that is Chaplaine to such a Lord Bishop hath, for the most part, the best meanes, accesse, and opportunity, to attaine to such a Benefice.

The commendations of such a great personage, as to whom this

¹ page 16.

² orig. repuest

Patron oweth greatest respect, especially for his affairing in Court, may doe some good in the matter.

The like wayes of discovery, and the like meanes ¹of attaining any Benefice in the Presentation of any *Deane* and *Chapter*, are to be used with them respectively, as with the Bishops.

With every *Deane* and *Chapter* are likewise divers *Prebendaries*, to be obtained of their gift after the same manner, and by the same meanes also.

The other bodies Incorporate, besides those of *Colledges* and *Deanes* and *Chapters*, have many of them (especially of London and some subordinate Societies thereof) right of the presentation to divers Benefices.

Also some Parishes, by prescription, doe present to their owne perochiall Benefices. And many Patrons are content to present, according to the approbation of the Parishioners, upon their hearing, and allowing, and due exclamation of the integrity of the life of such suitors, and no otherwise; divers governors, and gradations of the lands of divers Hospitals, and *Mesons de dieu*, have like right of presentation to Benefices, as have other bodies Incorporate. And the meanes of discovery and attaining are likewise the like.

In Parishes and Companies of Tradesmen Incorporate, some very few rule the roast.

Your Alderman of the Ward, his Deputie, your Common Councell-man, Yea, sometime that petty Epitomie of Wardemote Enquerst, that little busie morsell of Iustice (the *Beadle* of the Ward), will make a strong partie in the election, if he be put to it. The Probatory Sermon, that must be made upon such tryall before such an *Auditorie*, would be according to the capacitie in generall, But more ²especially according to the humor and addiction of those whose wits the rest have in singular reverence, As Mr. *Francis Fiat*, a good vnderstanding Fishmonger (I assure you); you may give the stile of right worshipfull to them, though the best man of the company be but a Wine Cooper, and his iudgement better in *Claret* then in *Contioclerum* a great deale.

If your sonne vpon his tryall can but fit their pallats smoothly, which is hard to doe, In regard that they are so hallow mouthed,

¹ page 17.

² page 18.

let him be sure, though he misse the Benefice for want of preperation, yet tenne to one but they will straine themselues to bring him in as a *Lecturer*, which is a thing they reverence farre beyond the Parson of the Parish, by many degrees.

Lastly, for private *Patrons* and the Benefices in their guifts,

Search,

The Bishops Register :

for Institution and Presentation.

The Archdeacons Register :

for the Induction.

The Archbishops Register :

if it be a Peculiar.

It was my chaunce lately to see a booke of all the Benefices within the Diocesse of *Canterbury*, with the manner of their tything in every each one respectiue. In which I find that there are, or should be, with the *Register* of every Lord Bishop, seaven Bookes kept for Entrie of the matters and busines of their Diocesse, of which this of Benefices is¹ the cheife.

²The like I saw formerly of the Diocesse of *St. Davids*, which confirmes mee in the institution and custome of keeping the said bookes also in other Diocesse.

And seing that severall private³ patrons are of severall dispositions ; some more Lucrative and Covetous, Others more charitable and religious ; I can give you no other rule of attaining the Benefice than this, *viz.*

That your sonne bring with him abilitie of learning, Integritie of life, and conformitie of behaviour, according to the order of the Church establisht amongst vs ; and these shall make his way with⁴ the good and generous Patron. But for the other patron, it makes no matter at all for learning, and a very litle for manners, or whether he be a man conformable or no. Truly he is indifferent ; for his part, very indifferent.

To such a patron your sonne must present himselfe thus (if he meane to be presented), according to present necessitie : He must

¹ in *in orig.*

² page 19.

³ private *in orig.*

⁴ whitly *in orig.*

both speake and prove himsele a man indued with good gifts, For he shall have to deale with a Patron of a quick Capacitie, more dexterous in apprehension than your sonne or you can be in deliverie.

Be this Patron what he will, your comfort is, the Benefice must be fild, and that within a limited time; howsoever, it is dangerous to attend the ending of the day in this case, (For seldome doth the Clarke of the market get any thing by their standing too long and above their accostomed houre.)

¹Lapse by reason of *Simony*, and Lapse for not presenting in due time; Both offer advancement to learning; But the first is as hard to discover as a witch, And the second as rare to find out as a faithfull fiduciarie or a fast Freind.

The degrees of rising in the Ministrie are not easier knowne then practized by the industrious man.

Breifly, if all Church livings in *England* were equally² distributed, There is noe one of the Ministry, if he want not learning or good manners, needs want maintenance or good Livelyhood.

Here I could wish to God, That it might please the right reuerend Fathers of the Church the Lord Bishops, That they would once in every of their times cause a true Catalogue of all the Benefices within their severall Diocesse, with the names of the Patrons thereof, according to the last presentation, to be sent into the office of the *first fruits*, for the better information of all such as deserue, and would gladly attaine to, some meanes of maintenance, which they may the better doe by hauing recourse thither, there to take notice of all things of this nature. For I know that many sit downe in their wants, having good meanes to many private Patrons, onely for lacke of knowledge of the same.

Note that it is an vsuall thing in private Patrons³ to graunt reversion and Advowson of such livings.

My selfe intended heretofore to collect all such Benefices, with their Patrons, into a certaine Cal⁴lender, for such direction (as afore-sayd), and made some passage into it. But the farther I went, the more impossible I found it. And I am now resolved, that without the Bishops assistance it cannot be done.

And so much for the Ministerie.

¹ page 20.

² eually in orig.

³ Parons in orig.

⁴ page 21.

The Lawes promotions follow.

By
Civill Law
and
Common Law.

FOR breeding of your youth in the Civill Law, there are two Colledges of especiall note in our Vniversities: the one is *Trinitie-hall in Cambridge*; the other is *New-Colledge in Oxford*.¹

I remember me not of any Free-Schoole in *England* that have any place appendant in *Trinitie-hall* in *Cambridge*. But in new Colledge of *Oxford*, the Free-Schoole of *Winchester* hath claime both of Schollerships and Fellowships, the whole Colledge consisting of none other, as I take it.

It is to be confest, the charge of breeding a man to the Civill Law is more expensive, and the way more painefull, and the bookes of greater number and price, than the Common Law requireth. But ²after the Civill Lawyer is once growne to Maturity, His way of Advancement is more beneficiall, more certaine, and more easie to attaine, than is the Common Lawyers; and all because their number is lesse, their learning more intricate. And they admit few or no Sollicitors to trample betweene them and the Clyent. So that the Fee comes to them immediately and with the more advantage.

The Preferments at which they may
arrive are these :

Chancellor to the Byshop.

Archdeacon.

Commissarie, where they have Commissarie Officiall.

Iudge, and Surrogate.

Advocate for the King.

Mr. of the Chancerie.

The Kings Proctor.

Advocate, and Proctor at large.

¹ MS. note in the Art copy, rather Alsoules by farre.

² page 22.

In these Courts, viz.

The High Commission.

The Delegates.

The Prerogative.

The Consistorie.

The Arches.

The Bishops Courts.

The Archdeacons Courts.

Chancellors, Commissaries, and Officials Court.

The Admiraltie Courts.

The Court of the Kings Requests.

In times past

The countenance of some Byshop, especially of the ¹Lord *Arch-bishop*, upon a *Civilian*, will much advance his practice as an Advocate, and give him promotion² as a Iudge.

There are under the greater officers aforenamed divers other
inferiour Officers : as

Register.

Arctuarie.

Examiner.

The number of the Doctors, (though I finde them never to have beene limited,) Yet it is certaine that the time was within memory of man when the house of their *Commons* did commonly give them all sufficient lodging and dyet. And as for the number of *Proctors*, they were of late times limited. How it is now, I know not.

For the Common Law.

FOR breeding of *Students* at the *Common Law*, take directions for their *method* of studie out of that *Tractate* which Mr. *Iustice Dodridge* did in his time pen for the purpose. Onely (for my part) I doe much commend the ancient custome of breeding of the younger *Students*. First, in the Innes of *Chancery* ; there to be the better prepared³ for the Innes of Court. And this must needs be the

¹ page 23.

² promotion *in orig.*

³ prepared *in orig.*

better way, seeing too much liberty at the first proves very fatal to many of the younger sort. I have observed, and much commend also the breeding of some Common Lawyers in this kinde, *viz.*

That when they have beene admitted first into an Inne of the *Chancerie*, they have beene withall entred as *Clarkes* in the office of some *Prothonotarie* of the *Common-Pleas*, to adde the skill of the Practicke to their speculation. And if a Student be thus bred, by his foundation in the one, and his experience in the other, he shall with more facilitie than others, who step into the Inne of Court at first, attaine to an abilitie of practise.

Besides other ordinary requisite parts and Arts in a Common Lawyer, Skill in the *Records* of all Courts of *Record*, and in other *antiquities* of President, With some Reading in the Civill Law, also will much inable him.

The Common Lawyer is to be bred onely upon the purse. The charge most at the first. For after he hath spent some few yeares effectually, He may attaine to the imployment of some private friends, for advising with and instructing of greater Counsaile, whereby he shall adde both to his meanes and knowledge.

It is true, that I have knowne some Attorneys and Solicitors put on a Counsaile gowne without treading the same usuall path to the barre (as aforesaid). But indeed, I never looke upon them but I thinke of the Taylor, who in one of his Customers cast suites had thrust himselfe in amongst the *Nobilitie* at a Court Maske, where, pulling out his Handkercher, hee let fall his Thimble, and was so discovered, and handled and dandled from hand to foote, till the Guard² delivered him at the great Chamber doore, and cried, "farewell, good feeble!"

If the Common Lawyer be sufficiently able in his profession, he shall want no practice; if no practice, no profit.

The time was that the younger Counsaile had some such helpe, as

To be a Favourite,

A Kindred,

To marry a Neece, Cosin, or a Chamber-maide.

But those dayes be past, and better supply their roomes.

¹ page 24; pages 24, 25 *misnumbered in orig.*

² page 25.

As fellowes of Colledges in the Vniuersities get pensions or Benefices to adde to their livelyhood, So Barresters and Counsailors of the Innes of Court advance their meanes by keeping of

*Courts of Mannors,
Lects and Barrons,
Swanimootes of Forrests,
Stannaries,
Cinque Ports, &c.*

By places of

*Iudges of Inferiour Courts. As
London, and other like Corporations.
The Virdge.
The Tower of London.
St. Katherines, neare the Tower.
Borough of Southwarke.
The Clink.
Wentworth, and like Liberties.*

¹ By office of

*Recorder of some Co[r]porate Towne.
Feodarie of some Counties.
The Kings Counsayle in the Marches of Wales, or at Yorke,
or Iudge, or Counsayle of some Countie Pallatine.*

The greater places of preferment for Common Lawyers are

*The Iudges at Westminster and elsewhere.
The next are all the severall Officers of the Courts of Westminster, and elsewhere.*

All which you shall finde set forth breifly in *Smiths Commonwealth of England*, and part in mine owne Search of Records. And all these together, afford suffic[i]ent maintenance for thousands of persons, who may bee here well provided for.

Here I should, and here I could, for better direction of yonger brothers, shew what meniall *Clarkeships* of large exhibition are vnder the great Officers of the Land, the Iudges, the *Kings Counsayle*, and other Officers which are not elsewhere publisht. And I know it

would open a doore to many a proper mans preferment, especially vnder the *Lord Keeper*, as *Secretaries for Chancerie* busynesse, and Spirituall promotions, the *Comm[i]ssion of the Peace*, *Iniunctions*, the *Dockquetts*. And other the like vnder the *Lord Treasurer*, as *Secretaries* for the busynesse of the *Realme* and the *Custom-house*; besides the Inlets to so many preferments about the *Customes* and *Escheators*; places vnder the *Lord Treasurer*, vnder the *Chauncellor* of the *Exchequer*, *Duchie* and *Principalitie of Wales*, and *Duchie of*¹ *Cornewall*, as *Seale keeper*, *Secretary*, &c.

Vnder the *Master of the Court of Wardes*, as *Secretarie*; vnder the *Iudges*, as *Marshall*; *Clarke of the Bailes*, &c.; Vnder the *Barrons of the Exchequer*, as *Examiner*; *Clarke of the Bailes*, and other *Clarkes*.

Vnder the *Kings Attourney Generall*, as *Clarke of the Pattens*, *Clarke of the Confessions and entries*, *Clarke of the References*, Booke bearer. Vnder the *Sollicitor Generall*: *Clarke of the Patents*, Booke bearer. Besides many other *Clarkes* vnder the white staues of the Court, and in the Counting house, and many seuerall offices.² All which, with hundreds more that I could name, with a plainer and more large deduction, were it not for feare that what I well intend for generall good, would be taken in offence for priuate preiudice. But for the *Clarkeships* of the *Kings* houshold, examine farther the *Blacke booke* in the *Exchequer*.

The Phisition follows.

ANd heere I remember me of an old tale following, viz.
At the beginning of the happy raigne of our late good Queene *Elizabeth*, diuers Commissioners of great place, being authorized to enquire of, and to displace, all such of the *Clergie* as would not conforme to the reformed *Church*, one amongst others was Conuented before them, who being asked whether³ he would subscribe or no, denied it, and so conse⁴quently was adiudged to lose his benefice and to be deprived his function; wherevpon, in his impatience, he said,

¹ page 27.

² offices *in orig.*

³ whehter *in orig.*

⁴ page 28.

'That if they (meaning the Commissioners) held this course it would cost many a mans life.' For which the Commissioners called him backe againe, and charged him that he had spoke treasonable and seditious words,¹ tending to the raising of a rebellion or some tumult in the Land; for which he should receiue the reward of a Traytor. And being asked whether hee spake those words or no, he acknowledged it, and tooke vpon him the Iustification thereof; 'for, said he, yee have taken from me my liuing and profession of the Ministrie; Schollership is all my portion, and I have no other meanes now left for my maintenance but to turne *Phisition*; and before I shalbe absolute Master of that Misterie, (God he knowes) how many mens lives it will cost. For few *Phisitions* vse to try experiments² vpon their owne bodies.'

With vs, it is a Profession can maintaine but a few. And diuers of those more indebted to opinion than learning, and (for the most part) better qualified in discoursing their trauailes than in discerning their patients malladies. For it is growne to be a very huswiues trade, where fortune preuailes more then skill. Their best benefactors,³ the *Neapolitan*, Their *grand Seignieur*. The *Sorpego*, their *Gonfollinere*; The *Sciaticke*, Their great *Marshall*, that calls the Muster Rolle of them all together at every *Spring* and fall,—are all as familer to her as the *Cuckow* at *Canck-wood* in *May*; And the cure of⁴ them is the skill of every good old Ladies cast Gentlewoman; when she gives over painting, shee falls to plastering, and shall have as good practize as the best of them for those kind of diseases.

Marry, for Womens griefes⁵ amongst *Phisitions*, the *Masculine* is more worthy then the *Feminine*.

Secrecie is the cheife skill, and virilitie the best learning, that is required in a Womans *Phisition*. But I never read of many of those to be long liued, or honestly wiued hitherto, in all my reading.

Hitherto I speake nothing in disrepute of the more reverend and learned sort of *Phisitions*, who are to be had in singular reverence, and be vsefull to mankind next to the Divine. Indeed, I rather pittie them; and pittingy, smile to see how pretily these young game-

¹ wrods in the Douce copy.

² experimENTS in the Douce copy.

³ benefactor in the Art copy.

⁴ page 29. ⁵ greifes in the Douce copy.

sters, *Male* and *Female*, lay about them, and engrosse the greater part of *Patientrie* in all places wheresoeuer.

And here I may more fitly say (God knowes) how many mens liues this abused *opinion* had of such *Gamesters*, costs; Because they be not Masters of that *Mysterie*, and that science which requires the *Greeke* tongue exactly, all the learning and skill of *Philosophie*, *Historie* of all sorts (especially naturall), knowledge of all vegetatives and Minerals, and whatsoever dwels within the foure elements; Also Skill in *Astronomy*, *Astrologie*. And so much of the *Iudicalls* ¹ vpon all manner of *Calculations* as may be well warranted; with much other kind of learning, art, and skill, whereof my young trauailing Phisition and trading wayting woman never heard.

Their meanes of Advancement are in these wayes, viz.

To be *Phisition* of some *Colledge* in one of the *Vniuersities*,
(as diuers *Colledges* have such places).

Phisition to the King or Queenes person.

Phisition to either of their houlds,

Or to some *Hospitall*, (as most have such).

Or to some great persons who may preferre them hereafter,
and be somewhat helpfull in the meane time.

To a good old *Vsurer*, or one that hath got his great estate
together vnconscionably: For they feare nothing but
death, and will buy life at any rate. There is no
coward to an ill Conscience.

It is not amisse to make way of acquaintance with Gallants given
to deepe drinking and surfeiting; For they are patients at all times
of the yeare.

Or a Gentlewoman that would faine vse the meanes to bee
pregnant.

Or your Lasciuous Lady, and your man in the Perriwigge, will
helpe to furnish with a foot-cloth.

²A Citizens wife of a weake stomacke will supply the fringe to it.

And if all faile, And the *Bathe* will affoord no roome; Let them
finde out some strange water, some unheard-of Spring. It is an
easie matter to discolour or alter the taste of it in some measure, (it

¹ page 30.

² page 31.

makes no matter how little.) Report strange cures that it hath done. Beget a Superstitious opinion in it, Goodfellowship shall uphold it, And the Neighbouring Townes shall all sweare for it.

The Apprentice followes.

THE first question is, to what Trade you will put your Son, and which is most worthy of choice. For the Merchant, it requireth great stocke, great experience in Forraine estates, And great hazard and adventure, at the best.

And this is not all: For it depends upon the Peace of our State with forraine Princes, especially those with whom we hold mutuall traffique; Or, who lye in our way to intercept or impediment our Trade abroad. Besides that, in time of Warre, they can hold no certainty of dealing, or supplying their Factorie in parts beyond the Seas. Shipping is subject ever, at the let goe, to bee stayed, Marriners to be prest, and many other inconveniences attend them in such times; Besides the burthen of Custome and Imposition which all ¹States impose more or lesse; So that unlesse wee have peace with such Neighbours, there is little hope in that profession in the ordinarie and lawfull way of trading.

Happily you will alledge that some Merchants thrive well enough when the warres most rage, and when the streame of State is most troubled. Some then hold it to be the best fishing; they that gaine then (Sir), if they gaine justifiably, gaine not as Merchants, but as men of Warre, which occupation a man may learne without serving seaven yeares Apprentiship unto it.

And if they gaine justifiably as Merchants, it must be in some generall stocke of a Society incorporated, who have purse to passe to and fro with sufficient power in the most dangerous times; And if such Societies are tollerable at any time, it is at such times. How they be otherwise allowable, I leave to consideration.

For the Shopkeeper, his welfare, for the most part, depends upon the prosperity of the Merchant, For if the Merchant sit still, the most of them may shut up their shop windowes; Little Skill, Art, or Mystery, shall a man learne in Shopkeeping. A man shall never

in forraigne parts, being put to his shifts out of his owne Meridian, live by the skill of weighing and measuring. The most use of advantage he can make of it, is to benefit betweene the Mart and the Market, than which nothing is more uncertaine, seeing there is no true judicall of the falling and rising of commodities, And the casualties that they are subject vnto, (especially) ¹in time of Warre.

Take this for a generall rule, that those Trades which aske most with an Apprentice, are incertainest of thriving, and require greatest stockes of setting up. Amongst Trades, give me those that have in them some Art, Craft, or Science, by which a man may live and be a welcome ghuest to all Countries abroad, and have imployment in the most stormy times at home, when Merchants and Shopkeepers are out of use, (as)—

An Apothecarie.

A Druggist.

A Chirurgion.

A Lapidarie.

A Jeweller.

A Printer.

An Ingraver in Stones and Mettall.

One that hath skill in seasoning of Shipwood.

A Carpenter of all sorts, especially of Shipping.

A Smith of all sorts, especially of Clockes, Watches, Guns, &c.

A Planter, and Gardner of all sorts.

An Enginere for making of Patars, and the like Engines of Warre. And

Hot Presses for Cloth, &c. And

Engines to weigh any Ship, or Guns that are drowned, &c. Skrues, &c.

A maker of all sorts of Instruments for Navigation, Compasses, Globes, Astrolabes.

A Drainer of grounds Surmounded.

A Sale-maker, and

² *A maker of Cordage, Tackle, &c.*

A Lymner.

A Clothier, a Clothworker, and a Dyer.

¹ page 33.

² page 34.

*A Taylor, Shooe-maker, Glover, Perfumer, and Trimmer of
Gloves.*

An Imbroiderer.

A Feltmaker, a Glasier, and one that can paint in Glasse.

*Briefly, any Manufacture or trade, wherein is any Science
or Craft.*

Onely those Trades are of least use and benefit, which are called Huswives Trades (as *Brewer, Baker, Cooke*, and the like), Because they be the skill of Women as well as of men, and common to both.

I would have you know, that the Maker was before the Retaylor; and most Shopkeepers are but of a sublimated Trade, and retayle but as Attorneys to the maker. But if the Maker (without dispute of Freedome in any Corporation) might set up Shop and sell his commoditie immediately, it would be a great deale better for the Commonwealth than now it is.

Besides, it is no matter of difficultie, burthen, or disgrace, for a Shopkeeper, yea, a Merchant, or a Gentleman, to have the skill, of some one of these Manufactures, besides his Revenew, or profession, to accompany him what fortune soever may carry him into Countries unknowne.

To my knowledge, a great *Earle* lately of this Land, did thinke it no scorne to indeavour the attaining of the Craft and trade of a Farrior, wherein he grew excellent.

¹And when our acquaintance tooke first life with those of the Low Countries, upon a Treatie wherein our Embassador strove to set forth the worthinesse of our King and Kingdome with the Native commodities thereof, The *Dutch* (ignorantly conceiving that no man could attaine to wealth without some good occupation or manufacture) askt him what handicraft our King was brought up unto, or what trade he had used to get so much wealth withall.

I admit the Merchant Royall that comes to his Profession by travaile and Factory, full fraught, and free adventure, to be a profession worthy the seeking. But not the hedge-creeper, that goes to seeke custome from shop to shop with a Cryll under his arme, That leapes from his Shop-boord to the Exchange, and after he is fame-falne and credit crackt in two or three other professions, shall wrigle

into this and that when he comes upon the Exchange, instead of enquiring after such a good ship, spends the whole houre in disputing, whether is the more profitable house-keeping, either with powder Beefe,¹ & brewes, or with fresh Beefe and Porridge; though (God wot) the blacke Pot at home be guilty of neyther: And so he departs when the Bell rings, and his guts rumble, both to one tune and the same purpose.

The Merchant Royall might grow prosperous, were it not for such poore patching interloping Lapwings that have an adventure of two Chaldron of Coles at New-castle; As much oyle in the *Greeneland* fishing as will serve two Coblers for ² the whole yeare ensuing. And an other at *Rowsie*, for as many Fox-skins as will furre his Long-lane gowne, when he is called to the Livorie.

The Shopkeeper is a cleanly Trade, especially your Linnen-Draper; which company hath the greatest Commonalty, and the largest priviledges of all other, and yet they maintaine nothing by Charter, for (indeed) they have none.

But a manufacture for my money, especially if he sell to the wearer immediately.

Now, for the better incouragement of men of Trade, Know that in most Companies of Tradesmen incorporate (especially in *London*), there is provision made by divers benefactors of their Societies deceased for the enabling and setting up of young beginners, by stockes of money remaining in the hands of some few of the chiefe of their Company (how faithfully disposed I leave to their owne consideration,) But surely the poorer sort complaine much of the mis-employment of it generally

There is but one little Crevis to peepe in at their dealings, And that is betweene their Masters conscience & the Clarks connivence, which is so narrow, that you may sooner discern the South Pole through the maine Center, than discover their mysterie.

Indeed, in times past, the Clearkship of the Company hath beene bestowed upon some ancient decayed member of the Company for his livelyhood. But the Attorney and Scrivener, and some petty Clarkes of the Citie, by the Letters of, &c. pre-occupy those places.

³And here I could wish, for righting of the dead, and relieving

¹ Salt beef.

² page 36

³ page 37.

of the poorer members of such Companies who are kept in ignorance, That some paines were taken in the *Prerogative* Office, for the collating of all guifts of this nature, to be publisht in print, that the meanest might thereby be able to call their Grand Masters to account, if they abuse the trust in them repositd in this behalfe. I acknowledge the youth of mine age to be determined, And (God knowes) how poore a remaine of life is left in my Glasse; yet if it may please those in whom the power resteth to give me leave to search (*Gratis*) for all Grants and guifts of pious use in all kindes whatsoever, I could willingly bestow that little of my Lampe in collection of these things, and publish them to posterity. Provided alwayes, that I and mine may have the priviledge of imprinting the same for some fitting number of yeares to come

The Navigator

NExt to the man of Trade, or rather equally with him, I must give the *Navigator* his due, for that his profession is as full of science, as usefull to the Common wealth, and as profitable to himselfe, as any trade whatsoever. If he attaine the skill of knowing, and handling the tackle, the certaine art of his Compasse; the knowledge of languages, and dispositions of forreigne Nations where ¹ he travailes and trades, he may rise from a Squabler to a Master, from a Master to be a Generall, honestly, and with good reputation, in a short time.

The Nauigator his way of Advancement
and imployment is, by

The Lords of his Maiesties privie Councill,
The High Admirall,
Commissioners for the Kings Navy,
Chiefe Officers of the Navyes of Societies,
incorporate,
Private Merchants and the like,
With the Trinitie house.

But if he get to be an Owner, he may trade as free as bird in ayre,

as a man of warre, or a man of trade and Commerce. If he take heed that he intrench not vpon the incorporated Companies, especially the *minotaur*. He cannot do amisse (with Gods assistance¹). He may liue merrily and contentedly, be it but in trading as a meere Carryer of home commodities, Imported from one port to another within the kingdome.

The Husbandman.

THE Husbandman may likewise for the happie content of the life, and the honest gaine which it brings with it, be worthy to inuite a right good mans sonne to vndergoe the profession.

Your sonne whom you intend for a *Husbandman*,² must be of a disposition part gentile and rusticke, equally mixt together. For if the Gentleman be predominant, his running Nagge will out run the *Constable*. His extraordinary strong Beere will be too headstrong in office of *Church-Warden*. And his well mouthed dogges will make him out-mouth all the Vestrie. But if the clowne be predominant, he will smell all browne bread and garlicke. Besides, he must be of a hardier temper than the rest of his brethren, because the vnhealth-fullest corners of the Kingdome are the most profitable for Fermors. He must especially aime at a Tenancie vnder the *Crowne*, or some *Bishops Sea*, *Deane*, and *Chapter*, some *Colledge*, some *Companie*, some *Hospitall*, or some other bodie incorporate. Wherein the *Auditor* or *Receiver* must be his best Intelligencer and Director. Young vnthrifts acquaintance, when they first arriue at the age of one and twentie, And good old conscionable Landlords, that hold it a deadly sinne to raise the rents of their Grandfathers, or hope to be deliuered out of Purgatorie by their Tenants prayers, will doe well.

These professions before mentioned, be (as it were) the orbs to receiue all fixed starrs, and such dispositions as may be put into any certaine frame.

But for a more libertine disposition.

Fit it with the profession of a *Courtier*.

For an overflowing, and Ranker disposition, make him a *Souldier*.

¹ a sistnace *in orig*.

² page 39.

But, beyond this, he is a lost man, not worthy a fathers remembrance or prouidence.

**The Courtiers wayes of advancement
be these :*

BY the generall and most ancient rule of Court, if you would have him to be preferred unto the Kings service in the end, And, in the meane time, to have sufficient meanes of maintenance, Place him with one of the *White Staves* of the Houshold.

By the more particular rule (if you can), put him unto the Lord High Steward his Service (who, amongst the white Staves), hath the chiefeest hand in preferring to any office beneath stayres.

If the High Steward be full, seeke to the Lord Chamberlaine, who hath the chiefe power to preferre to the places above stayres, and to the Wardrobe.

And, if there be no entrance there, then seek to the Treasurer of the Houshold, and next to the Controllor. The Master of the Houshold. The Coferer, and the rest of the greene Cloth.

The Master of the Horse preferres to the Avenanarie and other Clarkeships offices, and places about the Stable.

The principall Secretary hath heretofore had a great hand in preferring to the Clarkeships in the office of the *Signet*, and the Lord privie Seale into the privie Seale office.

The Master of the great Wardrobe into the Clarkeships and offices there. The Master of the Robes. The Master of the Jewell-house. The Keeper of the privie Purse. The Master of the Toyles² and Tents, with some other the like, have whilome beene the meanes of preferring divers their followers into the service of the King, in divers beneficiall places and Clarkeships, in their severall offices respectively.

The Lord *Treasurer* without the house, preferres to his Majesties service, in most places in, or about the Custome-houses, in all the parts of *England*.

And, besides these, I finde no meanes used of old, for preferment into the Kings service, for these kind of places.

¹ page 40.

² page 41.

The yeomen of the Guard were wont to come in, for their personage, and activitie, by their Captaines allowance.

And the Bed-chamber mens servants, ever were in way to be preferred for Pages of the privie Chamber, or Groomes, or placed at the back staires, not of right, but of custome.

For the Clarkes of the Houshold, they were wont anciently to rise by certaine degrees, according to the prescription of the *Black Booke*; but how it is now, I know not.

For your better satisfaction of Court Offices, their order and Fee, Search the *Blacke Booke* in the *Exchequer*, and in the Court; And for all Offices whatsoever under the King throughout the whole Kingdome, Either in *Castle, Parke, Chase, Court*, or *house* of the Kings royalty or place soever, with the then Fees of the same, I referre you to a booke, Whereof many hundred Copies are extant, which was collected by the Lord *Treasurer Burleigh*, and ¹by him delivered to the late Queene *Elizabeth* of famous memorie. And so much for the *Courtier*.

The Souldier follows.

AND the question is first.
Whether the better way of thriving is to be a Sea Soldier, or a Land Soldier?

Questionlesse, the better way of thriving is to be a Sea Soldier, In this Kingdome of *England*, being an Island, for that he is more vsefull to his Country. More learning is required to be a Sea Soldier than to be a Land Soldier. A Sea Soldier is certaine of victuals and wages, where the Land Soldiers pay will hardly find him sustenance. A Sea Soldier may now and than chauce to haue a snapp at a bootie or a price, which may in an instant make him a fortune for ever, where the Land Soldier may in an age come to the ransacking of a poore fisher Towne at the most.

More valour is required in a Sea Soldier than in a Land Soldier; because the extremitie of the place requires it. The Sea Captaine is exposed to as much danger during the whole fight as the poorest

man in the Ship; where the land Captaine vseth but to offer his men to the face of the enemy, and than retreateth.

The way to rise to preferment at Sea, is by the *Admiralls* Countenance, and the *Vice Admiralls* in the Kings service, or in other service by the favour of great traded Merchants, and especially of your ¹bodies incorporate, and their chiefe Officers: and more especially their President and Treasurer for the time being.

His breeding is a matter of more moment than his age regardeth.

If he be true bred, he should be first made a perfect Navigator, able to direct the Sterage of their course, able to know the tackle, and appoint every Sayler to his charge. He should know what number of Saylors, what Ordinance, and what munition, should be requisite for a Ship of such a burden.

He should be a skilfull *Caneere*, and able to direct the *Gunner*², to say what quantity of powder a *Peece* of such bore and³ depth requireth, and of what weight the bullet should be where such a quantity of powder is vsed, whether the *Peece* be sound or hony-combed. He should be able to know and direct what quantity of victuall should be required for so many men for such a voyage, And what quantity of powder and shot.

Also to ouersee and direct the *Purser* and *Steward* in the expence of their victuall without profusenesse, or too much percermonie.

Likewise skilfull in all manner of Fire-workes, and fitting Engines for sea fight.

Briefly, he should be so compleat, as that none should be able to teach him in his place, and he skilfull to controule every other in their places. He should be courteous and louing to his men; Above all things, he should be zealous of the honour of God. See that the divine service be duely read on board Evening and Morning, and that swearing be severely punished. A Sea Captaine is not a place for a young ⁴man to leape into instantly, and imediately out of a Ladies Vshership, a Great mans bed chamber, or a *Littletons* discipleship.

It is not your feathered Gallant of the Court, nor your Tauerne Roarer of the Citie, becomes this place, I assure you.

I find not any *Meson de dieu* for relieving of mayned Marriners

¹ page 43.

² Gnnner *in orig.*

³ ond *in orig.*

⁴ page 44.

only, but that erected at *Chattam* by Sir *John Hawkins* Knight, Treasurer of the Navie of the late *Q. Elizaeth*, wherein it was provided that there should be a deduction of Sixpence by the Moneth, out of every man and boy their wages in every voyage towards the same, Which I could wish were aswell employed as collected.

The Land-Souldier follows.

IF the Land-Souldier thinke to thrive and rise by degrees of service, from a Common Souldier to a Captaine, in this age, (alas) hee is much deceived.

That custome is obsolete, and growne out of use. Doe what he can doe in Land-service, hee shall hardly rise by his single merit.

His happinesse shall be but to fill his hungry belly, and Satiare himselfe upon a Pay day.

But if hee be of Kinne, or a favourite to some great Officer, hee may carry the Colours the first day, bee a *Lieutenant* the second, and a Captaine before he knowes how many dayes goe to the weeke in their Regiment.

The Land-service, where a man may learne most experience of Warre discipline, is in the *Low-Countries*, ¹by reason of the long exercise of Warres and variety of Stratagems there.

Beyond that, Northward, the service is both more unprofitable and more dangerous, and lesse experience is to be there learned.

The more your Sonne turnes his face to the South, the more profitable the Land-service is.

Lastly, if hee have no friend or kindred to raise him in the Land-service, I assure you that there is no Law against buying and selling of Offices in the *Low-Countries*, for ought that I have read; Neither is it markable amongst them.

After the Souldier returnes home, it makes no matter what number of wounds hee can reckon about him.

All the wayes of reliefe for him that I can number are these :

A poore Knights place of *Windsor*; If the Herald report him a Gentleman, And the Knights of the Honourable Order of the *Garter* will accept him.

A Brother of *Suttons Hospital*; If the Feoffees have not
Servants of their owne to preferre before him.

A Pensioner of the County; If the *Iustices* find him worthy,
And that hee was prest forth of the same County.

Saint *Thomas* in *Southwarke*, and St. *Bartholmews*, *Smithfield*, onely till their wounds or diseases be cured, and
no longer; And that if the Masters of the sayd Hospitals
please to receive them.

For the *Savoy*, where Souldiers had a foundation, I know none
now.

¹And other Houses appropriated for reliefe of Souldiers, now in
use, I remember none.

For the chiefe are long since demolished, The *Templarij* are gone,
The Knights of St. *Iohn* of *Ierusalem* forgotten, That famous
House upon *Lincolne greene* is rac'd to the ground, And many the like,
now better knowne by the *Records* than the remaines of their ruines,
with their Revenue, are all diverted from the uses of their first
foundation to private and peculiar Inheritances, which I pity more
than the dissolution of all the Monasteries that ever were.

Heere, you see, is preferment enough for your sixe Sonnes, though
you bestow every one upon a severall Profession; Onely take this
generall Rule for all, *viz.*

To what course soever your sonnes shall betake them, Bee sure
that they all have *Grammar* learning at the least, So shall they bee
able to receive and reteyne the impression of any the said Professions.
And otherwise, shall scarce possibly become Masters in the same, or
any one of them; Or if they doe, It will bee with more than ordinary
paines and difficulty.

Your three Daughters challenge the next place.

FOR theyr Portions I shewed you before, how and when to raise
them; That is, by the Marriage of your eldest Sonne, or out of
that part of your personall estate which you may spare without pre-
judice of your selfe.

¹*For their breeding.*

I would have their breeding like to the *Dutch Womans* clothing, tending to profit onely and comelinesse.

Though she never have a dancing Schoole-Master, A French Tutor, nor a Scotch Taylor to make her shoulders of the breadth of *Bristow* Cowsway, It makes no matter, For working in curious *Italian* purles, or *French* borders, it is not worth the while. Let them learne plaine workes of all kind, so they take heed of too open seaming. In stead of Song and Musicke, let them learne Cookery and Laundrie. And in stead of reading Sir *Philip Sidney's Arcadia*, let them read the grounds of good huswifery. I like not a female Poetresse at any hand. Let greater personages glory their skill in musicke, the posture of their bodies, their knowledge in languages, the greatnesse and freedome of their spirits, and their arts in arreigning of mens affections at their flattering faces: This is not the way to breed a private Gentlemans Daughter.

If the mother of them be a good Huswife, and Religiously disposed, let her have the bringing up of one of them. Place the other two forth betimes, and before they can judge of a good manly leg.

The one in the house of some good Merchant, or Citizen of civill and Religious government, The other in the house of some Lawyer, some Iudge, or well reported Iustice or Gentleman of the Country, where the Servingman is not too predominant. In any of these she may learne what belongs to her improvement, for *Sempstrie*, for Confectionary, and all requisits of Huswifery. She shall be sure to be restrained of all ranke company and unfitting libertie, which ²are the overthrow of too many of their Sexe.

There is a pretty way of breeding young Maides in an Exchange shop, or *St. Martins le grand*; But many of them get such a foolish Crick with carrying the Bandbox under their Apron to Gentlemens Chambers, that in the end it is hard to distinguish whether it be their belly or their bandbox makes such a goodly show.

And in a trade where a woman is sole Chapman, she claimes such a preheminance over her husband, that she will not be held to give him an account of her dealings, eyther in retaile, or whole saile at any rate.

¹ page 47.

² page 48.

The Merchants Factor and Citizens servant of the better sort, cannot disparage your Daughters with their Societie.

And the *Judges, Lawyers, and Iustices* followers, are not ordinary Servingmen, but men of good breed, and their education for the most part *Clarkely*, whose service promiseth their farther and future advancement.

Your Daughter at home will make a good wife for some good Yeomans eldest Sonne, whose father will be glad to crowne his sweating frugality with alliance to such a house of Gentry.

The youngmans fingers will itch to be handling of Taffata; and to be placed at the Table, and to be carved unto by *Mistris Dorothe*, it will make him and the good plaine old *Ione* his Mother to passe over all respect of Portion or Patrimony.

For your Daughter at the Merchants, and her sister, if they can carry it wittily, the City affords them varietie.

¹The young Factor being fancy-caught in his dayes of Innocency, & before he travaile so farre into experience as into forreigne Countries, may lay such a foundation of first love in her bosome, as no alteration of Climate can alter.

So likewise may *Thomas* the fore-man of the Shop, when beard comes to him, as Apprentiship goes from him, be intangled and belymed with the like springs, For the better is as easily surprized as the worse.

Some of your *Clarkly* men complaine the moysture of their palmes; Others the *Sorpego* in their wrists: both moving meanes.

With a little patience your daughter may light upom some Counsailor at Law, who may be willing to take the young Wench, in hope of favour with the old *Iudge*. An Attorney will be glad to give all his profits of a *Michaelmas Terme*, Fees and all, but to wooe her through a Crevice. And the Parson of the Parish, being her Ladies Chaplaine, will forswear eating of Tithe Pig for a whole yeare, for such a parcell of *Glebe* Land at all times.

And so much for your Sonnes and Daughters.

I now espy mine Host of the Bull here in *Saint Albans*, standing at his doore upon his left leg, like to the old Drummer of Parish²-garden, ready to entertaine us.

¹ page 49.

² for Paris (*MS. note*).

Therefore I will here conclude with that of the Poet,

—————*Navitus atque*
Quadragis petimus benevivere, quod petis hic est,
Est Anglis, animus si te, non deficit equus.

F I N I S .

¹ LONDON,

Printed by B. ALSOP and T. FAVVCET for

Ben : Fisher, and are to bee sold at his Shop
at the signe of the *Tallot* in *Alders-*
gate-street. 1631.

- [Cuttings from Booksellers' Catalogues, in the *Douce* copy :
1629. Powell (Thomas), Tom of all Trades. *Rare and Extremely*
Curious, 2l. 2s.
681. Do. *neat, very scarce*, 10s. 6d.
A copy of this uncommon Tract is priced 4l. 14s. 6d.
in Ford's Catalogue.]



THE GLASSE

of godly Loue.

Wherin all married couples
may learne their duties, each toward o-
thers, according to the holy Scriptures :

Verie necessary for all married
men and women, that feare the Lorde,
& loue his lawes, to haue it in their
Bedchambers, daily to looke in : whereby
they may know, and do their duties each vnto
others, and leade a godly, quiet, and
louing life togethers, to the glory of
God, and the good example of their
Christian Bretheren.

Iames .i. See that ye be not only hearers of the
worde, but also doers, leaft that therby yee
deceauue your felues.

Colossians .3. Aboue all thinges put on Loue,
which is the band of perfection.






¹To all Christian men and women
that are maryed.

Hrasmuch as the Diuel is most ready to make strife, where there ought to bee most loue; and hath, with heddy wilfulnesse, concupiscence, and ignorance, so blinded the hartes of those which liue vnder the yoke of Matrimony, that (as I may iudge by their fruites) there be very few that leade their lyues therein according to the lawes of Christe:— Therefore, (my deare & welbeloued Christians, which professe the Gospell) to the intent that you should liue therein, according to your profession and knowledge, I haue here breiefely and plainly set forth what it is, and how you ought to leade your lyues therein, accordinge to the Rules of the holy Scriptures, so that your pure and godly lyfe may bee a good example, and also make such ashamed as would sclaunder the holy Gospell, and professours of the same; yea, and that their wonted worde (which is, ‘marke these new men by their lyuinge’) may found to Gods glory, to the honour of his most holy worde, and praise of al them in Christ which do professe the same. Farewell in the Lorde.

⁴ page 76.

[*This Glasse of Godly Love forms pages 75—87 of my imperfect copy of a tract, stated by Mr W. C. Hazlitt to be unique, entitled The Schoole of honest and vertuous lyfe: Profitable and necessary for all estates and degrees, to be trayned in: but (cheefely) for the pettie Schollers, the yonger sorte, of both kindes, bee they men or Women. by T. P. [Thomas Pritchard]. No date. The tract contains, p. 47—74, Also, a laudable and learned Discourse, of the worthynesse of honorable Wedlocke, written in the behalfe of all (aswell) Maydes as Wydowes, (generally) for their singuler instruction, to choose them vertuous and honest Husbandes: But (most specially) sent written as a Jewell vnto a worthy Gentlewoman, in the time of her widowhood, to direct & guide her in the new election of her seconde Husband. By her approoued freend and kinsman, I. R. [John Rogers]. Imprinted at London by Richard Iohnes, and are to be solde at his shop ouer against S. Sepulchers Church without Newgate. [1569.] 4to, black Letter, A.—L. in fours. Hazlitt.*]

¹*What Wedlocke is.*

ou shall first vnderstande, that Wedlocke is an hie and blessed order, ordained of God in Paradise; which hath euer bin had in great honor and reuerence, wher[i]n one man and one woman are coupled and knit together in one fleshe and body, in the feare and loue of God, by the free, louing, hartie, and good consent of them both, to the intente that they two may dwel together, as one flesh and bodye, of one will and minde, in all godlynesse, most louingly to helpe and comfort one another, to bring forth children, and to instruct them in the lawes of God. Also, to auoyde Fornication and all vncleanenesse, and so in all honesty, vertue, and godlynesse, to spend their liues in the equall partakinge of all such things as God shall send them, with thanks giuinge.

And, because that the Wife is in subiection to her Husband, I will begin with her, & shortly declare what dutie and obedience shee oweth vnto him, by the commaundementes of the Scriptures.

Ephe. 5. The duetie of the Wife to her Husband.

SAynct Pawle sayth: *Yee Wiues, submit your selues to your owne Husbandes, as to the Lorde; for the Husband is the Wiues head, as Christ is the head of the Congregation: Therefore, as the Congregation is in subiection vnto Christe, likewise let Wiues be in subiection to their Husbandes in al thinges.* So that the wife must bee obediente vnto her husband, as vnto Christ himselfe; whereout it foloweth, that the faide obedience extendeth not vnto any wickednesse or euill, but vnto that which is good, honest, and cumly. In asmuch as God delighteth onely in goodnes, & forbiddeth the euill euery where, it foloweth also, that the disobediencie that a wife sheweth to hir Husband displeaseth God no lesse then when he is disobeyed himself. For the wife ought to obey hir husband in all pointes, as ²the Congregation

¹ page 77.

² page 78.

to Chrifte, which loueth Chrift onely; and aboue all thinges, shee is glad and willinge to suffer for Christes sake, shee doth all for the loue of him; Chrifte only is her comfort, ioy, and all togethers; vpon Chrifte is hir thought daye and night; shee longeth onely after Chrift, for Christes sake (if it may serue to his glory) shee is hartely well contented to die, yee, shee giueth ouer her selfe wholly therto, for Christes loue, knowing assuredly that hir soule, hir honour, body, lyfe, and all that she hath, is Christes owne. Thus also must euery honest Wife submit hir self, to please hir Husband with all hir power, and giue hir selfe freely and willingly, to loue him and obey him, and neuer to forsake him till the houre of death.

And farther (sayth S. Peter :) *Let the Wiues be in subiection to their Husbendes, that euen they which beleue not the worde, may without the worde be wonne by the conuersation of the Wiues; while they beholde your pure conuersation coupled with feare; whose apparrell shall not bee outward with broded haire, and hanging on of Golde, either in putting on of gorgious apparrell; but let the hid man of the harte bee vncorrupt, with a meeke and quiet spirit, which spirit is before God much set by, for after this manner in the olde time did the holy Women which trusted in God tire themselues, and were obedient to their Husbendes; euen as Sara obeyed Abraham, and called him hir Lorde; whose Daughters ye are as long as ye do well.*

And Paule, speaking vnto Tytus (sayth hee): *Let the elder Women be in such apparrell as becommeth holinesse, not beeing false accusers; not giuen to much Wine, but that they teache honest thinges to make the young Women sober minded, to loue their Husbendes, to loue their Children, to be discrete, chaste, hufswifely, good, obedient vnto their Husbendes, that the worde of God be not euill spoken of.*

What a Wife ought to bee.

HERE may you learne, that a Wife ought to be discret, chaste, hufswifely, shamefast, good, meeke, pacient, and ¹sober; not light in countenance, nor garishe in apparrell, with dyed or curled haire, painted nor pasted, but with a cumly grautie and a sad behauour of a constant minde, true tongued, and of few wordes, with such obedience in all godlynesse to her Husbände and head, as it beseemes

a Christian to haue vnto Christ; and to the intente that the Husband in like case may learne his duetie, let him harken what *Sainct Pawle* sayth, and take heede that hee turne not his authoritie to tyranny.

The dutie of the Husband to his Wyfe.

Husbands, loue your Wiues (sayth hee), as Christ loued the Congregation, and gaue him selfe to sanctifie it.

Now must you vnderstande, that the Husbände is the Wiues head, as Christe is the head of the congregation; and Christ sheweth to the congregation the same thinge that the head sheweth to the bodye; for like as the head seeth and heareth for the whole body, studieth and deuiseeth for to preferue it in strength and life, euen so doth Christe defend, teach, and preferue his congregation. For hee is the eye, hart, wisedome, and guide therof; so ought Husbonds (then) to loue their wiues, & be their heads in like manner to shew them like kindenesse, and after the same fashio[n] to guide them and rule them with discretion; for their preferuacion, & not with force or wilfulnesse to intreat them. And *S. Pawle* saith farther: *So ought men to loue their wiues, as their owne bodies; he that loueth his wife loueth himself. For no man hath at any time hated his owne flesh, but doth nourish and cherish it, euen as the Lorde doth the Congregation.* Therefore ought euery man most feruently to loue his wife, equally with himselfe in al pointes; for this is the measure of mutuall loue Matrimoniall, that either partie haue nothing so deare that they can not be contented to bestow one vpon another; ye, and if neede should be, they should also not spare their owne liues one for another, no more then christ did for his congregation.

¹ And like as when we repent and beleue in the promise of God in Christ, (though we were neuer so poore sinners), are as rich as Christ, & al merites ours; so is a Woman (though she were neuer so poore afore she was married) as rich as hir husband, for, all that he hath is hers, ye, his owne bodye, and [she] hath power ouer it, as saith *Sainct Pawle*.

And if it so chaunce that you finde not your wife so perfect in al pointes as you would, or as your selfe; yet must you not dispise hir, nor bee bitter nor cruell vnto hir for hir faultes, but gently and

louingly seeke to amend and win hir. For, like as Christe thought no scorne of his church, dispised hir not, neither forooke hir for hir vncleanenes and finnes; so should no christian man spurne at his wife, nor set light by hir, because that sometime she falleth, offendeth, or goeth not right; but euen as Christ nourisheth and teacheth his church, so ought euery honest husbände (also) louingly and gently to informe & instruct his wife.

For in many things (saith *S. Peter*) God hath made the men stronger then the women, not to rage vpon them & to be tirantes vnto them, but to helpe them & beare their weakenesse. Bee curteous therfore, (saith hee,) and win them to Christ, and ouercome them with kindenesse, that of loue they may obey the ordinance that God made beeweene man and Wife.

Oh how ashamed be those men to loke vpon this texte, which with violence in their furye will intreate their wiues; no beast so beastly, for in the most cruellst way is not mete, as when the wife is sad and disquieted, then with spiteful wordes and wanton fashions, so prouoking hir to anger. Where it is not the dutie of the husband, but rather ashamed to his owne head; likewise it is worship for a man to haue the feare of the Lorde before his eyes, that he prouoke not the plague of vengeance.

Let vs therfore haue humilitie in our hartes; For, as a wise man loketh well to his owne goings, euen so pleasant are the wordes spoken in due season, which moueth the woman in hir wrath vnto patience, whereof *Salamon* ¹sayth: *Faire wordes are an Hony Combe, a refreshinge of the minde, and a health of the bones.* For it is seldome seene that any beast is found in the cruellst rage, that the Male doth euer hurte his Female; and how vnnatural a thing is it for a man to hurt his owne flesh and body! Who will violently reuenge himselfe, yea, on his foote, if it chaunce to stumble, but wil not rather, if hee haue an yll bodye, cherish it to make it better?

The strong (saith *S. Pawle*) *ought to beare the frailenesse of the weake; let one suffer with another; beare ye one anothers burden, and so shall ye fulfill the lawes of Christ: and aboue all thinge* (saith *S. Peter*), *Haue feruent loue amongst you, for loue couereth the multitude of faultes.* So that loue in all things and at all times ought to bee the

whole doore and only instrument to worke and frame all things, betweene man and wife.

What the Husband ought to bee.

BY all this may yee geather and learne that the man is the head, gouvernour, ruler, & instructor (with gentil wordes and good example), the prouyder, defender, and whole comferte of the woman, and oweth vnto hyr most feruent loue and affection, all gentle behauour, all faythfulnes and helpe, all comferte and kindenesse, as to him selfe, his owne flesh and body; so that vnder God there is no loue, no affection, no freendship, no nerenes of kin, to be compared vnto this, nor any one thing vnder the Sun, that pleaseth God more then man and wife that agree well togethers, which liue in the feare of God. And how can that bee more liuely expresse, then in that, that Iesus Christ the Sonne of God, and the holy christian Church, and the holy body of them both, are set forth for an example or Mirror of the state of Wedlocke, or coniugall loue? a more holy, a more godly and purer example could not be shewed. Undoubtedly this doth plainly show, that loue Matrimoniall is most highly accepted afore God; and the ¹contrary must needs folow, *that vnquietnes, hatred, strife, brawling, chiding, and frowardnes in Mariage, doth exceedingly displease God, & is clearely forbidden by Sainct Pawle, where hee sayth: Let all bitternesse, fiercenesse, and wrath, roaringe, and cursed speaking, be put away from you: be ye curteous and louinge one to another, and merciful, forgeuing one another, euen as God for Christes sake forgauē you.* Surely it is an highe and pure loue, perfecte and constant, that God requireth to be betweene maryed couples, and therefore ought they by all wayes, meanes, and labour to get, maintaine, and increase this exceding loue, and to eschue, forbear, and cut of all things, that might occasion any parte of the contrary.

What maintaineth loue and quietnesse in Mariage.

AND vndoubtedly there is nothing that longer maintaineth con-
corde and quietnes, nor more increaseth perfecte loue in Maryage, then sweet and faire wordes, gentle and freendly deedes, and with a louing patience to take all things to the best. Freely to breake

their mindes togethers, and al things to be kept secret, both¹ glad and willing to amend that is amiss, and aboue all thinge, not once one to heare y^e of another, for *S. Pawle* warneth you that ye giue no place to the backbiters, but take them as y^ell willers to you both, though that they be neuer so nere freendes or kin. And God sayth, *A man shall forsake Father and Mother, and cleaue vnto his Wife, and they two shalbe one flesh, which in like case is mente to the Woman.* Therefore ought no creature alieue to be in such esteemation, credit, fauour, and loue, as each of you with others. Also, to bee of a sober and temperate dyet, doth much farther a good agreement; and where the contrary is, there is much vnquietnesse. For *Salomon* askinge where is woe? where is strife? where is brawling? euen amongst those (saith hee) that bee euer at the Wine; therefore it is most cumly for christians to be temperate in dyet, tempe²rate in wordes, temperate in deedes, and temperate in all things, so that at all times ye eschue al excessse and surfet, rage and fury, which makes no difference betwixt man and beast, and all other things which may breed any part of vnquietnesse. For *Salomon* sayth: *Better is a dry morsell with quietnesse, then a full house, and many fat cattell with strife.* Therefore ought yee to exteeme and imbrace this concord and quietnesse, as the maintainer and onely vpholder of the whole felicitie in Mariage, which is engendered of feruent loue, faithfulnessse, and kindenesse, and maintained by the same, wherein ye ought continually to walke in all chaistenes and purenes of liuing, which (assuredly) shineth as a most precious thinge in the sight of God, and in the commendacion of the same, sayth:

The commendacion of Chaistitie.

S*alomon* in the Booke of *Wisedome*: O faire is a chaft generacion with vertue, for it is with good men, where it is present, men take example therat, and if it go away, yet they desire it; it is alwayes crowned and holden in honour, and winneth the reward of the vndefiled Battel; but the multitude of vngodly Children are vnprofitable, and the things that are planted in whoredome shall take no deepe roote, nor lay any fast foundation; though they be greene in the braunches for a time, yet shall they be shaken with the winde, for they stand not fast, and through the vehemency of the winde they

¹ orig. doth

² page 83.

shal bee rooted out, for the vnprofitable braunches shal bee broken, their fruite shalbe vnprofitable & sower to eate, yee, meet for nothing; and why? all the children of the wicked must beare recorde of the wickednesse of their Fathers and Mothers, when they be asked, but t[h]o the rightuous bee ouer taken with death, yet shal hee be in rest.

Here may you see how vile, filthye, and abhominable, Adultery, Fornication, and Basterdy is, and how high in esteemacion a chaste life is amongst all good and godly ¹folke, and especially in the sight of God, to whom no secreat sinne is hid.

*That maryed folke ought to haue chaste manners
and communication.*

ANd as a chaste louinge life in Mariage is most commended, so ought ye to be of chaste manners, to haue chaste talke, and to eschue all wanton fashions, vnclenly communication, filthy handling, and all vnseemelynesse, and to be the speakers and very doores of all vertue and godlineesse, for *Sainct Pawle* sayth: *Be ye folowers of God as deare Children, and walke in loue, euen as Christ loued you, and gaue himselfe for vs an offering, and a sacrifice of sweete saour to God, so that fornication and all vncleanenesse, or couetousnesse, bee not once named amongst you, as becommeth Saincts, neither filthy nor foolish talke, neither iesting, which are not cumly, but rather giuinge of thanks: for this ye know, that whoremongers, eyther vncleane persons, or couetous persons, which is the worshippers of Images, shall haue any entrance in the kingdome of God and of Christe.*

Of temperance in Maryage.

ALso, there ought to be a temperance betweene man & wife, for God hath ordained mariage for a remedy or medecine, to aswage the heate of the burninge flesh, and for procreation, and not beaftly for to fulfill the whole lustes of the diuelish minde and wicked flesh; for, though ye haue a promise that the acte in mariage is no sinne, if the man receaue his Wife as a giifte giuen to him of God, and the Wife her Hufbande in like case, as ye haue a promise that yee sinne not when yee eate and drinke measurably with thanks giuinge,

yet if yee take exceſſe, or uſe it beaſtly, vilely, or inordinately, your miſtemperance make[s] that yll which is good, (beeinge rightly uſed, and that which is cleane, yee defile through your abuſinge ¹of it: *God hath not called you to vncleaneneſſe, but vnto holyneneſſe, ſayth S. Pawle*): and farther (ſayth hee), *It is the will of God, euen that you ſhould bee holye, and that euery one of you ſhould know how to keepe his veſſell in holynes and honour, and not in the luſtes of concupiſcence, as do the Heathen which know not God.*

Alſo, *Sainct Pawle* willeth you that yee withdraw not your ſelues, nor departe not one from another, except it bee with the good conſente of bothe, for a time to faſte and to pray; which faſtinge and prayer, I would to God were more uſed then it is, not as Hipocrites were wont, but as Chriſtians ought, and are commaunded (almoſt) in euery parte of the Scriptures; for they that in eating and drinkinge fulfill the whole luſtes of the fleſhe, cannot worke after the ſpirit; and as wee daylie and hourelly continually finne, ſo ought wee continually to praye and call for grace. And in all the whole Byble, you ſhal not finde a more godly example of maryage (which I would to God all maryed folkes would reade), then that of *Tobiach* and *Sara*, the Daughter of *Raguell*, which were knit togeather in faſtinge and prayer, and oft uſed the ſame, lyuinge a godly, pure, and cleane lyfe; for the which they obtayned the bleſſinge of God, and ſaw their Childerns Children to the fifte generacion.

The commendacion of Children.

CHildren (vndoubtedly) is the higheſt giſt, and greateſt treaſure of this worlde, and maintenaunce of the ſame. For Children is the very ſure band and laſt knot of loue Matrimonial; by the which the parents can neuer be clearely ſeperated a ſunder; In aſmuch as that which is of them both cannot be deuided, ſeeing both haue parte in euery one. And children are their Parents cheefe ioy, comfort, and felicitie next vnto God; their ſtay and ſtaffe & vpholders of their age; and in their children do the Parents liue (in a manner) after their death. For they dye not all together, *that* leaue collops of their owne fleſh aliue ²behinde them; and by their children (if they be ver-
tuoſly and godly brought vp) then is God honoured, & the common

¹ page 85.

² page 86.

wealth aduanced, so that the parents and all men fare the better by them. Your children (most assuredly) is the very blessing of god, for the which ye ought to giue him most hartie thanks, and be contented, and with such as hee doth sende you, bee they many or few, Sonnes or Daughters. For if they be many, he wil prouide for them if they be faithful. If they be few, he may send you more, and giue you more ioy of one daughter then of ten sonnes. Therefore, be content with his will, for hee doth all things for the best, and knoweth what is beste for you; giue him most hartie thanks for such as you haue, and be diligent to see them vertuously and godly brought vp; and in any case, suffer them not to bee ydell.

How children ought to bee brought vp.

FOr they that wil not worke (saith *S. Pawle*), let them not eate; therefore put them to learne some honest Science or Crafte, wherunto of nature they be most apt. For in that shal they most profite; in the which they may get their owne lyuinge, and serue the common wealth. And aboue al thing, let them first learne to know God & his most holy worde, which is the right pathe and highe way to all vertue and godlinesse, the sure Shielde and stronge Buckler to defende vs from the Diuell and all his cruell and craftie assaultes; giue them daily godly and louinge exhortacions, suffer no vice to take roote in them, but rebuke them for their yll, and commend them in their well dooinge.

Prouide honestly afore hand for all necessary thinges, both for them and all your household. For, saith *S. Pawle to Timothie*: *If there bee any that prouideth not for his owne, and, namely, for them of his householde, the same denyeth the fayth, and is worse then an Infidell.*

¹ *The order of your house.*

OF the Sparrowes may yee learne the order of your household: for as the Cocke flyeth too and fro to bring all thinge to the neaft, and as the dam keepeth the neaft, hatcheth and bringeth forth hir yonge, so all prouision, and whatsoeuer is to bee doone without the house, belongeth to the man; and the woman to take charge within, to see all thinges conueniently saued, or spent as it ought, to bring

forth and nourish hir children, and to haue al the whole dooing of hir Daughters and women.

Also be louing vnto your children, and be not fierce nor cruell vnto them. For *S. Pawle* saith: *Fathers, rate not your children, least they be of a desperate minde, but with discrete admonitions, and with your pure and good example of liuinge (which is the cheefest perswasion), lead them to all vertue and godlynesse.*

If all Parentes would vertuously bringe vp their children in the knowledge and feare of God, in the practice & exercise of some honest Science or Craft, Then should we not see so many ydell as bee; so many Vacabondes, Theeues, and Murderers, so many vicious persons of all degrees, nor such vngodlynes raigue. But then should wee see euery man honestly get his lyuing, preferring his Neighbours proffite as his owne; then should wee see all men rightly do their duties; then should loue and charity spring, and all godlynesse raigue; then should the Lawes and Magistrates be willingly obeyed, the common wealth flourish, and God rightly honoured, for in this point only, through the grace of God, consistes the amendment of all the whole worlde.

Therefore, (my deare and welbeloued Christians) seeing that in this blessed state of Matrimony, and godly householde of husband, wife, and children, consistes (next vnder God) the cheefest and highest felicitie of this worlde, and maintenance of the same, wherein the common wealth is wholly aduaunced, and God most highly honoured, I ¹exhort you in the name of Iesus Christ, the Sonne of the liuinge God, that you walke worthely therin, accordinge to the will of Christ, which you professe without faining, and that you eschue all woorkes and deedes of the fleshe, which bee these, saith *S. Pawle*: *Adultery, Fornication, vncleanenesse, wantonnesse, Idolatry, Witchcrafte, hatred, varyance, wrath, strife, sedition, sectes, enuyinge, murther, drunkennesse, gluttony, and such like; of the which I tell you before, as I haue tolde you*² *in times past, that they which commit such things shall not inherite the kingdome of God.* Therefore, follow yee the spirit and workes of the same, which bee, (sayth *S. Pawle*): *Loue, ioy, peace, longe suffering, gentilnesse, goodnesse, faithfulnessse, meekenesse, temperance, and such like.* And yet once agayne I exhort you with the exhorta-

¹ page 88.

² orig. you you

cion of *S. Pawle*: *If there be amongst you any consolation in Christ, if there be any comfortable loue, if there be any fellowship of the spirit, if there be any compassion of mercy, fulfill you my ioy, that ye draw one way, hauing one loue, beeing of one accorde, and of one minde, that nothing bee done through strife or vaine glory, but that in meekenesse of minde, euery one esteeme other better then them selfe, and so shal you leade a ioyfull, quiet, and godly life in this world, and after, through Iesus Christ, come to the life euerlasting, with God the Father, to whom bee all honour and glory. Amen.*

Rom. 10. *If the roote bee whole, the
braunches shall bee whole also.*

FINIS.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE BIBLE

IN THE

GLASSE OF GODLY LOVE.

Title page, p. 177, *Jam.* i. 22 ; *Col.* iii. 14.

p. 179, Yee Wives, &c., *Eph.* v. 22-4.

p. 180, Let the Wives, &c., 1 *Pet.* iii. 1-6 ; Let the elder Women, &c., *Titus* ii. 3-5.

p. 181, Husbandes, love your Wives, &c., *Eph.* v. 25 ; So ought men, &c., *Idem.* 28-9 ; his owne bodye, &c., 1 *Cor.* vii. 4.

p. 182, For in many things, &c., 1 *Pet.* iii. 7, 8 ? Faire wordes, &c., *Prov.* xvi. 24 ; the strong, &c., *Rom.* xv. 1 ; let one suffer, &c., 1 *Cor.* xii. 26 ? beare ye, &c., *Gal.* vi. 2 ; and above all thinge, &c., 1 *Pet.* iv. 8.

p. 183, Let all bitternesse, &c., *Eph.* iv. 31.

p. 184, A man shall forsake, &c., *Gen.* ii. 24 ; For Salomon askinge, &c., *Prov.* xxiii. 29, 30 ; Better is a dry morsell, &c., *Prov.* xvii. 1 ; Salomon in the Booke of Wisdome, *Wisdom* iv. 1-7.

p. 185, Be ye folowers, &c., *Eph.* v. 1-5.

p. 186, God hath not called you, &c., 1 *Thess.* iv. 7 ; It is the will of God, &c., *Idem.* 3-5 ; Also, Sainct Pawle, &c., 1 *Cor.* vii. 5.

p. 187, For they that wil not worke, &c., 2 *Thess.* iii. 10 ; If there bee any, &c., 1 *Tim.* v. 8.

p. 188, Fathers, rate not your children, &c., *Eph.* vi. 4 ; Adultery, &c., *Gal.* v. 19-21 ; Love, &c., *Idem.* 22.

p. 189, If there be amongst you, &c., *Philipp.* ii. 1-3 ; If the roote, &c., *Rom.* xi. 16.

NOTES.

p. xiii. *John Lane and Milton's father.* "Besides these, there remains, as evidence of Lane's perseverance, a long manuscript poem in the Museum [Royal MS., 17. B. xv.], dated 1621, and entitled *Triton's Trumpet to the Twelve Months, husbanded and moralized*. In it there is a distinct allusion to the scrivener Milton, in his capacity as a musical composer. Here it is—specimen enough of all Lane's poetry!—

Accenting, airing, curbing, ordering
Those sweet parts Meltonus did compose,
As wonder's self amazed was at the close,
Which in a counter-point maintaining *hizlo*
'Gan all sum up thus ÷ *Alleluiah Deo.*"

But, more interesting still, another of Lane's manuscripts—that of "Guy of Warwick"—furnishes us with a specimen of the musician's powers in returning the compliment. This manuscript had evidently been prepared for the press; and on the back of the title-page is a sonnet headed "*Johannes Melton, Londinensis civis, amico suo viatico, in poesis laudem;*" that is, "John Milton, citizen of London, to his wayfaring friend in praise of his poetry." The sonnet is so bad that Lane might have written it himself; but, bad or good, as a sonnet by Milton's father, the world has a right to see it. So here it is:—

"If virtue this be not, what is? Tell quick!
For childhood, manhood, old age, thou dost write
Love, war, and lusts quelled by arm heroic,
Instanced in Guy of Warwick, knighthood's light:
Heralds' records, and each sound antiquary,
For Guy's true being, life, death, eke hast sought,
To satisfy those which *prævaricari*;
Manuscript, chronicle, if might be bought;
Coventry's, Winton's, Warwick's monuments,
Trophies, traditions delivered of Guy,
With care, cost, pain, as sweetly thou presents,
To exemplify the flower of chivalry:
From cradle to the saddle and the bier,
For Christian imitation all are here."¹

¹ "Harl. MS. 5243. Mr. Hunter was the first to print this sonnet; and also, so far as I am aware, to refer, in connexion with Milton, to Lane's MSS. generally."
—1859. D. Masson's *Life of Milton*, i. 42-3.

p. xiii. John Lane's *Triton's Trumpet*. "Phillips . . omits '*Triton's Trumpet*,' undoubtedly by Lane, and dated 1620, in which the death of Spenser in 1599 is mentioned, with all the particulars of his sufferings and poverty, and the vain wish of the Earl of Essex to relieve them. ('Life of Spenser,' edit. 1862, p. cli)."—J. P. Collier, *Bibliographical Catalogue*, i. 448.—F.

p. xvii. note 1. Powell's *Welch Bayte*.

5^{to} Decembris

Valentine YT IS ORDERED that he shall presently bring into the hall, to be used
Symms according to the ordonance in *that* behalf. Thirtie bookes of the *welsh-bate*. and all the ballades that he hath printed of the *Traytours lately Arrayned at Winchester*.

Valentine also YT IS ORDERED that he shall pay xii's iiijd for a fine for
Symms printing the same book and ballad without Licence. And not to meddle with printing or selling any of the same bookes or ballads hereafter.

Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, iii. 249. See also ii. 837.

p. xxiii. T. Powell's *Mysterie of Lending and Borrowing*. Here is

"The Authors Inuocation.

THou spirit of old *Gybs*, a quondam Cooke,
Thy hungry Poet doth thee now inuoke,
T-infuse in him the iuyce of Rumpie or Kidney,
And he shall sing as sweet as ere did *Sidney* :
I am not so ambitious as to wish
For black spic'keale, or such a pretious dish,
As Dottrels caught by pretty imitation,
Nor any thing so hot in operation,
As may inflame the Liuer of mine Host,
To sweare I chalke too much vpon the post :
My selfe a damn'd Promethian I should thinke,
If with the Gods Scotch-Ale, or Meth, a drinke,
The vulgar to prophane, Metheglin call,
Or drops which from my Ladies Lembick fall,
In seuerall spirits of a fifth transcendence,
No, no, the hungry belly calls my mind thence :
I wish not for Castalian cups, not I,
But with the petty-Canons being dry,
And but inspir'd with one bare Qu : let any
Compare with vs for singing (O *Sydany*.)
Thy Pot-herbs, prithy, *Robbin*, now afford,
Perfume the Altar of thy Dresser-boord,
And couer it with *Hecatombes* of Mutton,
As fat and faire as euer knife did cut on :
Then will I sing the Lender and the Debter,
The martiall Mace, the Serieant and the Setter,
Ruines and reparations of lost wealth,
Still, Where you see me, Trust vnto your selfe."

p. 4, l. 11. *Lelaps*. A dog of surpassing swiftness given by Diana to Procris, and by her presented to her husband Cephalus. See Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, vii, ll. 771-93, for an account of Laelaps.—S.

p. 5, l. 15. *daughters of twentye . . to rich cormorants of threescore*. Compare Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale* of January and May.—F.

p. 6, l. 2. *Durum pati meminisse dulce*. Cf. *Æn.*, I. 203. Daniello

in a note to the *Inferno*, xvi. 84, attributes this quotation to Seneca, but does not give a precise reference. See Lombardi's *Dante*, I. 351, ed. 1830.—S.

p. 6, l. 7. *Thinges furre fetchte and deere boughte*. See Notes to Stafford's *Examination*, p. 103.—F.

p. 7, l. 3, *for*: from, against: 'now will I dam up this thy yawning mouth for swallowing the treasure of the realm,' 2 *Hen. VI.* IV. i. 74; 'and advise thee to desist *for* going on death's net,' *Pericles*, I. i. 40.—Schmidt.—F.

p. 7, l. 6. *Sic volo, sic jubeo, stet pro ratione voluntas*. Juvenal, S. vi. 223. The usual reading is "Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit, &c."—S.

p. 8, l. 4. *women with nothing more contented then to have their willes*. Compare Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Tale*; Andrew Boorde's *Breviary*, chap. 242, in my edition of his *Introduction*, &c. (E. E. T. Soc.) p. 68, and note there.—F.

p. 10, l. 9. *had I wist is a slender remedy to remove repentaunce*. "I write not here a tale of had I wist: But you shall heare of travels &c."—J. Taylor (Water Poet), *Pennilesse Pilgrimage*, Spenser Soc. ed., p. 132, ll. 2-3. "A wise man saith not, had I wist."—Uncertain author in Tottel's *Miscellany*, Arber's ed. p. 244.—P. A. D. "When dede is down, hit ys to lat; be ware of hady-wyst."—The Good Wyfe Wold A Pylgremage: *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, E. E. T. S., p. 42, ll. 119-20.—S.

p. 26, l. 8 from foot. *'Knight of the Post*. Properly, a man who gained his living by giving false evidence on trials, or false bail; in a secondary sense, a sharper in general. "*A knight of the post*, quoth he, for so I am tearmed; a fellow that will sweare you any thing for twelve pence."—Nash, *Pierce Penillesse*, 1592.

"But is his resolution any way infracted, for that some refractaries are (like *knightes of the post*) hired to witness against him?"—Ford's *Line of Life*, 1620.—(Additions to) Nares.—F.

p. 26, l. 24. "*A supplication from Pierce Pennilesse*." An allusion to a satire written by Thomas Nash, entitled "*Pierce Penillesse, his Supplication to the Divell*"; describing the over-spreading of Vice, and the suppression of Vertue. Pleasantly interlaced with variable delights, and pathetically intermixt with conceived reprooves," Lond. 1592; Watts, *Bib. Brit.*—S.

p. 29, l. 12-13. Three instances of the genitive *it* in two lines: *it* delighte, *it* ioi, *it* beginning. See too p. 90, l. 9 from foot.—F.

p. 30, l. 9-10. This proverb of the Pitcher going long to the water, but getting broken at last, is in Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyte*, A.D. 1340: "Zuo longe geþ þet pot to the wetere, þet hit comþ to broke hom," p. 165, l. 7 from foot, ed. Stevenson, for Roxburghe Club.—F.

p. 32, l. 13 from foot. *it was the parte of Mad Men*, &c. A free expansion of "*Quare in tranquillo tempestatem adversam optare dementis est, subvenire autem tempestatu quavis ratione sapientis*."—Cic. *Off.*, I. xxiv. 5.—S.

p. 33, l. 17. *a tooting head*: one with horns, through which men toot or blow, the mark of a cuckold.—F.

p. 33, l. 30. *where Christes crosse standes*: that is, at the head of the alphabet. '*La croix de par dieu. The Christs-crosse-row; or Horne-booke wherein a child learnes it.*'—*Cotgrave*.—F.

p. 36, l. 3. *mistrisse her necke*. This absurd form of the possessive case came in from the mistake in the masculine, 'Robin good-fellow *his* newes,' p. 49, &c., as if the genitive *-s*, *-es* was contracted from *hi-s*. In the second text of Layamon's *Brut* are many of these genitives in *his*, some of them to feminine nouns. They arose from the scribe of that MS. being very fond of *h*'s, and putting *h* on to the genitives in *-is*, which *-is* was often written apart from the crude form of its noun.—F.

p. 36, l. 11. *nor so many yeeld uppe the possession of their garmentes to the hangman*. "There was a curst page that his master whipt naked, and when he had been whipt, would not put on his cloaths; and when his master bad him, 'take them you, for they are the hangman's fees.'"—Bacon's *Apophthegms*, No. 69, *Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Bacon*, 1802.—S.

p. 39, l. 3. *Omnia vincit Amor, et nos cedamus amori*.—Virgil, *Ecl.* x. 69.—S.

p. 39, l. 12. *that babie which lodges in womens and mens eies*. The reflected images of himself seen by a lover in the pupils of his mistress's eyes, or *vice versâ*.

Cf. "So when thou [Love] sawst in natures cabinet Stella, thou straight lookst *babies in her eyes*."—Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*, sonnet xi. ll. 9-10.

In Massinger's *Renegado*, II. iv, p. 129, col. 1, ed. Gifford, 1840, Donusa says to Vitelli, "When a young lady wrings you by the hand, thus, Or with an amorous touch presses your foot, Looks *babies in your eyes*, plays with your locks, Do not you find without a tutor's help, What 'tis she looks for?"—S.

p. 43, l. 14. 'Thirteen Pence Halfpenny was considered as the hangman's wages very early in the 17th century. How much sooner, I have not noticed. "'Sfoot, what a witty rogue was this to leave this fair *thirteen pence halfpenny*, and this old halter, intimating aptly,

Had the hangman met us there, by these presages,
Here had been his work, and here *his wages*."

Match at Midnight, Old Plays, vii. 357.

"If I shold, he could not hang me for't; 'tis not worth thirteen pence halfpenny."—J. Day's *Humour out of Breath*, sign. F. 3.—Nares.—F.

p. 55, l. 22. *Greenes Cunnyberries*, Robert Greene's Coney-burrows, alluding to his four Coney-catching tracts: I. A Notable Discouery of Cosnage, 1591; II. The Second Part of Conny-catching, 1591; III. The Third and last part of Conny-catching, With the new deuised knavish arte of Foole-taking, 1592. IV. A Disputation Betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conney-catcher, whether a Theafe or a Whorer is

most hurtfull in Cousonage, to the Commonwealth. Discovering the Secret Villanies of alluring Strumpets. With the Conuersion of an English Courtizen, reformed this present yeare 1592.—*Hazlitt*.—F.

p. 55, last line. *then on goes her pantoples*. "Such is the Nature of these nouises that think to haue learning without labour, . . . that for the most parte they *stande so on their pantuffles*, that they be secure of perils, obstinate in their own opinions, impatient of labour, apt to conceive wrong, credulous to believe the worst, ready to shake off their olde acquaintance without cause, and to condemne them without colour."—*Euphues*, p. 47, ed. Arber.

Sander. . . "Why looke you now, ile scarce put up plain Sander now at any of their hands; for and any body have any thing to do with my master, straight they come crouching upon me,—'I beseech you good M. Sander speake a good word for me,'—and then I am so stowt and take it upon me, and *stand upon my pantoffles* to them, out of all crie, why I have a life like a giant now."—*Taming of a Shrew*, p. 174, ed. Nichols, Six old Plays.

"Stande thou on thy pantuffles, and shee will vayne bonnet."—*Euphues*, p. 117.—P. A. DANIEL.

p. 68, l. 7 from foot. *willing her, . . . either then or never to consent to the saving of all their lives*. Abduction was punishable with death. By statute 39 Eliz. c. 9, principals, procurers, or accessories before the fact, were deprived of benefit of clergy. See Blackstone's *Commentaries*, ed. Kerr, 1862, iv. 231.—S.

The preamble of the Act of Elizabeth, passt in 1597, illustrates the story in the text, and runs thus :—

"Whereas of late times diuers women, as well maydens as widowes, and wiues hauing substance, some in goods moouable, and some in lands and tenements, and some being heires apparent to their Ancestours, for the lucre of such substance bene oftentimes taken by misdoers, contrary to their will, and after married to such misdoers, or to others by their assent, or defiled, to the great displeasure of God, and contrary to your Hig[h]nesses Lawes, and disparagement of the said women, and great heauinesse and discomfort of their friends, and ill example of others; which offences, albeit the same be made felonie by a certaine act of Parliament made in the third yeere of King Henrie the seuenth: Yet forasmuch as Clergie hath been heretofore allowed to such Offenders, diuers persons haue attempted and committed the said offences in hope of life by the benefit of Clergie¹:—Be it therefore enacted &c." Christopher Barker's edition of 1597, sign. E. This edition contains two acts more than the Record Office one, namely, "26 An Act for confirmation of the Subsidies granted by the Clergie. 27 An Act for the grant of three entire Subsidies, and sixe Fifteenes and Tenths granted by the Temporalitie." Chap. 7, 'An Act for the more speedie payment of the Queenes Maiesties debts', looks as if Q. Elizabeth was insolvent: but

¹ Education the excuse for crime! The doctrine sound odd now.

'the Queen's debts' were debts due to her, like 'the Queen's traitors' were traitors against her.—F.

p. 69, l. 8. *the counsell Table*. The concilium ordinarium, commonly known as the court of star chamber, a branch of the privy council which assumed jurisdiction over many offences cognizable in the ordinary law courts. See Hallam's *History of England*, vol. I. chap. i.—S.

p. 69. l. 8. *she tolde so good a tale for him*, &c. If a woman was married by her abductor, she was allowed to give evidence against him of the abduction, contrary to the then general rule that a wife's evidence could not be received against her husband. See Blackstone's *Commentaries*, iv. 231.—S.

p. 71, l. 10 from foot. *cooling carde*. So Suffolk in 1 *Hen. VI.*, V. iii. 83: "There all is marr'd; there lies a *cooling card*." Not Shakspere's.—F.

A letter from Euphues to Philautus is entitled, "A cooling Carde for Philautus and all fond lovers."—*Euphues*, Arber's ed. p. 106. "Card. (2) A chart. Harrison, p. 39."—Halliwell's *Dict.*—S.

p. 75, l. 3 from foot. *a tantinie pigge*. St Anthony's. See Brand's *Antiquities*, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 200, note a, col. 2. And "St. Anthony's church in Threadneedle street, belonging to an hospital of that Saint, and dedicated to St. Anthony of Vienna as early as Henry III. The foundation was for a master, two priests, a schoolmaster, and twelve poor men. . . The proctors of this house used to collect alms, and take from the market people lean or ill-conditioned pigs, which they turned abroad with bells about their necks to live upon the public,—whence the saying *an Anthony's pig*, and when fat, they killed them for the use of the hospital."—Stowe's *Lond.* p. 190, in Nichols's ed. of E. Perlin, *Descr. d'Angleterre* 1558, repr. 1775, p. 13. See the Index below, p. 209.—F.

p. 82. To compare small things with great, set this page beside Julia's description of her lovers in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, I. ii., and Portia's of hers in the *Merchant of Venice*, I. ii.—F.

p. 83, l. 7. Smithfield (or smooth-field, an etymology sanctioned by Fitz Stephen, who describes it as *campus planus*) was celebrated for many centuries as a market, and the cheating carried on there, more especially in the sale of horses, was long notorious. A 'Smithfield horse' was the cant name for a particularly bad bargain. Falstaff tells us that his horse was bought at Smithfield (2nd part of *Henry IV.*, act I. sc. ii. ll. 56-7), and Pepys speaks "of the craft and cunning that I never dreamed of, concerning the buying and choosing of horses," *Diary*, Dec. 4, 1668. And see under Dec. 11, 1668.—H. B. W.

p. 83, l. 7 from foot. *a Smithfeelde horse*. Smithfield was noted for its horse-fairs (p. 87, l. 2 from foot); and at them, as at all other fairs, the buyer takes his chance.

"The Londoners pronounce woe to him that buyes a horse in Smythfield, that takes a servant in Pauls Church, that marries a wife out of Westminster" [noted for its stews].—Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, 1617, Pt. 3, p. 53. On the Fair in Smithfield, see *Bartholomew Fair*, 1641.—F.

p. 83, l. 7 from foot. *whether a Smithfeelde horse will proue good or jadissh.* "heere [to Smithfield] comes many Horses, like Frenchmen) rotten in the joynts, which by tricks are made to leape, though they can scarce go; he that light upon a Horse in this place, from an olde Horse-courser, sound both in wind and limbe, may light of an honest Wife in the Stews: here's many an olde Jade, that trots hard fort, that uses his legs sore against his will, for he had rather have a Stable then a Market, or a Race."—London and the Countrey Carbonadoed and Quartred into severall Characters. By D. Lupton, 1632, pp. 36-7.—S.

p. 85, l. 3. *let them have their willes; or they will, whether you will or no.* Compare Andrew Boorde's *Breviary*, Fol. lxxxiii. back, "therfore, *Vt homo not cantet cum cuculo*, let euery man please his wyfe in all matters, and displease her not, but let her haue her owne wyl, for that she wyll haue, who so euer say nay," p. 68 of my edition, E. E. T. Soc. 1870.—F.

p. 91, l. 2. *Kemps head.* An account of William Kemp will be found in Variorum Shakspeare, ed. 1821, vol. III. p. 197.—P. A. D.

p. 91, l. 9. *Knackes to knowe knaves by.* "A knack how to knowe a knave," one of Kempe's works?—P. A. D.

p. 113, l. 73. *Ovid could testify*, &c. *Ultima cœlestum, terras Astræa reliquit.*—Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, l. 150.—S.

p. 113, l. 84. *carvall vice . . in the Popes great hall.* On the lechery and sodomy seen in Rome by Andrew Boorde, see my edition of A. B., p. 77, with the extract from Thomas's *History of Italye* in the note there.—F.

p. 118, l. 216, *gigge, jig.* Cp. in Arber's *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, iii. 49, 50, "A pretie newe *Jygge* betwene Francis the gentleman, Richard the farmer, and theire wyves," Oct. 14, 1595; and on Oct. 21, "a ballad called Kemps newe *Jygge* betwixt a souldiour and a Miser, and Sym the clown." "The word '*jig*' is said to be derived from the Anglo-Saxon; and in old English literature its application extended, beyond the tune itself, to any jiggling rhymes that might be sung to such tunes. The songs sung by clowns after plays (which like those of Tarleton, were often extempore,) and any other merry ditties, were called *jigs*. 'Nay, sit down by my side, and I will *sing* thee one of my country *jigges* to make thee merry,' says Deloney, in his *Thomas of Reading*."—Chappell's *Popular Music*, ii. 495.—F.

p. 118, l. 230. Seven Deadly Sins. Compare 'The Seuen Deadly Sinnes of London: Drawne in seuen seuerall Coaches, Through seuen seuerall Gates of the Citie, Bringing the Plague with them. Opus septem Dierum. Tho: Dekker. At London Printed by E. A. for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be solde at his shop neere Saint Austens gate. 1606. 4to, black letter, 31 leaves.'—*Hazlitt*. Also Dekker's 'Belman of London,' 1608; 'Lanthorne and Candlelight,' 1609; 'O per se O,' 1612; 'Villanies discovered,' 1616; and the successive versions of his 'Englisch Villanies,' 1632-48.—F.

p. 121, l. 304. *Some weare short cloakes, some cloakes that reach the heel.* "In the time of Queene Mary, and the beginning of the Raigne

of Queen *Elizabeth*, and for many yeeres before, it was not lawfull for any man either servant or others, to weare their Gowns lower than to the calves of their legges, except they were above threescore yeares of age, but the length of Cloakes being not limited, they made them Cloakes downe to their Shoes . . .”—Stow's *Annales*, continued by Edmund Howes, ed. 1631, pp. 1039-40.—S.

p. 121, ll. 307-10. *Bold Bettresse*, &c.; p. 122, l. 333. *fannes by truls are borne*. “Womens Maskes, Buskes, Muffes, Fanns, Periwigs and Bodkins, were first devised, and used in Italy by Curtezans, and from thence brought into France, and there received of the best sort for gallant ornaments, and from thence they came into England, about the time of the Massacre of Paris” [1572].—*Idem*, p. 1038, col. 2.—S.

p. 126, l. 451. *Wrath is the cause that men in Smith-field meete*.

“This field commonly called West-Smithfield, was for many yeares called *Ruffians hall*, by reason it was the usuall place of Frayes and common fighting, during the time that Sword and Bucklers were in use.

“When every Serving-man from the base to the best, carried a Buckler at his backe, which hung by the hilt or pomell of his Sword which hung before him.

“This manner of Fight was frequent with all men, untill the fight of Rapier and Dagger tooke place, and then suddenly the generall quarrell of fighting abated, which began about the 20 yeare of Queene *Elizabeth* [1577-8], for untill then it was usuall to have Frayes, Fights, and Quarrells, upon the Sundayes and Holidayes, sometimes twenty, thirty, and forty Swords and Bucklers, halfe against halfe, as well by quarrells of appointment as by chance.

“Especially from the midst of Aprill, untill the end of October, by reason, Smithfield was then free from durte and plashes. And in the Winter season, all the high streetes were much annoyed and troubled with hourelly frayes of sword and buckler men who tooke pleasure in that bragging fight; and although they made great shew of much furie and fought often, Yet seldome any man hurt for thrusting was not then in use: neither would one of twentie strike beneath the waste, by reason they held it cowardly and beastly. But the ensuing deadly fight of Rapier and Dagger suddenly suppressed the fighting with Sword and Buckler.”—Stow's *Annales*, continued by Edmund Howes, ed. 1631, p. 1024, col. 1 and 2.—S.

p. 127, l. 497. *Idlenessse*. See Andrew Boorde's amusing 151st Chapter of his *Breviary*, on ‘an euyl Feuer, the whiche dothe cumber yonge persons, named the Feuer lurden.’ His remedy is: “There is nothyng so good for the Feuer lurden as is *Vnguentum baculinum*, that is to say, Take me a stycke or wand of a yerde of length and more, and let it be as great as a mans fynger, and with it anyoynt the bake and the sholders well, mornynge and euenynge, and do this .xxi. dayes,” &c.: see my edition, p. 83-4, and the Index to my *Babees Book*.—F.

p. 129, ll. 562, 564. There were two Compters or prisons for debtors

in the city of London ; each being under the superintendence of one of the Sheriffs. The Poultry Compter stood a few doors from St Mildred's church until 1817, when it was taken down. Stow wrote of it, "this hath been there kept and continued time out of mind, for I have not read of the original thereof." Wood Street Compter stood on the east side of Wood Street, Cheapside, and was first established there in 1555, when the prisoners were removed from the old Compter in Bread Street to the new one in Wood Street. The latter was burnt down in the Great Fire, but rebuilt afterwards. The prison was removed to Giltspur Street in 1791. T. Middleton introduced a reference to the two Compters in his *Phoenix*—"for as in that notable city called London stand two most famous Universities, Poultry and Wood street, where some are of twenty years' standing and have took all their degrees." Quoted in Cunningham's Handbook of London.—H. B. W. Thomas Nash also praised the Compter ironically in his '*Strange Newes*,' 1592, (sign. I.) :—

"Heare what I say : a gentleman is never thoroughly entred into credit till he hath been there ; and that Poet or novice, be hee what he will, ought to suspect his wit, and remaine halfe in doubt that it is not authentically, till it hath beene seene and allowed in unthrifits consistory. *Grande doloris ingenium!* Let fooles dwell in no stronger houses than their fathers built them, but I protest I should never have writ passion well, or beene a piece of a poet, if I had not arriv'd in those quarters. Trace the gallantest youthes, and bravest revellers about towne, in all the by-paths of their expence, and you shall infallibly finde, that once in their life-time they have visited that melancholy habitation. Come, come, if you goe to the sound truth of it, there is no place of the earth like it, to make a man wise. Cambridge and Oxford may stand under the elbowe of it. I vow, if I had a sonne, I would sooner send him to one of the Counters to learne lawe, than to the Innes of Court or Chancery." (in Collier's Bibl. Catal. i. 277.)

p. 133, l. 679. *light-taylde huswives*. Compare 'A Dialogue by-twene the commune secretary and Jalowsye, Touchynge the vnstabilnesse of Harlottes,' John Kynge [1550-61], Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 400.

"She that is fayre, lusty and yonge,
And can comon in termes with fyled tonge,
And wyll abyde whysperynge in the eare,
Thynke ye her *tayle is not lyght of the seare?*"

This is Hamlet's 'tickle o' the sere,' the sear being the catch of a gunlock, which when stiff, makes you pull the trigger very hard, but when light, turns it into a 'hair-trigger,' one that'll go at the touch of a hair.—F.

William Goddard's *Neaste of Waspes*, 1615, gives the theatres a bad character too (Collier's *Bibl. Cat.* i. 314):—

"Goe to your plaie-howse, you shall actors have,
Your baude, your gull, your whore, your pander knave,

Goe to your bawdie house, y'ave actors too,
 As bawdes, and whores, and gulls, pandars also,
 Besides, in either howse (yf you enquire)
 A place there is for men themselves to tire.
 Since th' are so like, to choose theres not a pinn,
 Whether bawdye-house, or plaie-howse you goe in."

As to the round house, compare *The Cries of London* (ib. p. 163, time of Jas. I.)

"The Players on the Banckeside,
 The *round Globe* and the Swan,
 Will search you idle tricks of love,
 But the Bull will play the man."

The Bull was 'The Red Bull' theatre in Clerkenwell. The Rose theatre on or near Bankside was also round. See Norden's Map, 1593.—F.

p. 139, l. 7. *Hee askt him, If hee had a Passe, &c.* "Any two *Justices of Peace* may licence such as be delivered out of *Gaoles*, to begge for their fees, or to travell to their Countrey, or friends: and may give licence for fourtie dayes to a *Rogue*, that is marked [branded?]: and may make testimonial to a Servingman, that is turned away from his master, or whose master is dead: 14 Eliz. cap. 5; and 18 Eliz. cap. 3; and 27 Eliz. cap. 11.

... And they may *Licence* diseased persons (living of almes) to travel to *Bathe*, or to *Buckstone*, for remedies of their grieffe, 14 Eliz. cap. 5, and 27 Eliz. cap. 11."—Lambard's *Eirenarcha*, ed. 1592, p. 321-2.

"Two such *Justices* may give licence to *Fencers*, *Bearewards*, *Common players* in Enterludes, *Minstrels*, *Fuglers*, *Pedlers*, *Tinkers*, and *Petite-chapmen*, to goe abroad, so as they shall not be taken as Rogues. 14 Eliz. cap. 5; and 27 Eliz. cap. 11."—*Idem*, pp. 341-2.—S.

p. 140, l. 45. *Signa virtutum tuarum longe lateque ferens.* A reminiscence of Horace, *Od.* IV. i. 16.—S.

p. 141, l. 1. *folk leaving town after Term.* Compare Lord Campbell's note on p. 23-4 of his *Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements considered*, 1859:

"Even so late as Queen Anne's reign there seems to have been a prodigious influx of all ranks from the provinces into the metropolis in term time. During the preceding century, Parliament sometimes did not meet at all for a considerable number of years; and being summoned rarely and capriciously, the 'London season' seems to have been regulated, not by the session of Parliament, but by the law terms,—

'... and prints before Term ends.'—*Pope*.

While term lasted, Westminster Hall was crowded all the morning, not only by lawyers, but by idlers and politicians in quest of news. *Term having ended, there seems to have been a general dispersion.* Even the Judges spent their vacations in the country, having when in town resided in their chambers in the Temple or Inns of Court. The Chiefs were obliged to remain in town a day or two after term, for Nisi Prius sittings; but the Puisnes were entirely liberated when proclamation was made at the rising of the court on the last day of term, in the form still preserved,

that "all manner of persons may take their ease, and give their attendance here again on the first day of the ensuing term. . . ."

See Thomas Dekker's 'The Dead Terme. Or Westminster Complaint for long Vacations and short Termes. Written in manner of a Dialogue betweene the two Cityes of London and Westminster. London, Printed and are to be sold by Iohn Hodgets. 1608. 4to, black letter, 27 leaves.'—F.

p. 156, l. 19. "Actuary, (*Actuarius*) Is the Clerk or Scribe, that registers the Canons and Constitutions of the Convocation: Also an Officer in the Court Christian, who is in Nature of a Register."—Cowel's *Law Dict.*, ed. 1727.

p. 158, l. 6. *Swainmootes of Forrests*. "From the *Sax.* swan, a swain, as *Country-swain*, *Boot-swain*, and gemote, a Court or Convention. The *Swanemote* was a Court held twice a year [Spelman and Cowel say thrice.—S.] by the forest officers, fifteen days before *Midsummer*, and three weeks before *Michaelmass*, for enquiry of the trespasses committed within the bounds of the forest."—Kennett's *Parochial Antiquities*, ed. 1695, Glossary, s.v. *Swanemotum*.—S.

p. 158, l. 12. *The Virdge*. "Verge, *Virgata*, may seem to come from the French *Verger*, *viridarium*, and is used here in *England* for the Compass of the King's Court, which bounds the jurisdiction of the Lord Steward of the King's Household, and of the Coroner of the King's House, and that seems to have been Twelve Miles Compass."—Cowel's *Law Dict.* ed. 1727.—S.

p. 158, l. 16. *The Clinke*. "Then next is the *Clinke*, a Goal or Prison for the Trespassers in those Parts, namely, in old time for such as should Brabble, Fray, or break the Peace on the said Bank [the Bankside, Southwark] or in the *Brothel* Houses, they were by the Inhabitants thereabout apprehended and committed to this Goal, when they were straitly Imprisoned."—Strype's *Stow*, ed. 1720, II. book iv. p. 8, col. 1.—S.

p. 159, l. 9 from foot. *And here I remember me of an old tale*. This story will be found in Bacon's *Apophthegms*, No. 34, *Miscellaneous Writings of Francis Bacon*, ed. 1802, p. 12.—S.

p. 163, l. 12 from foot. *An Enginere for making of Patars*. Grose (*Military Antiquities*, I. p. 402) gives an engraving of "Pierriers, vulgarly called Pattereros," and says, "Chamber'd pieces for throwing stones, called cannon perriers . . . were about this time [Edward VI. reign] much used in small forts, and on shipboard."—S.

p. 171, l. 1. *Sir John Hawkins' hospital at Chatham*. An hospital for decayed mariners and shipwrights was founded by Sir John Hawkins, in 1592, in which twelve pensioners have each a separate house, an allowance of eight shillings per week, and an annual supply of coal: the management is vested in 26 governors, of which number five are elective.—Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary*.—S.

p. 175, l. 2. *Navibus atque*, &c. Hor. *Epp.* I. xi. 28—30.—S.

INDEX.

- Abduction of a widow, story of the, 67-9
 Actuary, the, 156/19
 admiring, 128/527, wondering at
 Adonis, 132/649
 Affectionate, *v. a.* 30/22, to love
 Ægyptian dog, the, 113/61-4
 akind, *p. p.* 127/482, related. *See* kinde
 Almanacks faulty, 117/185
 Ambrosian oyle, 101, l. 4 from foot
 Animals examples to drunkards, 132/631-36
 Anthony, Master, a discreet lover, 79
 Apollo, 117/191; 118/218
 Appearances, don't trust to them, 66-7
 Apprentice, an, who marries doubles his apprenticeship, 87
 Apuleius asse, 119/253
 Arithmetic described, 116/169-74
 Astraea, 113/74
 Astronomy described, 117/181-86
 Atropos, 120/285
 Attornies dub themselves counsellors, 157; clerkships of trading companies given them, 165; country, frequent eightpenny ordinaries, 141
 Avarice described, 129/535-46; her misdeeds, 129-30/547-70
 Avenanarie, 168. "Next (to the Equerries) is the *Chief Avenor*, from *Avena*, *Oates*; whose yearly Fee is 40 l. and this place with all the following, are in the Gift of the *Master of the Horse*." —Chamberlayne's *Anglia Notitia*, ed. 1673, Pt. i. p. 199. "*Avenor*, *Avenarius*, Is an Officer belonging to the King's Stables, and provides Oats for his Horses." —Cowell's *Law Dict.*, ed. 1727, *s. v.*
- Baals common Priests, 95/18
 babel, a, 81/15, a bauble
 baby in the eye, the, 39/12
 bakerly kneed, 82/15, knockkneed. *See Halliwell's Dict.*, *s. v.* Bakerlegged
 bandy, *v. t.* 43/6
 Banke-sides round-house, housewives at the, 133/681-82
 bankrotes, 16/2, bankrupts
 barrel butter, 70, l. 2 from foot, salt butter
 bate-maker, 13/21, one who causes debate, or strife
 Bathe, the, Bath, Somerset, physicians practise there, 161, l. 4 from foot
 Batillus, 118/211, Bathyllus
 bats, 41, l. 13 from foot, bates, i. e. strife?
 Bedchamber men's servants made pages of the privy chamber, 169
 Bedlam, wit in, 90, l. 2 from foot
 Benefices, college, to obtain, 149-50; abroad, in whose gift, 150; where to search for, 151, 153; to obtain, 151-54; book of, referred to, 153; catalogue of, wanted, 154
 Bettresse, 121/307, a woman's name (Beatrice)
 bird of Bedlam, a, 79, l. 6 from foot, a crazy girl. Old Eng. burd, lady, maiden
 Bishop's patronage formerly useful to civilians, 156
 Black book in the Exchequer referred to, 159, 169
 blacke wrought Wastcoate, a, 144/6, a woman's garb
 bob, the offering of a, 85, l. 8 from foot, mocking, cheating
 bobbes, *sb.* 74, l. 9 from foot, blows.
 Lady Jane Grey, complaining of her parents, says that she is "so cruellie threatened, yea presentlie some tymes with pinches, nippes, and *bobbes*, and other waies which I will not name for the honor I beare them, so without measure misordered." —Ascham's *Scholemaster*, p. 47, Arber's ed.
 boone voyage, 142, l. 2 from foot, bon voyage
 Bosseldir, the, 139/3, Borsholder. "——. Our Borsholder in *Kent*, and their Thirdborow in *Warwickshire*, be Conservatours (of the peace) also within their Boroughs. For Borow-head, Borsholder, and Tithingman, bee three several names of one selfe same thing, and do signifie, The chiefe man of the free pledges within

- that Borow or Tithing." — Lambarde's *Eirenarcha*, ed. 1592, p. 14. Lambarde derives the name from A.S. borhes ealdor. See his *Perambulation of Kent*, reprint, 1826, p. 19.
- Bowser, 149/12, bursar
braggadochio-like, *adj.* 126/458
brand, 4/7, brent, burnt?
breake-peace, 73/3, cause of strife
breed-bate, a, 13/19, see bate-maker
brewes, 165/4, broth, pottage
Briceris, 32/17
Bridewell, 13/22, 22/12
Bridewell, the Beadles of, 95/16
Bridewell in her dish, laying, 17/5
Bristow Cowsway, 173/5, Bristol causeway
brute, to, 10, l. 2 from foot, to bruit
bulke, chest, thorax, 131/609
Buls, 36/10, hangmen
Buls bailiffs, 95/14
Burleigh, Lord, his book on court offices referred to, 169
bussardes, 17, l. 3 from foot, cowards.
Halliwel's Dict., s. v. Buzzard
- Cæsar, 123/380
Caligula, 126/445
Cambridge, 115/133
Canck-wood, Cannock-Wood, Staffordshire, 160/22
Caneere, 170/14, cannoneer
Cardinals burn the cardinal virtues, 113/82
Cards, new cut at, ruins men, 119/249
carterly progenitors, 99/10
Castale fount, 118/214
Cast gentlewomen's doctoring described, 160
cast-ravelinges, 42, line 9 from foot.
"Ravelins — serve to cover the Gates of the Town and the Bridges —" — *Bailey's Dict.*, I.
Cauls worn by women, 121/310
Cerberus, 4/6
Charity's contest with Envy, 125/415-20
charke coles, 80, l. 11 from foot, charcoal
Charons boat, 4/4
charres, 112/52, chariots
Chaucers japes, 95/4
Cheapside, 129/538
choptlodgicke, a, 96/17, a marriage?
In the *Fraternity of Vacabondes*, E.E.T.S. ed., p. 15, and *Romeo & Juliet*, III. v. 150, choplogic means a disputatious person. Here there may be a facetious allusion to marriage as a state in which logic is chopped or exchanged
- Christes crosse, 33, l. 7 from foot
chuff, *sb.* 12/17, 21, l. 4 from foot.
"Choffe or chuffe — Rusticus." — *Prompt. Parv.* Cf. 1 *Henry IV.*, II. ii, 94
Church livings, enough of them to maintain the ministry, 154
cinicall, 134/712, cynical
Circe, 133/680
Civil Law, its study costly, practice lucrative; fees come directly from the client; preferments in, enumerated, 155; courts of, inferior officers in, 156
clapperclaw, *v.a.* 71, l. 11 from foot, to belabour
Clerks of the Household formerly rose by gradation, 169
Clerkships enumerated, 159
Clerkships of trading companies, to whom formerly given, 165
Cloaks, fashions in, 121/304
closecubberds, 18/13, safes of the period?
clouterly caulfed, 82/14. "Clouterly, clumsy, awkward." — *Halliwel's Dict.*
Cobbilero, John, 30, l. 12 from foot, a name for a cobbler
collops of their owne flesh, 186, l. 3 from foot, children. Cf. *Hen. VI.* pt. I, V. iv. 18.
Common courting lads, their behaviour, 92
Common gardens about London ill-smelling places, 19/22
Common Law students should first enter an Inn of Chancery, 156; become clerks to a prothonotary of Common Pleas; know something of Civil Law, 157
Common Law, preferments in, 158
Confectio Alchemi, 150/14
congies, *sb.* 114/99, bows
coning-shifts, 91/23, coney-shifts, i.e. swindles
cooling carde, 71, l. 10 from foot
copesmates, 9, l. 8 from foot, 17/21, intimate friends. A.S. copest, chiefest, and mate?
Corked shoes worn by women, 122/328
Corn engrossed through Avarice, 129/547
Cornewall, an ill-omened name, 133/675
Counsel, their former means of preferment, 157; present, 159
courrouse, *v.a.* 25, l. 13 from foot, carouse
Courtier, a, should be placed with a White Staff of the Household, 168

- Courtship, story of a long one, 89-90
 Coy dame, story of a, 81-82, 85
 cracke, *sb.* 143/22, ruin?
 crack-halter, a, 91, l. 5 from foot, a
 gallows-bird
 crack-love, 81/3. "Cracked-piece, a
 girl who is no longer a virgin."—
Halliwel's Dict.
 crannes, 23, l. 11 from foot, chinks
 Crooked lane, traps there, 91/15
 cryll, a, 164, l. 3 from foot, a creel?
 This is a large wicker basket used in
 Scotland to convey fish to market.
 See *Penny Magazine*, vol. ix. 370.
 Cuckow, the, at Canck-wood in May,
 160/22
- Damsel, immodest, story of an, 75-9, 81
 Daughters, how to be portioned, 172;
 their education; should be brought
 up by their mother; in whose house-
 holds to place them, 173; with whom
 they may associate; their marriage,
 174
 Democritus, 122/341
 Diana, 134/693
 dicotomize, *v.a.* 144/9, divide
 disgesture, 13/2, digestion
 Divine service on board ship, 170
 Doctor's Commons, doctors of civil law
 formerly lived there, 156
 Dodridge, Justice, his tractate on law
 studies referred to, 156
 dooing, 188/1, management
 Doter, a, described, 41
 drelayes, 52/22, dreary lays, mournful
 ditties
 driggell draggells, 14/13, sluts
 Drummer, the, of Paris Garden, 174, l.
 2 from foot
 Drunkenness a mate of Gluttony, 131/
 613; described, 131/614-24; differ-
 ent effects of, 132/625-30; evils of,
 132/637-41
 Dutch, the, asked what trade James I.
 used, 164
 Dutchwoman's, a, clothing, 173/1
- egges, 74, l. 6 from foot, incites. A.S.
 eggian
 Eise, 76/12, I shall (often 'Ise.')
- Englishman, picture of an, 122/340-46;
 character, 122/349-52
- Envious man, story of an, 124/391-94
 Envy described, 123/367-74; her mis-
 deeds, 123/375-408; caused war be-
 tween Caesar and Pompey, 123/379-80
 equipace, i.e. a measured step, fashion-
 able, 120/267
- Ermiline, the, 134/697, the ermine
 Every-place, the country of, 41, l. 6
 from foot
 evill, 9/16, empty
 Exchange, fashions change monthly at
 the, 121/312
 Exchange shops, girls bred in, 173, l.
 9 from foot
 Exhibitions, in whose gift; where to
 search for, 146; to obtain, 147, 149
 extrution, 37/21, thrusting out
- fairing-monger, 100/1
 Fancy, Pride's handmaid, 119/243
 Farriery learnt by a great earl, 164
 Fashions change continually, 120/277-
 94
 Fasting and prayer neglected, 186
 Feather fans used by women, 121/318
 feeble, a name for a tailor, 157, l. 8
 from foot
 Fellowships, how obtained, 149
 Fiat, Mr Francis, a fishmonger, 152, l.
 7 from foot
 fieres-bird, 12/17, one who sits by the
 fire. See marginal note.
 Fleet Street vintners discharge their
 journeymen after Trinity term, 141
 Flower de luce, 13/21, a tavern
 flung out at a bootie, 67/10, robbed on
 the highway?
 fobbe uppe, *v.a.* 25/14, delude
 foolles paradise, 93/1, *Rom. & Jul.*,
 III. ii. 82
 for, 7/3, from, against
 Free schools, principal, enumerated;
 very numerous; their kinds, 145
 free taile, 31/8, fee-tail, "Fee-tail, feo-
 dum taliatum, is that whereof we are
 seised to Us and our Heirs, with
 Limitation, that is, the Heirs of our
 Body." Cowell's *Law Dict.*, ed. 1727,
s. v. Fee
 French borders, 173/6, a kind of needle-
 work
 Friar Tuck's mattins, 53, l. 9 from foot
 friars, bawdy, 114/105
 fustie framed speech, 4, l. 2 from foot
- galliard, the, 102, l. 11 from foot, a
 dance. See *Halliwel's Dict.*, *s. v.*
 geeres, *v.m.* 131/622, jeers
 Gentlemen should learn trades, 164
 Geometry described, 117/175-80
 gesse, guests, 60, l. 4 from foot
 giggs, 118/216, jigs. "A jig was a
 ludicrous metrical composition, often
 in rhyme, which was sung by the
 clown, who occasionally danced, and

- was always accompanied by a tabor and pipe.²—*Halliwel's Dict.*
- Gill, a lazze, 127/494, epithet of Sloth gime, 80, 23, to grin
- gurning, 4, l. 9 from foot, grinning
- Gluttony described, 131 595-600, 607-12; her misdeeds, 131, 601-6
- God give yee joye, 90, l. 10 from foot, a marriage benediction
- Goffo (Ital. stupid) feeds Lipotopo, 128/524
- Grammer described, 116/145-50; bond-slave to Stationers, 116 149
- Greenes Cunnyberries, 55 22
- Grocers complain of Avarice, 129/549
- hale-backe, a, 27, last line, a hawl-back, pull-back
- Hales, Sir Edward, praised, 139-40/25-32
- hallow mouthed, 152, last line, sanctimonious
- harborow, *sib.* 103, l. 12 from foot, harbour
- harte at grasse, 23, l. 3 from foot, heart of grace
- Hawkins, Sir John, his hospital for sailors, 171
- Hedge-creepers, i. e. petty traders, described, 164-65; their paltry ventures, 165
- Heir, your, should marry early, 144
- her, for gen. s. 36/3
- Heraclitus, 122/342
- Herod, 125/433
- Herodias, 122/326
- Hesiod, 124/402
- hinderlove, a, 91, l. 4 from foot
- Ilindes fees, 95/19
- his, for gen. s. 49/16
- hit-home, *adj.* 93/20
- Hogsdon, 51/4, Hoxton, Middlesex
- Holborn ostlers, when they impound the guest's boots, 141
- hollowes the sight, 80, l. 3 from foot, gives the view holla?
- Honesty comes to Hogsdon; sees a troop of lovers in a hall there, 51; describes them, 51-96; his reflections on the case of the passionate ass, 55; blames women who appeal from their husbands to their parents, and folks who marry and repent, 55-6; considers love the highest duty, 57; censures wooers who rely on parent's authority, 59; his reflections on the case of the covetous widow, 63-5; thinks women beholden to men who marry them, 65; for marriage is a perilous state, 66; his cure for fastidious wives, 74; warning against mercenary matches, 75; creeps into maidens' chambers and overhears their talk, 81; advises suitors not to be unreasonable in their requirements, 83; warns coy damsels, 86-7; disapproves of long courtships, 87-9; thinks a month long enough for one, 92; condemns seducers, 95; warns girls to beware of them, 96; their faithlessness makes women distrustful, 96-7; yet they may know if a man is in earnest, 98; counsels parents to marry their daughters to younger sons of good family, 98-9; doesn't consider the consent of parents to a match necessary, 100; rebukes inconstant lovers, 101; finds love amongst the multitude, 101-2; his praise of women, 102; men can't do without them, 102-3; eulogizes their mercy, discretion, and modesty, 103-5
- Horace's Art of Poetrie alluded to, 117/193
- hotte spurres, 56/19, impatient lovers
- Household, officers of the, appointments in their gift, 168
- Hue and cry, pursuit of thieves, 68, l. 9 from foot
- Husbandman, character befitting a; tenancies he should seek, 167
- Hydra, the, 112/49
- indigitly, 150/4, distinctly
- it, its, 29/12, 13; 94/4
- Italian purles, 173/6, "Most curious Purles, or rare Italian Cutworke." *The Needles Excellency*, by John Taylor, Spenser Society's ed., Issue No. 7
- jacke of Napes, 75, l. 5 from foot, a monkey
- Jasper Impudencie's ungrateful conduct, 16
- Jealousy, an old doter's causeless, narrated, 16-17; story of a wife made unfaithful by her husband's, 23-6; remedies against, 34-8; his kingdom described, 41-3
- jetting, 125/429, strutting, "—, the Normane guise was, to walke and *jet* up and downe the streetes, with great traines of idle Serving men following them."—Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent*, reprint, 1826, p. 320
- jumpe, 65/24; 83/3, coincide
- jumpy, 25/10, aptly

- Jusling Jacks take the wall, 124/400
- kea-cold winter, 5/15. Cf. *Richard III.*, I. ii. 5
- kill Crowe, to meet a, 83/4
- kinde, 127/482. Cf. *Hamlet*, I. ii. 65.
See *akind*
- kinde hit home floutes, 93/20, snubs
- knight of the poste, the, 26, l. 8 from foot
- Lachesis, 120/286
- lac-st-mutton, 95/10, superlative of
laced mutton, a courtesan. *Two Gent.* I. i. 102
- laft at, laughed at, 32/8
- Landed estate, your, shouldn't be divided amongst your children, 143
- Land owners generally obliged to borrow at the rent-day, 143
- Land soldier, the, his tactics, 170/1; profession not lucrative; his chances of preferment; where he should serve, 171; charities for the, 171-72
- lasht out, 89/9, lavished
- Learning rejected, 115/116-26
- Lechery consorts with Gluttony, 131/612; described, 132/645-48; her misdeeds, 132-33/649-66
- Lecturers more revered than parsons, 153
- leesing, *adj.* 89/3, mendacious
- Lelaps, 4/11
- let, *v.n.* 26/5, scruple
- Light of Love, the city, 42/15
- Likings-recantation, the valley, 91, l. 6 from foot
- Lincolne green, hospital for land-soldiers once there, 172/15
- line, a, 41/21, a clue?
- Linendraper's company, the, has greater privileges than any other, but no charter; their trade a very cleanly one, 165
- Lipotopo, story of, 128/505-28
- Lobb, a serving man, his treachery, 20
- Logic described, 116/157-62; expelled from colleges, 116/162
- London, common gardens about, 19/22
- London inns, Flower de Luce, Bride-well, 13 (*see* Fleet Street, Petticoat Lane, Poultry, &c.)
- Long-lane gowne, a, 165/12. Long lane was "A Place also of Note for the sale of Apparel, Linnen, and Upholsters Goods, both Second-hand and New, but chiefly for Old, for which it is of note."—*Strype's Stow*, I., bk. iii. p. 122, col. 2
- loose bodied gowne, a, 144/6, a woman's garb. Cf. *Taming of the Shrew*, IV. iii. 35
- Love, true, described, 39; false, and its evil consequences, 39-41; the blessings of true, 43-4
- Lovesick damsel, story of a, 75-81
- lubber, 128/509. *Balgaunt*: m. An vnweldie lubber, great lobcocke, huge luske, mishapen lowt, ill-fauoured flaber-gullion. — 1611. *Cotgrave*.—F.
- Lucrece, 132/651
- lumpe, *v.n.* 19/3, be sullen
- lurdens, 3, l. 7 from foot, lubberly churls
- lusing, 128/509, idle
- Magog, 4/8
- maimed-maide, 95/2
- maine Centre, the, 165, l. 6 from foot, the earth's axis
- make-bates, 10, l. 2 from foot; 41, l. 2 from foot. See *bate-maker*
- mankinde creature, a, 80, l. 6 from foot. Cf. *Coriolanus*, IV. ii. 16
- Manufacturers should sell by retail, 164; their trade lucrative, 165
- Many-mishke, Mistres, 86, l. 7 from foot
- Maro. See *Virgil*
- Married men, names offensive to them, 133/675
- Mars, 32; Wrath's chieftain, 126/463
- Marsias, 118/217, Marsyas
- mastie, a, 4, l. 9 from foot, a mastiff
- Meander, the, 118/206
- Medical profession not lucrative; skill at a low ebb, 160
- Medusa, 120/275
- Melpomene, 112/31
- mens-helpers, 105/5, women
- Merchant Royall, the, described, 164; injured by petty traffickers, 165
- Merchants, their qualifications and risks; some gain by war; incorporated societies of, 162
- Mercurie, 121/301
- Military art best learnt in the Low Countries, 171
- milk-white bosom, 102/18. *Two Gent.* III. i. 250
- Millers, knavery of, 59, l. 3 from foot; 84/9
- Minotaur, the, an incorporated company, 167/3
- Minstrels strive with blind fiddlers, 124/398
- Miser's daughter, story of a, 83-4
- Momus, 111/4; 134/707

- Money-woosers, their practices described, 61-2
- Monks abused, 114/96, 103
- moule, *sb.* 45/10, mould
- Music described, 116/163-68
- Nan, 82, a serving maid
- Naval preferences, how obtained, 170
- Navigator's, the (merchant seaman), attainments and way of advancement, 166; he musn't intrench upon incorporated companies, 167
- Neapolitan, the, 160/19, lues venerea neeses, *sb.* 77/2, sneezes. Cf. Job xli. 18
- New College breeds civilians, 155
- nice no-maide, a, 83, l. 12 from foot
- Nilus, 113/62
- noddies, 83, l. 10 from foot, fools
- Nomothetes, 134/710, a lawgiver
- Nonconformist, story of an ejected, 159, 160
- nuntings, 13, l. 9 from foot, luncheon
- Oaths, gods Lord, 70/4; passion of God, Divell breake his necke, 73/7-10; By our Lady, By cock and pie, 89, ll. 5, 4 from foot; the passion of our Lady, 96/11
- ostice, 13, l. 12 from foot, hostess
- othersome, 51, line 10 from foot, some others
- out-joynted, *adj.* 90/4, discarded
- Overcount, Mistrisse, 141, l. 7 from foot, a hostess
- over-slippes, 82/7, defects
- Ovid, 113/73; 117/195
- Ovid's *Ars Amandi* censured, 133/633
- Oxford, 115/134
- Oyster women's hook shoulders, 83, l. 2 from foot
- Painted plumes worn by men, 121/317
- Pallas, 116/148
- Pantopoles or pantophels (slippers) worn by women, 55, last line; 122/327
- Parnassus, 118/212
- passee not, 114/91; 134/708, care not. Cf. 2 *Henry VI.*, IV. ii. 136
- Passing kind man, story of a, 60
- Passionate lover, story of a, 51-4
- Patars, 163/12, light guns
- Patience, Wrath's contrary, 127/475
- patrocinie, 45/9, patronage
- Patrons, private, of benefices, remarks on, 153-54; grand advowsons, 154
- Pensions. See Exhibitions
- Periwigs worn by women, 120/272; 121/310. See also 161, l. 7 from foot
- pesterment, 51/8, embarrassment
- Petticoat Lane, new fashions there, 91/10
- phisnomie, 121/322, physiognomy
- Physicians, diseases they treat, 160; their attainments and advancement; should make acquaintance with gallants and immoral women, 161; find a mineral spring, 161-62; for women, their qualifications, 160; young, ignorant, 161
- Pierce-Pennilesse's supplication to the devil's parliament, 26
- Pilate, 112/53
- pimpers with the eyes, 131/620
- placket, 91/12, a woman's pocket.—*Halliwel's Dict.*
- placket lace, 53, l. 6 from foot, 95/13
- plat, *sb.* 11/6
- Pluto, 119/236
- Poetry wronged, 117-18/189-210
- Poets, bad, impudence of, 118/211-16; punished, 118/217-22
- poked ruffles worn by women, 74/9
- Pope, the, abused, 113, 114
- Poultry, the, a debtor's prison in, 129/562
- powder Beefe, 165/4, salt beef
- pricking-burres, 57/15
- pricksong, 90/16, "Music pricked or noted down, full of flourish and variety."—*Halliwel's Dict.*
- Pride and her attendants described, 119/241-46; her votaries satirized, 119-22/247-352
- prittell prattell, 13/9, gossip
- prittie-bird, a, 57/15
- Proctors in Civil Law, their number lately limited, 156
- Proteus, 120/277
- Proverbs cited:—I had rather have a man than mony, 6. Love hath no lacke. Selfe do, selfe have, 7; he which will no penaunce doe, must shonne the cause that belongs thereto, 10; a still dogge bites sore, but the barking cur feares more, 15; the pitcher goeth long to the water, but at laste . . . is brought home broken, 30; kit must after kind, bee it but in scraping of a frying panne, 30; an il bird which will defile his owne nest, 33, 123/358; shee that knowes where Christes crosse standes, will never forget where great A dwels, 33; hot love wil be soone colde, 56, 81; qui moccacat moccabitur, 70; "Like will to like," quoth the Divell to the Collier, 74; looke ere we lep, 75; crooked without, and crabbed within,

- 86; lingering love breeds mislike, 87; a faire face cannot have a crabbed heart, 92; better to fill the bellie than the eye, 130/578
 Pumps worn by women, 122/325
 purchase, 36/10, purchase
 purcenet, a, 32/11; "Purse-net, a net, the ends of which are drawn together with a string, like a purse."—*Halliwells Dict.*
 quarter, a, 39, l. 7 from foot, a quarter of an hour
 quittance, 109/1, acquit
 Rack-rent, property let at, 130/568
 Ram-Alley cookery, 141/7
 rammish, 38/3, untamed
 recovered a flap with a foxe tale, 90/11
 Religion has left the earth, 113/78
 Repentance, Wrath's follower, 126/470
 Rhetoric described, 116/151-56
 ribble rabble route, 114/110
 riggish, 121/309, wanton. Cf. *Ant. & Cleop.*, II. ii. 245
 rigs, 120/274, courtezans
 Robin good-fellow meets Tell troth; managed to slip into hell and heard there an oration on jealousy, 4; describes the different causes and kinds of jealousy to Tell troth, 5-20; rehearses the resolutions of the devil's parliament, 20-22; desires Tell troth to publish his invective against jealousy, and vanishes, 26
 rookes, 13/4, slanderers. See marginal note, 13
 Round hose worn by men, 121/302
 Rowsie, 165/12, Russia
 roysting, 123/365, roistering
 Ruffines, fine-ruff, their cringing cuts, 119/248; shag hair, 120/271
 Scholar, a, should go to a free school, 144
 Scholarships enumerated, foundation, 145; election, 145-46; at college, how obtained, 147
 scombers, 75, l. 4 from foot, stercoreat
 Scriveners of Temple Bar have no business when Trinity Term's over, 141
 Scriveners scribbling-band, 130/566
 Secretaryships. See Clerkships
 Seducer, story of a, 94, 96
 Senior fellows may confer scholarships, 147
 shadowed, 72/3, concealed
 shaded with their feet, 82/13. "Es-grailler, to shale, or straddle with the feet or legs."—*Cotgrave*.
 she beetell, 13/12. See marginal note, 13
 Shoe Lane, one that sells running leather there, 91/12
 shonne-thankes, 81/1
 Shopkeepers depend on merchants, 162; their gains uncertain, 163
 Shoreditch church, constant lovers in, at midnight, 91/17
 shrewd, the old, 34/22, an old tough [tree]
 Sidney's Arcadia alluded to, 173/9
 Simony as hard to discover as a witch, 154/10
 Sittingbourne, Kent, 139/6
 sleeveless excuses, 65/6
 Sloth described, 127/494-504
 smirking kisses, 58/5
 Smithfield, horses sold there, 83, l. 7 from foot, 87, l. 2 from foot
 Smithfield should be called smite-field, 126/452
 Smith's, Sir Thomas, *Commonwealth of England* referred to, 158, l. 8 from foot
 snip-snap sheeres, 120/287
 Soldier's superstition, 66/24
 Soldier, the sea, thrives better than the land soldier; must have more learning and valour; may make his fortune by a prize, 169; his preferment and attainments, 170
 Sollow-bird, 83/20, a precise maiden
 Sons, your, let them choose their profession; don't keep them long at home, 144
 Sorpego, 160/19, erysipelas?
 sossing down, 78/3, plumping down
 sound, a, 79, l. 13 from foot, a swoon
 sparrow-blasting, 35/18, cuckolding
 Sparrows examples to households, 187, l. 6 from foot
 spie-fault, a, 80, l. 4 from foot, a censorious person
 Squabler, a, 166/20, a swabber?
 "Swabber, a sweeper of a vessel."
 —*Halliwells Dict.*
 St Martins le Grand, girls bred there, 173, l. 8 from foot
 St Paul's, wavering wenches reviled there, 91/4
 stale, a, 25/7. "Stale, a living Fowl put in any place to allure other Fowls; a decoy Fowl."—*Bailey's Dict.*, I.
 Statute, the, appealed to by the Bos-seldir, 139/8
 stay his stint by the heeles, 59, l. 6 from foot, sit in the stocks for the time appointed
 Stoomp-foot, Joane, an old beldame, 13, l. 9 from foot

striker, a, 80, l. 3 from foot, a wench.
Cf. Massinger's *Unnatural Combat*,
IV. ii. p. 54, col. 2, ed. Gifford,
1840.

Styx, the, 4/4

Successance, cousin to Patience described,
127/481-84

Suitors, hard to please, one took fright
at a headache; another at a tooth-
ache; a third at a long nose, 60; a
fourth wanted to be kissed in public,
60-1

Swainmote, the, a forest court, 158/6

Swearing on board ship should be
punished, 170

Syrens, 133/679

Tailor, at a court masque, story of a,
157

Tantalus, 115/137

tantinie pigge, a, 75, l. 3 from foot. St
Anthony's pig, a pet pig. See
Halliwel's Dict., s. v. Anthony-pig.
"Lead on, little Tony—I'll follow
thee, my Anthony, my Tantony,
sirrah, thou shalt be my Tantony,
and I'll be thy pig."—Congreve,
Way of the World, IV. xi.—P. A. D.
"—, folk may well talk, to see
you dangling after me everywhere,
like a *tantony pig*."—Isaac Bicker-
staff, *Love in a Village*, I. ix.

Tarquin, 132/651

Taverne Roarer of the Citie, a, 170, l.
3 from foot

Tell troth meets Robin good-fellow, 3

Temple Bar, 141

territ, 36/22, turret

Thameras, 118/219, Thamyris

thirteene pence halfe penny, the hang-
man's fee, 43/14

Thrasioncall, 126/457. Cf. *As You Like*
It, V. ii. 34

Timerity, forerunner of Wrath, 126/469

Tobias and Sara examples to married
folk, 186

tole, 18/8, entice; toling, 43/20

Tom of all Trades lands in Kent, 139/
1; is advised to get a pass at Ton-
stall Hall, 139/11-12; goes thither
and dedicates his book to Sir Edward
Hales, 140/33-42; leaves town, and
on Highgate hill overtakes a gentle-
man of Northamptonshire, 141; gives
him advice on the preferment of his
sons and daughters, 143-74; once
began a list of ecclesiastical benefices,
but gave it up, 154; would be glad
to compile, gratis, a list of incorpor-

ated companies' trusts, 166; insists
on the importance of grammar learn-
ing for boys, 172; espies mine host
of the Bull in St Albans, 174; con-
cludes with the poet, 175

Tom of Odcombe, 139/24. Thomas
Coryate, of Odcombe, Somerset, the
traveller

Tom-witles, 84, l. 9 from foot

Tonstall Court, the residence of Sir
Edward Hales, 139/12

toothsome, 131/599

too too, 37/8, 82/16

tooting head, a, 33/17, a budding head

Totty, Tom, Joan Stomp-foot's hus-
band, 13, l. 8 from foot

Toyles, The Master of the T. and Tents,
168, l. 10 from foot. Chamberlayne
speaks of "the Office of the *Tents*,
Toyls, *Hays* and *Pavillions*. Two
Masters, &c."—*Anglia Notitia*, ed.
1673, Pt. i. p. 192. Spelman says,
s. v. Toile. "—, cassis e funiculis
nexus: quibus saltuarii cervos inter-
cipiunt, a Gall. *toile*, i. *tela*," and s. v.
Haia "—, illud rete quo e campis
redeuntes cuniculos interceptant in
haye dicitur." This officer probably
provided the tents, nets, and snares
used when the king went a-hunting
Trades, those which take high fees from
apprentices precarious, 163; most in
request enumerated, 163-64; house-
wife's, 164

Tradesmen who are patrons of livings,
how to humour them, 152

Trading companies hold trust funds for
the benefit of young tradesmen, but
misuse them, 165; returns of these
ought to be published, 166

trenchemore, to dance, 20/10. "But in
King *Charles's* time, there has been
nothing but *French*-more and the
Cushion Dance, *omnium gatherum*,
tolly, polly, hoite come toite."—Sel-
den's *Table Talk*, King of England,
Arber's ed., p. 62

Trinity Hall trains civilians, 155

Trinity Term, people leave town when
it's over, 141

triphells, 31, l. 6 from foot, trifles

Trott, story of a slanderous old, 11-14

Trulls use fans, 122/333

Trumpington, Cambridgeshire, 150/3

tuesday supper, a, 70, last line

Tyburn, 36/10, 74, l. 4 from foot

type, 114/88; the top of the II. Cf.
'Tipe-stick. The piece of wood
which, reaching from shaft to shaft,

- keeps the body of a cart in its place, and prevents it from *typing* up or over. *Lincolnshire*. — *Halliwel's Dict.*—F.
- umpertiall, 40/12, impartial
- Uncomely woman, an, married by a man for safety, 19-20
- unharted, 76/22
- Unhealthy places most profitable for farming, 167
- Universities, the, impoverished, 115/127-32
- unkeamed, 123/369, uncombed
- untollerable, 102, l. 6 from foot
- Usurers good patients, 161
- Usury described, 129/553-56; defended, 129/557-58
- Vanity, Pride's handmaid, 119/243
- Venus, 32; 132/650
- Verses will be found at pages 34-5, 37-8, 43, and 76
- Vesta, 134/691
- vild, 133/673, vile
- Virgil, 117/194, 118/214
- Vulcan, 19, l. 5 from foot; 32
- waisters, the, 30, last line
- wantantize, 129/552, warrantize?
- weale-publike, 28/4, commonwealth
- Westminster, constancy little used there, 90, l. 3 from foot
- Westminsters Hospitalitie, a house of, 96/23
- whereout, 179, l. 7 from foot, from whence
- whipperginne, 13, l. 12 from foot, 21/23, unchaste woman
- whipsters, 81, l. 9 from foot, wanton girls
- Whores, evils caused by them, 133/655-58
- Widow, story of a covetous, 62-3, 69-70
- Widow, married to an avaricious churl, story of a, 70-3
- Widower's wooing, story of a, 57-8
- willow guift, 90/5
- Winchester has scholarships and fellowships at New College, 155
- Winged sleeves worn by men, 121/301
- winne unto, 95, l. 3 from foot, attain
- wittall, a, 13/17. "Wittol, a contented cuckold."—*Halliwel's Dict.*
- Wives, dyed or curled hair, painting and pasting unfit for, 180
- Woodstreet counter, a debtor's prison, 129/564
- woor in graine, a, 60, l. 6 from foot
- World, the, couldn't contain the record of man's guilt, 113/55-60
- worship, *sb.* 182/19, honour
- Wrath described, 125/427-32; his misdeeds, 125-26/433-62; moved Herod, 125/433, and Caligula, 126/445; makes men fight at Smithfield, 126/451
- Yeomen of the Guard, preferment of the, 169
- Younger children, divide the portion of your heir's wife among them, 144
- Youngsters spend their patrimony in gluttony, 131/601-2

STAFFORD'S
EXAMINATION OF COMPLAINTS.

A.D. 1581.

SERIES VI.
SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND.

PRESENTED

To his fellow Members

OF

THE NEW SHAKSPERE SOCIETY

BY

THE RT HON. THE EARL OF DERBY,

One of the Vice-Presidents of the Society.

WILLIAM STAFFORD'S

Compendious or briefe
*Examination of certayne ordinary
Complaints*

of diuers of our Countrymen
in these our Dayes,

A.D. 1581,

(OTHERWISE CALLED

"A BRIEFE CONCEIPT OF ENGLISH POLLICY.")

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW.

EDITED BY

FREDERICK J. FURNIVALL.

PUBLISHT FOR

The New Shakspeare Society

BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57, 59, LUDGATE HILL,
LONDON, E.C., 1876.

[This treatise by "W. S." is assigned to WILLIAM STAFFORD on the authority of Anthony Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, in the 2nd or posthumous edition of his *Ath. Oxon.* (from his notes) 1721, vol. i. col. 203, and the statement of Dr Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*, 1767, "I have since observed, that Wood is not the first who hath given us the true author of the pamphlet."—*Variorum Shakspeare*, 1821; vol. i. p. 346, note.]

Series VI. No. 3.

FOREWORDS.

OF the Elizabethan Tracts in the *Condition-of-Tudor-England-Series* which the Early English Text Society undertook at my request in 1869 (see Report, Jan. 1869, p. 17—20), one of the earliest in date was the present *Examination*, by William Stafford, of certain complaints of his countrymen in his day, A.D. 1581. The most important work was Harrison's *Description of England*, A.D. 1577—87, in Shakspeare's youth, of which, Book 2 appears with this *Stafford*. The most amusing¹ was Stubbes's Anatomy of the Abuses, or notable Vices and Corruptions, reigning in England in 1583—95; and a reprint of this, our member Mr Richard Johnson will kindly give us this year. These volumes, together with the *Tell-troth* one—containing reprints of the unique² *Tell-Trothes New-Yeares Gift*, and *Passionate Morrice*, 1593, the very rare *Tom Tel-troths Message*, and *his Pens Complaint*, 1600, Thomas Powell's *Tom of all Trades*, 1631, and Thos. Fritchard's³ unique² *Glasse of Godly Loue*—will give a good start to our New Shakspeare Society's *Shakspeare's-England Series*, the sixth of the eight Series planned for it.

This Series may of course run to an almost indefinite extent; and as the Early English Text Society has only too gladly handed over to the New Shakspeare Society this portion of its work, I hope that the new Society will at least reprint the works that the old one had undertaken:

“The Complaint of England, by William Lightfoote, A.D. 1587.

“A Looking-Glasse for Englande. Wherein those enormities and foule abuses may most euidentlie be seene which are the destruction and ouerthrow of euery Christian Commonwealth &c., A.D. 1590.

¹ Dekker's *Guls Horne-Book*, 1609, was not included in the list, as Nott's edition of 1812 (? Halliwell's of 1862) was still in the market; but the book is now in Mr Henry Brown's hands to prepare for a new edition for the New Shakspeare Society. Dekker's *Belman of London*, 1608, and *Lanthorne and Candlelight*, 1609, prig largely—as does the *Groundwork of Coneycatching*, 1592—from Harman's *Caveat*, 1567. See the edition of the latter by Mr Viles and myself, E. E. Text Soc. 1869, p. xiv—xxi.

² Believd so to be.

³ Or John Rogers's.

"The Mirror and Manners of Men. Written by Thomas Churchyard, Gent. 1594.

"To the Kings most excellent Maiestie. The Hymble Petition of two Sisters: the Chvrch and Common-wealth: For the restoring of their ancient Commons and liberties, which late Inclosure with depopulation, vncharitably hath taken away: Containing seven reasons as euidences for the same. [By Francis Trigge.] Londini, Impensis Georgii Bishop. 1604."

Very many lighter and more amusing tracts might be added to the list. The Committee will be glad to hear of any fresh ones, and of any Members who will help, by gifts of money, to present Reprints to the Society.¹

¹ The Early English Text Society has published the following Texts bearing on the Language and Social Condition of Shakspeare's time:—

Hume's Orthographie and Congruitie of the Britan Tongue, ab. 1617 A.D., ed. H. B. Wheatley. 4s. 1865.

Early English Pronunciation, with especial reference to Shakspeare and Chaucer, by A. J. Ellis, F.R.S. 4 parts, 10s. each. 1867, 1869, 1871, 1874.

Queene Elizabethes Achademy, a Book of Precedence, &c. Edited by F. J. Furnivall, Esq., with Essays on early Italian and German Books of Courtesy, by W. M. Rossetti, Esq., and E. Oswald, Esq. 13s. 1869.

Awdeley's Fraternite of Vaccabondes, 1561, Harman's Caveat, 1567, &c. (describing the different classes of Rogues). Edited by E. Viles, Esq., and F. J. Furnivall, Esq. 7s. 6d. 1869.

(Hugh Rhodes's *Book of Nurture*, 1577, Richard Weste's *Booke of Demeanor*, 1619, and F. Seager's *Schoole of Vertue*, 1557, are in the *Babes Book*, 1868.)

The Times Whistle, and other Poems, by R. C., A.D. 1616, edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. (part of this gives a dark picture of the vices of the time). 6s. 1871.

Francis Thynne's Embleames and Epigrams, 1600, from the Earl of Ellesmere's unique MS., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 4s. 1876.

On the Condition of earlier Tudor England, the E. E. Text Soc. has published (besides Sir David Lyndesay's Works):—

Andrew Boorde's Introduction of Knowledge, 1547, and Dyetary of Helth, 1542; with Barnes in the Defence of the Berd, 1542-3. Edited, with a Life of Boorde, and an account of his Works, by F. J. Furnivall, M.A. 18s. 1870.

England in Henry VIII.'s Time: a Dialogue between Cardinal Pole and Lupset, mainly on the Condition of England, written by Thomas Starkey, Chaplain to Henry VIII. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. Part II. 12s. 1871. (Part I., *Starkey's Life and Letters*, is in preparation.)

A Supplycacyon of the Beggars, by Simon Fish, 1528-9 A.D., edited by F. J. Furnivall, M.A.; with A Supplication to our Moste Soueraigne Lorde; A Supplication of the Poore Commons; and The Decaye of England by the Great Multitude of Sheep. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 6s. 1871.

Robert Crowley's Thirty-one Epigrams, Voyce of The Last Trumpet, Way to Wealth, &c., 1550-1 A.D., edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 12s. 1872.

The Complaynt of Scotlande, 1549 A.D., with an Appendix of four Contemporary English Tracts, edited by J. A. H. Murray, Esq. 10s. 1872-1873.

Henry Brinklow's Complaynt of Roderyck Mors, somtyme a gray Fryre, vnto the Parliament Howse of Ingland his naturall Country, for the Redresse of

Stafford's book is not, like Harrison's, a deliberate description of the social state of England at its date (1581), but an inquiry into the causes of the dearth or dearness¹ of things then prevailing. Of the great rise in prices since his youth, Harrison too complains, and gives some interesting particulars (pp. 144, 153, 300, &c. of my edition). Harrison complains also of an occasional scarcity of supplies (p. 302); but that there was no general dearth, or scarcity in our sense, is clear from the silence of the chroniclers on the point.

The only notice in Stowe of a dearth² in any year near 1581, is

certain wicked Lawes, euell Customes, and cruel Decreys (ab. 1542); and The Lamentacion of a Christian against the Citie of London, made by Roderigo Mors, A.D. 1545. Edited by J. M. Cowper, Esq. 9s. 1874.

The Ballad Society has publisht, for Tudor England:—

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. i: Ballads on the Condition of England in Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s reigns (including the State of the Clergy, Monks, and Friars), on Wolsey, Anne Boleyn, Somerset, and Lady Jane Grey, with Wynkyn de Worde's *Treatise of a Galaunt* (ab. 1520 A.D.); ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A., 1860, 1872.

Ballads from Manuscripts, vol. ii: The Poore Man's Pittance, by Richard Williams (1. The fall of Anthony Babington; 2. the Life and Death of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, beheaded 1601; 3. the horrible Treason of the Gunpowder Plot); Ballads on Queen Elizabeth, Essex, Campion, Drake, Raleigh, Frobisher, Warwick, and Bacon; the Candlewick Ballads, &c.; edited by J. F. Furnivall, M.A., and W. R. Morfill, M.A.

Captain Cox his Ballads and Books, or Robert Laneham's Letter; Whearin part of the entertainment vntoo the Queenz Majesty at Killingworth Castle, in Warwik Sheer in this Soomerz Progress. 1575. is signified; from a freend officer attendant in the Court, unto hiz freend, a Citizen and Merchaunt of London. Re-edited by F. J. Furnivall, with Forewords describing all the accessible Books, Tales, and Ballads, in Captain Cox's List, and the *Complaynt of Scotland*, 1548-9 A.D. (so as to show the Literature on which a man of the lower middle class in Shakspeare's time was brought up).

Jyll of Braintford, The Wyll of the Deuyll, Talk of ten Wives, ed. by F. J. Furnivall, M.A.

¹ This meaning of *dearth* is now lost in its second sense of 'scarcity.' The first meaning is seen in Chaucer's "Seint Gregory sayth, that precious clothing is culpable for the *derthe* of it, and for his softnesse, and for his strangenesse and disguising," *Parson's Tale*, quoted by Richardson, but not in the Ellesmere MS., or Harl. 7334. "We should then not only haue *dearth*, but also skarcenes of corne, that we should be driuen to seeke it from outwarde parties and pay deare for it." p. 47 below, l. 4 from foot.

² The chief dearth in Shakspeare's time was in 1594-5. And as one cause of it was the great rains that fell in May, June, July, and September, 1594, and some critics date *The Midsummer Night's Dream* 1594-5, from its supposed allusion to these rains in II. i. 88-117, I print, at the end of these *Forewords*, the passages from Stowe relating to this dearth. *King John* (1595) is also supposed to allude to these rains and floods, from its storm imagery, its 'river peering o'er his bounds,' III. i. 23, its 'bated and retired flood,' V. iv. 53, &c. &c.

vi Forewords. High prices in 1574. Stafford's book.

the following in 1574,—p. 1147, ed. 1605 (the Author's last edition)—but the rise in prices was only for a short time :¹

.. 16. " This yeere about Lammas, wheate was sold at London for three shillings the bushell ; but shortly after it was raised to foure shillings, fue shillings, sixe shillings, and before Christmas, to a noble and seuen shillings, which so continued long after : beefe was sold for twenty pence, and two and twentie pence the stone, and all other flesh and white meats at an excessiue price ; all kinde of salt fish very deere, as fue herrings twopence, &c., yet great plentie of fresh-fish, and oft times the same very cheape : bay salt at three shillings the bushell. &c. All this dearth notwithstanding (thanks be giuen to God) there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money.

1 without
ic

alt deare

p. 1149. " This yeare at London after haruest, the price of wheate began by little and little to fall from seuen shillings to three shillings the bushell : at which price it stayed (little or nothing rising or falling) all the yeare after ; but bay salt was raised from three shillings to foure, fue, and sixe shillings the bushell, the like whereof had never beene seene or heard within this realme."

Stowe's words "there was no want of any thing to him that wanted not money" may be taken as telling the real state of the case [cp. p. 32 below]. But how about those who did want money, or, at any rate, those whose money didn't go so far as in former days? Well, they grumbl'd. And William Stafford, acting as Doctor or Counsellor, heard the complaints of a representative of each class—a Knight for the land-owners, a Husbandman for the farmers, a Merchant for the traders, and a Capper for the artisans—and gave his opinion on the reasonableness of their complaints, the causes of the high prices they grumbl'd at, and the remedies for these evils. In the course of this we get much valuable light thrown on the condition of England in Shakspeare's youth (see especially, p. 28-9, 33-4, 36, 37, 40, 45, 50-4, 61, 63-6, 71-2, 87-91); and hence comes the reprint of Stafford's tract in our Sixth Series.² As Mr Matthew has

¹ Stowe notes the high prices of grain and food in 1587 :—

^{1587.}
clamation for
ine. The queenes maiesty, foreseeing the generall dearth of graine, and other vic-
tuals, growne partly through the vnseasonableness of the yeares past, partly through
the vncharitable greedinesse of such as be great corne maisters, but especially
through the vnlawfull and ouermuch transporting of graine into forraine countries,
vnder colour of licence granted, by the aduise of her honorable counsell, published
a proclamation and booke of orders to be taken by her iustices for reliefe of the
poore ; notwithstanding all which, the excessiue prises of graine still increased, so
that wheate was solde at London for 8 s. the bushell, and in some other parts of
the realme, for 10 s., 12 s. 13 s. &c.

² Stafford is quoted several times in the well-known Sir F. M. Eden's "*State*

dealt, in his *Introduction*, with the value of the complaints and Stafford's remedies, I only refer here to my collection of extracts on the Enclosures in Tudor times, in my *Ballads from MSS.*, vol. i, p. 3-56, and to Mr J. M. Cowper's editions of *England in Henry VIII's time* and the *Supplications* for the Early English Text Society's Extra Series (above, p. iv, note).

As too Stafford agrees with the Merchant (p. 27-8) in attributing the original rise of prices to the debasement of our coin by Henry VIII, I give here the extracts from Stowe relating to this base coinage, its successive falls, and final calling-in:—

In this meane space, to wit, on the sixteenth of Maie, proclamation was made for the enhaunsing of golde to 48.s. and siluer to foure shillings the ounce. Also the king caused to be coined base moneyes in great abundance, which was since that time, to wit, in the fift yeere of King *Edward* the sixt, called doune, from 12 pence to nine pence, from 9 pence to 6 pence: and in the seconde yeere of Queene *Elizabeth* called in to her maiesties mints, and there refined.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615.

(A.D. 1544.)
(36 Hen. VIII.)
Base money
coined.

The 9 of July, the base moneies (coyned in the time of King *Henry* the eight, and king *Edward* the sixt) was proclaymed, the shilling to goe for 9 pence, the groate for 3 pence: which tooke effect immediately after the proclamation was made.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 605.

1551
First fall
of the base
money

The 17 of August, the shilling, which of late was called doune to nine pence, was called doune to 6.d., the groat to 2.d., the halfe groate to one penny, the penny to an halfe penney.—*ib.*¹

Second fall of
base monies.

of the Poor," 1797; and at Vol. I. p. 89 note, he is cited as having influenced the Legislature:

"In imposing restrictions of the exportation of wool, the Legislature seems to have adopted the principles of a political writer of the 16th century, who says, that, 'in order to make tillage as well cherished of every man as pasture, the first way is to make the wool to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof as the corne is; and that shall be, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing over sea unwrought, as yee make of corne: another is, to increase the custome of woole that passeth over unwrought; & by that the price of it shall be abated to the breeders, & yet the price over sea shall be never the lesse.' A compendious or briefe examination of certayne ordinary complaints, &c. by W. S. 1581 [p. 44]. This piece, in which several important branches of political science (particularly the subject of enclosures) are ably discussed in a dialogue between a merchant, a knight, a husbandman, a capper, and a doctor of divinity, has been erroneously ascribed to Shakespeare," &c. &c.

¹ On Mary's new coinages in 1553, Stowe says:

The 4 of September, was proclaimed certaine new coines of gold & siluer: a soueraigne of gold of 30.s., the halfe soueraigne 15.s., an angell of 10.s., the

1 Mary.
New Coines.

viii Forewords. Base money calld in. Good coind.

ird and
l of base

The 28 of September this yeere 1559, proclamation was made, that the Teston, which at first was quoynd for twelue pence, and in the raygne of K. *Edward* the sixt, had beene abated and brought downe to sixe pence, should now againe be abated and brought downe to foure pence halfe peny, being of the best sorte; and the two other sortes of Testons, being distinguished by seuerall stamps, should likewise be abated, viz. the second sort to two pence farthing; and the third sort was made of no value. And by this proclamation the olde Groat was also abated, and brought downe to two pence, and the old two pence was brought downe to a penny: these olde moneys being thus abated, the queene caused them all to bee brought into her mint, and according to the last valuation of them, shee gaue fine money of cleane siluer for them, commonly called Sterling money; and from this time there was no manner of base money quoynd or vsed in Englande,—which had beene vsuall and currant throughout this realme in all former ages,—but all English moneys were made of golde and siluer, which is not so in any other nation whatsoever, but [they all] haue sundry sorts of copper money.—*ib.* p. 646, col. 1, l. 30.

56r.
reg. 4.
n Comes.

The fifteenth of Nouember, the Queenes maiestie published a proclamation¹ for diuerse small pieces of siluer money to bee currant, as the sixe pence, foure pence, three pence, 2 pence, and a peny, three halfe pence, and 3 farthings: and also forbad all forraigne coines to be currant within the same realme, as well gold as siluer, calling them into her maiesties mint, except 2 sorts of crownes of gold, the one the French crowne, the other the Flemish crowne: whereupon, for the space of halfe a yeere, was weekly brought into the Tower of London, 8000, 10000, 12000, 16000, 20000, 22000 pound of siluer plates: and as much or more in pistolets, and other gold of Spanish coines; and one week, in pistolets and other Spanish golde, 26000 pound: all these to be coyned with the Queenes stamps.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 647, col. 1, l. 50.

Stafford's tract was reprinted in 1751, and its editor tri'd to prove that Shakspeare (then a youth of 17, having perhaps not long left school) wrote it, full as it is, of experience, knowledge of life, and thought on the social condition of England, and its causes. This absurd notion was founded on the "W. S." of the title-page, and on Stafford's having, in his Dedication to the Queen, thank't her for her "late and singular clemency in pardoning a certayne my vndutifull misdemeanour." This was supposd to refer to Shakspeare's supposd stealing of Sir Thomas Lucy's deer, which must have happend, if it hapt at all, in 1585-6. The ridiculousness of the idea was exposd

halfe angell 5.s.; of siluer, the groat, halfe groat, and penny. All base coines to be currant as before.—*Stowe's Annales*, ed. 1615, p. 616, col. 1, l. 52.

¹ See it in the Appendix, p. 100 below.

by Dr Farmer in his *Essay on the Learning of Shakspeare*, p. 81-4, ed. 1821, and he showd, by a reference to Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*¹ (Pt I. col. 378, ed. Bliss), that the 'W. S. Gent.' of 1581 was a William Stafford. But that "vndutifull misdemeanour" which Stafford mentions, evidently weighd on Farmer's mind, and so, to account for it, he turnd our loyal Protestant Stafford of 1581 into a Papist traitor or a conspirator of 1587, absolutely without any reason, so far as I can see, except the chance identity of name :

"Stafford had been concerned *at that time*, and was indeed afterward, as Camden² and other Annalists inform us, with some of the Conspirators against Elizabeth, which he properly calls his *unduetifull behaviour*."—Farmer, p. 83-4, ed. 1821.

I can find no notice, in the *Domestic State Papers* of the time of Elizabeth, of any William Stafford being concernd in a plot against Elizabeth till 1587.³

¹ In Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, pt I. (at the end of vol. 2 of the *Athena*, ed. Bliss), col. 378, under a notice of William Stafford of Norfolk, a student of Christ Church, author of the '*Reasons of the War*,' 1644, the writer says, "Besides this Will. Stafford, was another of both his names, but before him in time, author of *A Compendium, or brief Examination of certain ordinary Complaints of divers of our Country-men in these our Days, &c.* Lond. 1581."

² Camden, in his *Annals of Elizabeth*, ed. 1625-29, Book iii. p. 192, says : "One William Stafford, a young gentleman, and apt to conceive strange hopes, whose mother was one of the ladies of honour, and his brother Leger in France."

³ Jan. 7. 7. Confession of Leonard des Trappes, concerning the causes of his conspiring with M. De Bellievre, the French Ambassador, and *Mr Stafford*, to kill the Queen, and the circumstances of his arrest and imprisonment.

Jan. 9. 10. "Micaell Modye his confession in the afternone the 9 January 1586." Touching his conferences with Des Trappes and the French Ambassador for taking away the life of Queen Elizabeth, either by gunpowder or by poisoning her stirrup or her shoe, or some other Italian devise.

Jan. 11. 15. "The true foundation and manner of the horrible treason," or *William Stafford's* account of his dealings with Mons Bellievre, the French Ambassador, Des Trappes, his Secretary, and one Michael Modye, in a conspiracy to kill Queen Elizabeth. Conferences between *Stafford* and the Ambassador, Des Trappes introduced by *Stafford* to Modye in Newgate. Discussion whether to kill the Queen by poison or by laying a train of gunpowder where she lieth. Discovery of the whole plot, by *Stafford*, to Walsingham.

Jan. 12. 16. Abstract of the above, with marginal notes in Burghley's hand.

Jan. 12. 17. Notes of the speeches between *Mr Stafford* and Des Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen.

Jan. 11. 18. Notes out of the confessions of Modye and Des Trappes relative to *the plot*.

Jan. 14. 21. Interrogatories, in Burghley's hand, for the examination of Des

In 3 *Notes and Queries*, ix. 375-6, Mr B. W. Greenfield of Southampton partly followed Dr Farmer, and gave the following account of a William Stafford (2), who he said was the author of the *Briefe Concept of English Pollicy*. But he offered no proof of the identity of the author with the man whose biography he gave. To me the tone of Stafford's book is not that of a man of twenty-seven, who afterwards 'became a hanger-on of the court;' and I think it very improbable—almost impossible—that Anthony Wood (who bagged every possible writer and known person as an Oxford man) or his editor would have left out the fact of William Stafford the author being a fellow of New College, Oxford¹, when he actually names him, and distinguishes him from the man and writer who was his son, according to Mr Greenfield. Till further evidence is produced, I do not accept Mr Greenfield's identification.

"This William Stafford was second son of Sir William Stafford of Chebsey, Knt. (a younger son of the house of Blatherwick), by his second wife Dorothy, daughter of Henry Lord Stafford, only son of Edward, last Duke of Buckingham. He was born, March 1, 1553-4, at Rocheford, Essex, an estate of the Boleyns which came to Sir William Stafford through his first wife, Mary Boleyn, sister of Queen Ann Boleyn, and widow of William Cary, Esq. In 1564 he was admitted a scholar on the foundation at Winchester College (*Admissions Book, Winchester Coll.*). In 1571 he was matriculated

Trappes touching the plot for the murder of the Queen, and for the examination of him out of Modye's confession.

Jan. 14. 22. Translation of the preceding interrogatories in French.

Jan. 14. 23. Notes out of the confession of Des Trappes, relative to the conspiracy to murder her Maiesty. [All these papers have been examin'd for me.]

1588, Aug. 14? 19. Certificate by the Lieutenant of the Tower, of the names of the prisoners in his custody, with the duration of their imprisonment, the Earl of Arundel, three years and four months, from the 1st of April, 1585; Secretary Wm. Davison, one year and six months, from Feb. 14, 1587. Sir Tho. Gerard, Thomas Abington, *William Stafford*, and others. [This is indorsed by Burghley "2 July 1588," but the dates clearly show it must have been in August. On the 14th of that month the Council directed a letter to Sir Owyn Hopton, Mr Daniel, Francis Bacon, and others, to command the keepers of all prisons to make a return of the names of the parties remaining under their several custodies for matters of recusancy, and to distinguish which of them were Jesuits or priests. Co Reg.] p. 531.

The only earlier mention of a Mr Stafford (not identifiable with ours) is, 1581, July 1. The Court. 62. Walsyngham to Burghley. Stay in *Mr Stafford's* suit. The strange guest (Don Antonio) had audience yesternight.

¹ Dr Sewell, the head of New College, does not know any tradition of the College Wm. Stafford having been an author.

a scholar of New College, Oxford, as a Probationary Fellow—not being of founder's kin;—in 1573 elected actual Fellow in Arts of New College, being then in his twentieth year of age; and in 1575 was deprived of his Fellowship in consequence of absenting himself from college beyond the prescribed time of absence (*Registers, New Coll.*). In 1581, was printed his¹ *Briefve Conceipte of English Policy*, in which work he 'acknowledges her maiesty's late and singular clemency in pardoning certayne his undutiful misdemeaneer.' His widowed mother, Lady Dorothy Stafford, being in immediate attendance upon the person of the Queen, as a lady of the bedchamber, he became a hanger-on of the court²; and his elder brother Edward,

¹ Why his? Where is the evidence?

² What is the authority for this statement as to our W. S., &c.?

P. S. Mr Greenfield has since been good enough to send me the following letter, dated *Cranbury Terrace, Southampton, 25 July, 1876*, which fails of course to identify our author with the William Stafford it describes:

"I know not whence Dr Bliss derived his authority for identifying the author 'W. S.' with *William Stafford*. But, accepting that assertion, I see no reason to doubt that he was a son of Lady Dorothy Stafford. The *internal* evidence in the '*compendium*'—which I have quoted in my article in *Notes and Queries*, viz. his acknowledgment of the Queen's *clemency towards him*, is strongly in favour of the author's being a hanger-on of the Court, and coupling this with all that I show respecting Lady Dorothy's son, William Stafford, as a *Winchester College Scholar* and *New College Fellow*, leaves little [? all imaginable] room for doubt on the subject. As to Anthony à Wood's silence, there is no force in it. Note, that à Wood is altogether silent about this William Stafford. What I have said about his Winchester and New College career is altogether new, and the result of my own research, and may be implicitly relied on as fact. To what I have said in *Notes and Queries* respecting his part in the proceedings of Des Trappes, I may further refer you to the *State Papers* in the P. R. O., *Domestic Series*, Vol. 197, No. 15, for January 1586-7, in which William Stafford identifies himself with the Stafford family [but not our book] and with the Court; for he writes, as his reason for desiring to go secretly into France, 'I was discontented upon some dislike which my Lord of Leicester had conceived of me, and that I had rather live there poorlie than remain here despised of so great a man.' The French ambassador, in his reply to Stafford, says, . . . 'but in any wise you must continue in your *brother's* favour lest you be suspected.' Here is direct allusion to his elder brother, Sir Edward Stafford, who was, at the time, our *Ambassador to Paris*.

"I doubt whether Anthony à Wood knew who 'W. S.', the author of the *Compendium*, was. . . . [But his assertion is the only ground for trying to turn W. S. into Lady Dorothy Stafford's son.]

"Again, another reason for his omission in Wood's '*Fasti*' is that William Stafford does not appear to have been at Oxford long enough to have taken a University Degree. No *regularly* kept Register was extant at Oxford before 1574, which may further account for his omission by Anthony à Wood. My data are taken direct from Wykham's two Colleges at Winchester and Oxford."

in 1583, was knighted and sent as ambassador to the court of France.

"In January, 1586-7, he disclosed a plot against the queen's life, projected by Mons. Destrappes, a servant of the French ambassador (compare Harl. MSS. 36, f. 357, and 288, f. 170-1, with Camden's *Annals*, 8vo, 1630, pp. 105-6); but he was imprisoned in the Tower for the part he took therein; from whence, under date of March 19, 1588, he writes to Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179).

"He presented to the library of Winchester College the following seven works¹: firstly, on Aug. 22, 1601, *Concordantiæ Bibliorum*, being a concordance of the Holy Scriptures after the Latin Vulgate, fol. 1600, and '*The Common Places of Dr Peter Martyr*' translated by Anthonie Marten, one of the Sewers of hir Maiesties most honorable Privy Chamber,' fol. London 1574: secondly, on Feb. 21, 1609, a copy of *Cranmer's, or the Bishops' Bible*,—in compliance with the injunction of his mother, to whom it belonged, and who gave it to him at the time of her death, which happened on Sept. 22, 1604. This copy of the English translation of the Old and New Testaments, black-letter, fol. 1541, is in five parts, separately bound, in thin covers of vellum; and each part having a separate title-page, that of Part I only being wanting. On the outer sides of each cover is stamped, in gold lettering, 'Dorotheie Stafforde.' At a sale, in August 1857, at Messrs Sotheby and Wilkinson's, a complete copy of this edition of *Cranmer's Bible* sold for 90*l*. Thirdly, on May 30, 1612, *A General Historie of the Netherlands*, by Edward Grimeston, fol. London, 1608. This and the two following works bear his autograph written on the title-page thus: 'W. Stafforde'—*A General Inventorie of the History of France to the Treaty of Vervins in 1598*, by Ihon de Serres; translated by Edward Grimeston, fol., London, 1607; *The General Historie of the Turks*, by Richard Knolles, fol., London, 1603; and *Tortura Torti* by Lancelot Andrews, D.D., Bishop of Ely (being an answer to the treatise of Cardinal Bellarmin on King James's *Defence of the Right of Kings*), 4to, London, 1609.

"About the year 1593 he married Ann, daughter of Thomas Gryme of Antingham, Norfolk; after which time, he resided chiefly in Norfolk. He died on Nov. 16, 10 Jac. 1612 (*Inq. P. M.* 1 Car. p. 1, No. 97), leaving,—with a daughter Dorothy, who became the wife of Thomas Tyndale, Esq., of Eastwood Park, Gloucestershire, and ancestress of the Tyndales of Bathford, Somersetshire—an only son, William Stafford, who was born about Sept. 30, 1594; became a student of Christ Church, Oxford, and was made M.A. March 5, 1617-8. On the death of his uncle, Sir John Stafford, Knt., *s. p.* in 1624, he succeeded to the estate of Marlwood Park, in Thornbury,

¹ Why didn't he present too his own tract, if he wrote the *Briefe Conceipt* in 1581?

Gloucestershire, under the limitations of the royal grant, dated June 5, 26 Eliz. 1584, of that property to Lady Dorothy Stafford for her life, with remainders : firstly to her younger son John, and his issue ; then to her Son William, and his issue male ; then to Sir Edward Stafford, Knt., her Son and heir apparent, and his issue male ; then to the heirs of the body of the said Lady Dorothy (*Pat. Roll*, 26 *Eliz.* p. 16). He was the author of a little pamphlet, entitled '*Reasons of the War*, or an orderly and plain narration of the beginning and causes of the War, with a conscientious Resolution against the Parliament Side,' printed in 1644. The issue of this William Stafford became extinct in the male line on the death of his grandson Edward Stafford, Esq., *s.p.*, who died at Constantinople in August 1720. (*Decrees enrolled in Chancery*, 12 Geo. I. p. 39.) B. W. GREENFIELD, *Southampton*."

Stafford's tract was also reprinted in the ninth volume of the *Harleian Miscellany*.

As to Stafford's rank or profession, he calls himself Gent[leman] on his title-page ; and he elsewhere, as his Doctor, takes the character of a layman. If he was really one, we must admit that in his Doctor's last long speech, p. 91-7, he was speaking dramatically ; for surely, only as a parson could he have there uttered what he does, or proposd a General Council, with a representative appointed for the Whore of Babylon (the Pope, p. 99), as the best means of settling the religious differences in England. He says but little of himself in his Dedication, p. 3-4 below. I can find no further trace¹ of him.

For bearing the cost of the present Reprint, the Society is indebted to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Derby, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c., and one of the Vice-Presidents of the New Shakspere Society. But Lord Derby is in no way responsible for the choice of the book, or any of the opinions expresst in the original edition or this Reprint. He was good enough to leave to me the application of his money gift ; and he will not see the present edition till it is issued complete. In the name of all our Members I thank Lord Derby for his present to us. May other Members soon follow the example of him and Prince Leopold !

To my friend and colleague, Mr F. D. Matthew, for his valuable *Introduction*, and to my friend Miss Isabel Marshall, for her indexes, my thanks are hereby returnd.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

3 St George's Sq., N.W., July 10, 1876.

¹ I assume that he was not the 'Wm Stafford, B.D. 1537,' who 'was prior of the Dominicans at Stamford, and, with 8 friars, surrendered that house to the King, 7 Oct. 1538.'—Cooper's *Ath. Cant.*

Extracts from Stowe as to the Rains and Dearth in 1594-5.

Stow's Annales, continued by Edm. Howes to 1614, ed. 1615, p. 768, col. 2 :

(36 Eliz. A.D. 1594.) This yeare in the moneth of May, fell many great showres of rayne, but in the moneths of June and July, much more: for it commonlie rained euery day, or night, till S. James day, and 2 dayes after together most extreamely, all which notwithstanding, in the moneth of August, there followed a faire haruest, but in the moneth of September fell great raynes, which raised high Waters, such as stayed the carriages, and bare downe Bridges, at Cambridge, Ware, and elsewhere, in many places. Also the price of grayne grew to bee such, as a strike or bushell of Rie was sold for 5.s., a bushell of Wheat for sixe, seauen, or eyght shillings, &c., for still it rose in price: which dearth happened (after the common opinion) more by meanes of ouermuch transporting, by our owne Marchants for their priuate gaine, than through the vnseasonableness of the weather passed.

great raynes

bridges at
Cambridge and
Ware borne
downe.

Price of graine
deare, when
sold sends
plenty.

1595.
Dearth of corn
& other victual.

Disordered
youths punished.

This yeere, by meanes of the late transporting of graine into forraigne countries, the same was here growne to an excessiue price, as in some places from 14 shillings to 4 markes the quarter, and more, *as the poore did feele; for all things els, whatsoever was sustenance for man, was likewise raised without all conscience and reason.* For remedie whereof, our marchants brought backe from Danske much Rie, and some Wheate (not of the best) but passing deare, yet serued the turne in such extremitie: Some prentises & other young people about the citie of London, *being pinched of their victuals more then they hadde beene accustomed,* tooke from the market people in Southwarke, butter for their money, paying for the same but three pence the pound, whereas the owners would have had 5 pence. For the which disorder, the sayd young men, on the twenty-seuen of June, were punished by whipping, setting on the pillorie, and long imprisonment

Dearth of vic-
tuals.

In this time of dearth and scarcity of victuals, at London, an hens eg was sold for a peny,—or three eggs for two pence at the most,—a pound of sweet butter for 7.d., and so the like of fish or flesh, exceeding measure in price: such was our sins deseruing it.¹

¹ The price of pepper, raisins, and wine, in 1598, we get from a passage on p. 786, col. 1:—

An. reg. 40.
Pepper 8.s the
pound.

This yeere, against Christmas, *Pepper* was solde at London for eight shillings the pounce, a matter then much noted . . . Also raysons was this yeare solde for six pence the pounce: Gascoine wine, two shillings eight pence the gallon, and sweete Wines for foure shillings the Gallon, &c.

ib. p. 782, col. i. *An. reg.* 39. A.D. 1597. This Sommer, by reason of much rayne, and great floods, corne waxed scant, so as in London wheate was sould for tenne shillings a bushell, and Rye for six shillings, and Oate-meale at eight shillings a bushell.

A Dearth of
corne.

In this moneth of August, the price of Wheate at London fell from xiii shillings the bushell, to tenne shillings: Rie, from nine shillings to sixe shillings, and so to three shillings two pence; but then arose againe the late greatest price.

Great prizes of
bred Corne.

p. xi. *William Stafford* (2), *Lady Dorothy Stafford's son*. The first letter from him among the Domestic State Papeis is dated June 10, 1585, at Dieppe.

"Wm. Stafford to Secretary Walsingham.

"Pray stand my friend, and excuse me to my mother, who, though without cause, will be very angry with me for this sudden departure. I am now, as ever, at your command, and there is no other man living to whom I am beholden. If I should live to see my blood shed in your cause. I should think it but some recompence for the great good I have received at your hands." [Mrs Green's abstract.] Vol. of *Addenda*, Elizabeth, *Domestic State Papers*, p. 144.

In the first part of Stafford's confession, speaking of his conversation with Chasteauneuf, the French Ambassador to England, and his (W. S.'s) desire to go to France, he says: "He promised me letters of credit to those who would do me good, but said I must continue in my brother's favour, lest I should be suspected."—*Ibid.* p. 200. That his brother was Sir Edward Stafford, the English Ambassador in France, appears from the account of the conference with the French Ambassador about the discovery of the plot, *ibid.* p. 200.

A letter from Henry Smith to his brother Thos. Wilks at the Hague, Jan. 26, 1587, speaks of the "new conspiracy discovered of late;" and goes on to say that "Lady Stafford and Drury are commanded from the Court, and it is thought they will hardly be re-admitted."—*Ibid.* p. 203.

A letter from Wm. Stafford to Walsingham (making further disclosures), dated the Tower, 19th March, 1588, shows that Stafford was then still in prison (Harl. MS. 286, f. 179). A certificate by the Lieut. of the Tower, in August, 1588 (p. x, note, above), shows he was among the prisoners then.—*Ibid.* Vol. 215, 14 Aug. 1588.

In Stafford's confession or account of his dealings with the French Ambassador and others as to the plot, in conversation with Des Trappes, one of the plotters, the latter urges: "Mr Stafford, if you wold undertake this matter, whoe live so discontentedlie as you doe, and not likelie anie way to enioye the favor and reward due vnto your personne;" and goes on with the argument that he would gain the good will of all the Queen of Scots' allies, and a pension from the Pope.—*Ibid.* Vol. 197, 1587 (15), fo. 31.

From a list "of all such prisonners as remaine under my chardge and custodie," sent in by the Lieut. of the Tower. ? 14 August, 1588.

"January 15, 1586. William Stafford & Mychaell Moodie gent. prisonners one yeare vij monthes for practising with the French ambassador."

William Stafford was connected with the Queen through his father's first wife, who was Mary Boleyn, sister to Anne Boleyn the Queen's mother.

INTRODUCTION

BY

FREDERIC D. MATTHEW, ESQ.

IN all statements of grievances it is necessary to make allowance for exaggeration, and this tract is no exception to the rule. When we come to examine closely the troubles of the different states whose members take part in this dialogue, we do not discover any very substantial wrong. The general complaint is of 'dearth,' but dearth is used throughout only in the sense of high prices. The capper has to pay high wages; the merchant finds a rise in the goods he imports, and the gentleman in those he buys; while the husbandman suffers from enhanced rents, and from the high price of implements and clothing. In the discussion we find that the only one who has a distinct loss to show is the Knight; part of whose lands are still let on old leases, so that his income is not increased in proportion to the general advance. On the other hand we see evidence that at least a part of the community was thriving, since comforts and luxuries, formerly uncommon, were now widely sold and used (p. 51). The smaller conveniences of civilized life, such as glass, china, and earthenware, watches, and ornaments of all sorts, were in the hands of people whose fathers would not have dreamed of indulging in such extravagance.¹ Serving men were fewer, since the gentry no longer needed a private guard, but they were better fed and clothed than they had been (p. 64). More was spent than formerly on the building and adornment of houses, and on furniture and hangings (p. 66). Such signs of prosperity might be delusive. A splendid court and an extravagant nobility may exist among a struggling and impoverished people. But wages had risen, while provisions do not seem to have been high; at least in relation to other things. "These many yeares past," we are told, "we had Corne good cheape enough," and there was no scarcity of meat (p. 43).

In these complaints, where high prices and costly living are

¹ Compare Harrison's *England*, Book 2, chap. 12, p. 239, &c., N. Sh. Soc.

equally prominent grievances, we recognize a kind of talk familiar enough to our own ears. In our time the gold discoveries in Russia, America and Australia have raised prices and altered some relations. Persons with fixed incomes have suffered, and grumbling has not been confined to them, but is often to be heard from those who on the whole have benefited by the fall in the precious metals. A diminution in the exchangeable value of coin, such as has marked the past 40 years, was going on in the 16th century, and it must have been felt more painfully then than now ; since, not only was there the disorganization and discomfort which accompanies all social changes, but there was also a positive loss to the country as the new state of things was forced upon it. For, in one point there is a great difference in the circumstances of England now and then. At present the mercantile position of England is such that the new gold has flowed from the producing countries direct to us, and through us to the rest of the world. In the 16th century, the first European country to receive the new treasure was Spain : thence it spread over the continent, and came at last to us, mostly through Flanders. Now it is evident that for purposes of international trade, the nearer you are to the source of new treasure, and the sooner prices rise, the better. If goods have gone up in Flanders while they are still at their old price in England, we must send over our cheap goods to buy their dear ones. In time, prices will find their level, but meanwhile we are trading at a loss.¹ This was the state of things in the 16th century, and the change in prices was accordingly worse for Englishmen then than it has been in the 19th.

There is one class of men whose spokesman would have been more welcome to us in this conversation than to the well-to-do and respectable company assembled at the vintner's. A shrewd representative of the country labourer might have had more solid grievance to dilate upon than any mentioned here. The inclosures which are so strongly blamed, while they were raising the value of the returns from the soil, were pressing hard upon the labourers and cottars. It must be remembered that inclosure was not exactly the same thing then as now. At present it means usually bringing into cultivation waste or rough pasture. At that time, although proprietary rights over land were well defined, yet the effects of the ancient holding in common were much more evident than in our day. In many places the small proprietor had his plots of land

¹ Compare the remarks of the Doctor on keeping down prices (p. 83).

scattered about the common, as they had been assigned to his ancestor. No hedges protected them from cattle ; indeed it would have been as difficult to fence them as it would be now to do the same thing for the holdings of the French peasant (pp. 46 and 86). When the common was to be enclosed it was necessary to get rid of these tilled lands, and the lords of manors were not always scrupulous as to the means by which they accomplished this object.¹ Moreover, the peasant driven out of his holding found it difficult to get work for himself and his family ; since the pastures employed but few hands, and ploughs were being laid down on every side (p. 16). Still it is not to be supposed that the results of inclosure were altogether bad. The large demand for wool and leather made grazing profitable, while the increase of stock raised largely the return of corn on the lands still under tillage ; “ one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two most commonly were wont to do.” It is easy to imagine that in many cases small bits of arable in the hands of a poor man who had no stock were an unprofitable possession, which he was not unwilling to sell to his wealthier neighbour. We may judge that the process, in spite of individual hardship, was on the whole beneficial, by our author's own words, “ we see the countreyes where most Inclosiers be, are most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, Northamptonshyre,” &c. (p. 40).

When we come to Stafford's views as to the causes and remedies of existing evils, we find a curious mixture of acuteness and prejudice. Naturally enough he believed, as every one did then, that it is desirable to gather as much gold and silver into the realm as possible. He would gladly prevent its exportation, but is shrewd enough to recognize that no laws can prevent its going where it is most called for. On the currency he shows a sanity which is not to be met with in all modern writers on the subject. In pointing out how the debasement of the coin raised prices, and still more in his clear statement of the purpose of coinage (p. 60), his explanations are admirable. His comparison with the town-seal on cloth is true and to the point. But immediately afterwards we find him straying into doubtful paths, led away by his horror of paying foreigners for work that could be done at home. If we cannot sell only for hard cash, he thinks, we should at least

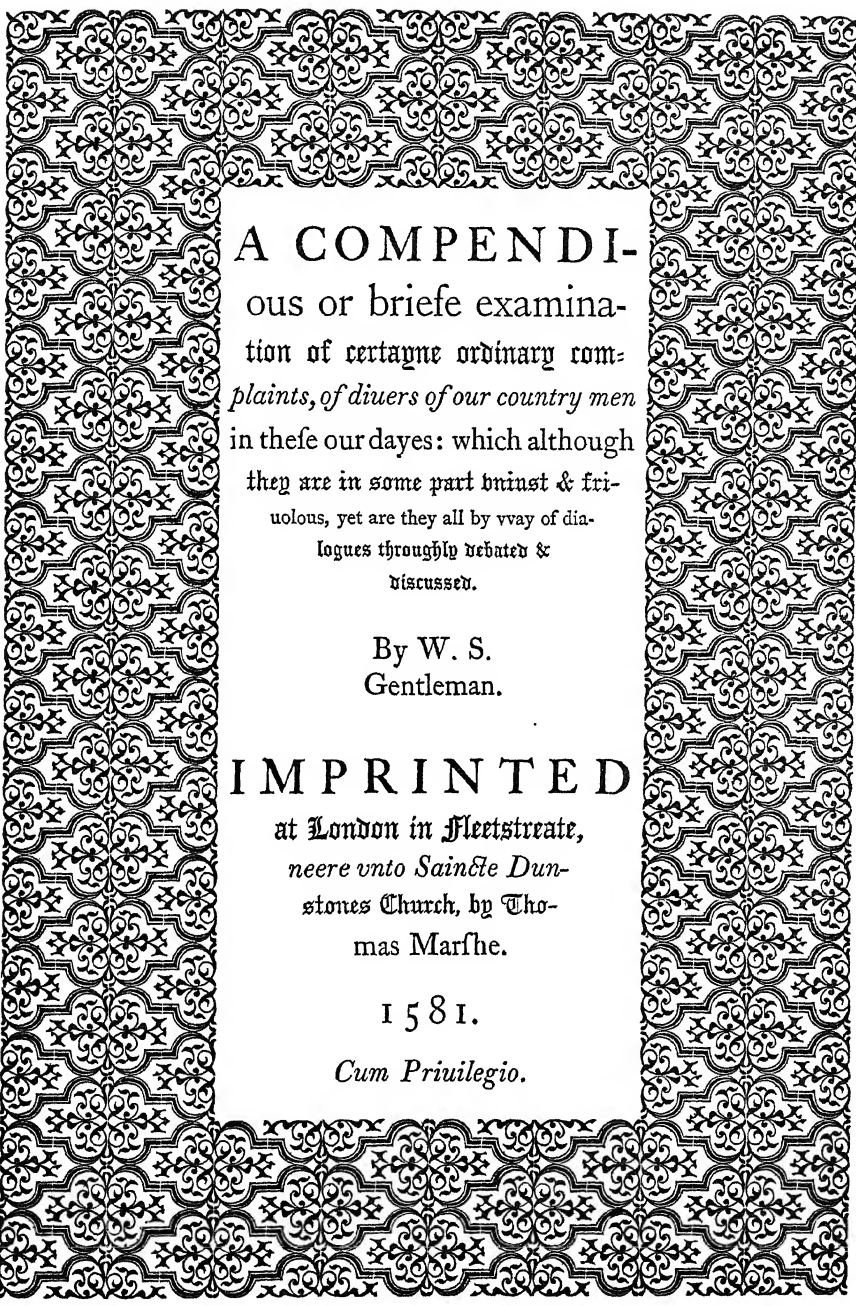
¹ Ergo ut unus helluo inexplibilis ac dira pestis patriæ, continuatis agris, aliquot millia jugerum uno circundet septo, ejiciuntur coloni, quidam suis etiam, aut circumscripti fraude aut vi oppressi exuuntur, aut fatigati injuriis adiguntur ad venditionem.—*Utopia*, lib. I.

get in return for our produce something of intrinsic value as to raw material. To pay foreigners for mere work, even though they do it better and cheaper than we could at home, is a waste of treasure. Worst of all is it when we sell to foreigners our raw material and buy it back manufactured. This discussion, besides being curious as an early statement of the theories which were to govern our mercantile legislation for more than two centuries, is interesting, as showing the advantage of a large scale of manufacture and a trained body of workmen, even before the introduction of machinery. Only superior skill and a more economical use of labour can have enabled the Flemings using our own wool to undersell us in our own markets. Stafford's proposal to neutralize their advantages by Customs duties, so as at once to lessen our most profitable trade and make our cloth dearer, seems in curious contrast to the sensible advice that he gives as to free trade in corn. But the contrast is only apparent: in both cases he is a shrewd empiric, trying a quick way to ends he desires. He is nearer the mark when he attributes our weakness in manufactures¹ to the narrow exclusiveness of the trade guilds. These bodies, which served a good purpose in their first growth, and which as yet showed no signs of the splendid uselessness that awaited them, were already tainted with the common vice of corporations; regarding as their first object the selfish interests of their members, so that in their care for monopoly they refused opportunities of improvement. The strangers who "were better workmen than were any in the town" received no welcome from a guild, which cared more for its privileges than the advancement of its craft; while close organization prevented the individual master from using the skill of the new comers to forward his private interest. The smaller the community the more fatal was this exclusiveness. Great cities like Ghent or Bruges might have activity enough in their staple trades to ensure advance and improvement, but a manufacture in the hands of a few monopolists must fall into routine and decay. It was here rather than in alteration of the Customs; in greater freedom, not in more restriction, that there was a chance for England to outstrip the continental manufacturers. When religious persecution drove its victims to our shores, they brought with them instruction, which far more than repaid the hospitality they received.

¹ It is to be noticed that he says that the French are better off for manufactures than we are (p. 70), and that he counts among the things which we *must* import, iron, steel, and salt.

One other point deserves notice as showing how this dialogue reflects the current thought of the time. When the husbandman is made to attribute the advance in prices to the gentlemen who "raise the price of their lands, and take pastures and farms into their hands," he is not speaking merely at random, or from the prejudices of his order, but giving utterance to a widespread opinion. Thus we find in Brinklow's *Complaint*: "This inordinate inhansing of rentys, which is sprong up within fewe yerys past, must nedys make all things deare, as well pertaynyng to the back as to the belly, to the most gret dammage of all the kyngs subjectys, landyd men only except. Yea, and evyn thei themselves were more welthyer whan their landys went at the old pryce. For why? Thei bye all things the dearer, &c."¹ What shows most the hold of this opinion is that the Doctor, who backs up the Knight in his reply to the husbandman on this point (p. 35), himself gives way to the same fancy later, when after ascribing the rise in prices to the debased coinage, he is posed by a reminder that the coin has been restored (p. 82). It is only then, and almost unconsciously, that for a moment he hits upon the true cause of the 'dearth'; "the great store and plenty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of the world far more in these our dayes then ever our forefathers have sene in times past" (p. 82). Here, at agreement with him, I may leave Stafford to speak for himself. To call him a scientific economist would be extravagant; he was not two centuries in advance of his time; but his speculations are always acute, and in the course of them he tells us much of the England of his time.

¹ Brinklow's *Complaint*, p. 10.



A COMPENDI-
ous or briefe examina-
tion of certayne ordinary com-
plaints, of diuers of our country men
in these our dayes: which although
they are in some part bniust & fri-
uolous, yet are they all by vway of dia-
logues thoroughly debated &
discussed.


By W. S.
Gentleman.

IMPRINTED
at London in Fleetstreate,
neere vnto Sainte Dun-
stones Church, by Tho-
mas Marfhe.

1581.

Cum Priuilegio.

■

 On the back of the original Title-page is a cut of the arms of Queen Elizabeth, of which my friend Mr G. E. Cokayne, Lancaster Herald, has kindly given me the following blazon: "Quarterly, 1st and 4th, France, viz. Azure, three fleurs de lis, or; 2nd and 3rd, England, viz. Gules, three lions passant guardant, in pale, or; the whole surrounded with the Garter, surmounted with the Crown of England." The letters 'E. R.' are placed underneath. I haven't thought it worth while to get either this or the elaborate frame-work of the original Title-page itself copied and cut. The present Title-border is therefore not a facsimile, but is made up of the ornament so frequently seen in Elizabethan books. The old initials in the tract are from those us'd in my Andrew Boorde for the *Early English Text Society*.—F. J. F.]

■

TO THE MOST VER-

[* This page is
registered **]

tuous and learned Lady, my most

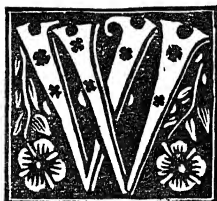
deare and Soueraigne Princessse ELI-

ZABETH, by the Grace of God,

Queene of England, Fraunce, and

Ireland : Defendresse of the

Fayth. &c.



Hereas there was neuer anye thinge hearde of in any age past hetherunto, so perfectly wrought and framed, eyther by Arte or Nature, but that it hath at some time, for some forged and surmysed matter, sustayned the reprehension of some enuious persons or other : I doe not much meruayle, most mighty Princeesse, that in this your so noble & famous a gouernment, (the Glory whereof is now longe sithence scattered and spread ouer the whole face of the Earth,) there are, notwithstanding, certayne euill-disposed people, so blinded with malice, and subdued to their owne parciall Conceiptes; that as yet they can neyther spare indifferente iudgements to conceyue, or reuerent tongues to reporte a known truth, touching the perfection of the same. But for these men, as they are (no doubt) sufficiently refuted by the testimonies of their owne consciences : so are they most certainly condemned by the common consent of all such as are wyse or indifferent. And although this be of itselfe so cleare and manyfest that it cannot bee denied, yet could not I forbear (most renowned soueraigne) being as it were inforced by your Maiesties late & singular clemency in pardoninge certayne my vndutifull misdemeanour, but seeke to acknowledge your gracious goodnesse and bounty towards me by exhibiting vnto you this small and simple present : wherein as I haue in^ddeuoured in fewe wordes to aunswere certayne quarells and obiections dayly and ordinarily occurrent in the talke of sundry men, so doe I most humbly craue your Graces fauourable acceptation

[*leaf **, back]

thereof: protesting also with all humility, that my meaninge is not in the discourse of these matters heere disputed, to define ought which may in any wise sounde preiudiciall to any publicke authority, but only to alleadge such probability as I coulde, to stop the mouthes of certayne euill-affected persons, which of their curiosity require farther satisfaction in these matters, then can well stand with good modesty. Wherefore as vpon this zeale & good meaning towards your estate, I was earnestly moued to vndertake this enterprise, and in the handlinge thereof rather content to shewe myselfe vnskilfull to others, then vnthankfull to you: so presuminge of your auncient accustomed clemency, I was so bould to commit the same to your gracious protection, fully perswading and assuring myself, that it would generally obtayne the better credit & entertainment among others, if your Maiesties name were prefixed, a[n]d it were a most rich Iewell and rare Ornament to beautifie and commend the same. God preferue your Maiesty with infinit increase of all his blessings bestowed vpon you, and graunt that your dayes of life here vpon the earth may be extended (if it be his good will) euen far beyonde the ordinary course of Nature: that as you haue already sufficiently rayghned for your owne honour and glory to last withall posterities: so you may continew and remaine with vs many more yeares, euen to the full contentation (if it may so be) of vs your louing subiects, and to the perfect establishing of this flourishing peace & tranquillity in your common weale for euer.

Y O V R M A I E S T I E S

most faythfull and

louing Subiect

W. S.

¹A Table of thynges
*most notable contained
 in this Booke.*

[* This leaf is
 registerd **11]



Hat no man is a straunger to the Common- weale that he is in.	1.a [p. 11]
That of many heads is gathered a perfect coun- sayle.	1.b [p. 12]
That euery man is to be credited in his owne arte.	1.b [p. 12]
Why the Booke is made by way of dialogue.	2.a [p. 12]
The fumme of the whole Booke.	2.a [p. 13]
That men are not borne to themselfes onely.	3.a [p. 15]
The complaint of Inclosures by husbandmen.	3.b [p. 15]
The complaint of dearth of victuall by artificers.	3.b [p. 16]
The complaint of the decay of townes by Marchauntmen, and of all other common easements.	4.a [p. 16]
That many superfluous charges are layde downe, and yet neuer the more plenty.	4.a [p. 16]
Of dearth of outward marchaundise.	4.a [p. 16]
Of dearth of all kinde of victuall.	4.a [p. 17]
That Inclosures should not be the cause of this dearth.	4.b [p. 17]
That Gentlemen feele most griefe by this dearth.	4.b [p. 17]
The complaint of craftesmen against Gentlemen for taking of fearmes.	4.b [p. 17]
The craftmans complaint that hee cannot set men a-worke for the dearth of victuall.	5.a [p. 18]
The Gentlemans complaint how he cannot kepe like coun- tenaunce as he was wont to doe.	5.a [p. 18]
Why Gentlemen doe giue ouer their houtholdes.	5.b [p. 19]
Why Gentlemen doe take fearmes to their handes.	5.b [p. 19]
A complaint against Sheepe.	5.b [p. 19]
The Doctors complaint for men of his sorte.	6.a [p. 19]
A complaint against learned men.	6.a [p. 20]

Why learning should be like to decay hereafter.	6.b [p. 20]
Whether a common weale may bee well gouerned without learning.	6.b [p. 21]
That the learned haue alwaies had the fouerainty ouer the vnlearned.	7.a [p. 21]
Whether a man may be wife without learning.	7.a [p. 21]
That learning supplieth the lacke of experience, and that experience is the father of Wisedome.	7.a [p. 22]
The wonderfull gyftes that we haue by learning.	8.a [p. 23]
That there is no faculty but is made more confumate by learninge.	8.b [p. 23]
How Cæsar excelled al other captains, by reason of his great learning ioyned with his prowesse.	8.b [p. 24]
¹ That knowledge in morall Philosophye is moste necessary for a Counfaiour.	9.a [p. 24]
What makes learned men to be so few.	9.b [p. 25]
That yonge students be alwaies ouer-hasty in vttering their iudgements.	9.b [p. 25]
That Pythagoras commaunded silence to his disciples for a time.	9.b [p. 26]
That Plato commaunded that no man ignorauzt in geometry should enter his scoole.	10.a [p. 26]
What harme may come if they be suffered to iudge in thinges to whome that doth not appertaine.	10.a [p. 26]
That it is not learning sufficient to know tongues and write.	10.a [p. 26]
Why learning should decay.	10.b [p. 27]
That euery state fyndes himselfe grieved.	11.a [p. 27]
That marchaunts can best saue themfelues in euery alteration.	11.a [p. 28]
Of our old coyne exhausted.	11.a [p. 28]
Whether it made any matter of what mettall the coyn be made.	11.b [p. 28]
What men are most pinched by this same dearth.	11.b [p. 29]
That the prince hath most losse by this vniuersall dearth.	11.b [p. 29]
What danger should it be to the Realme if the prince should want treasure in time of neede.	12.a [p. 29]

[leaf **ij,
back]

How the Queenes maieftie cannot haue treafure when her
fubiectes haue none. 12.b [p. 30]

A recapitulation of the common grieues. 13.a [p. 30]



hat it is a maruailous dearth that comes in
time of plenty. 13.b [p. 32]

The occasion of this dearth is laide to the
Gentlemen. 14.a [p. 32]

How from the Gentlemen it is laide to

the husbandmen. 14.a [p. 33]

The Gentlemens excufe and reafonable offer. 14.a [p. 33]

The Husbandman refuseth, and puts ouer the fault to
ironmongers and clothiers. 14.b. [p. 34]

If all land were abated in their rent, whether this dearth
would be remedied. 15.a [p. 34]

That it were not expedient that fraungers should fell their
wares deare, and we ours good cheape. 15.a [p. 34]

Another offer of the Gentleman made to the husband-
man. 15.a [p. 34]

Whether if the husbandman were forced to abate the price
of hys stufte: this dearth should be then amended. 15.b¹ [p. 35] [*orig. 14 b*]

The fraungers take but money currant euery where for their
wares that they haue ouer their exchange. 16.b [p. 37]

That fraungers and all marchauntes brings thinges that be
befte cheape to them, and deareft with vs. 16.b. [p. 37]

What thinge is of that forte. 17.a [p. 37]

He that felleth good cheape, & buieth deare, fhall not lightly
thriue. 17.b [p. 38]

It is not poffible to keepe our treafure from going forth of
the realm if it be in more eftimation elfwhere. 17.b [p. 39]

That the dearth rofe neither at the gentleman nor the
husbandmans handes. 18.a [p. 39]

Permutation of things before coyne. 18.a [p. 39]

A complaint againft sheepeмайsters. 18.b [p. 40]

That Inclofures is occasion of defolation, & vveaking of the
povver of the realme. 18.b [p. 40]

Reafons to defend Inclofures. 18.b [p. 40]

What kinde of Inclofures is hurtfull. 19.a [p. 41]

The table of
the second
dialogue.

- Whether that that is profitable to one may be profitable to
all other, if they vse the same feate. 19.a [p. 41]
- Euery commodity must be so aduanced, as it be not preiudiciall to other greater commodities. 19.b [p. 42]
- No man may abuse his ovne things to the preiudice of the common vveale. 20.a [p. 43]
- Hovv inclofures might be remedied vvithout cohercion of lavves. 20.b [p. 43]
- That a like restraint of vvoll should be made as is of corne, or none to be sent ouer vnnvrought. 21.a [p. 44]
- Reasons vvhy the husband should not be at liberty, as vvell as other, to sell his vvares. 21.b [p. 45]
- That by breeding, the husband hath most clere gaines. 22.a [p. 46]
- That profit aduanceth all faculties. 22.b [p. 46]
- That some are to be allured by revvardes, and some other vvith straight paynes forced in a common vveale. 22.b [p. 47]
- The lesse honor or profit is geuen to any Arte, the lesse it shal be frequented. 23.a [p. 47]
- Profit vvill make husbandmen more occupied, & thereby more plenty, and consequently better cheape of corne. 23.b [p. 48]
- Whether the Queenes custome should be minished by restraint of Wooll vnnvrought. 24.b [p. 50]
- Hovv straungers fetcheth from vs our great commodities for very trifles. 25.a [p. 50]
- Our delicacy in requiring straungers vvares. 25.a [p. 51]
- The increase of Haberdathers and Mylleners ouer they vvare vvont to be. 25.b [p. 51]
- Hovv the Straungers finde an easier vvay to get Treasure by things of no value then by any Mynes of gold and filuer. 25.b [p. 51]
- Hovv straungers finde their people vvith our commodities. 25.b [p. 52]
- Why frangers may aforde Wares by them made, better then vve may the same made heere, and yet that it vvare better for vs to buy our ovne though they be dearer. 26.a [p. 52]
- The most durable & vniuersall profit is more to be esteemed then short and particuler. 26.b [p. 53]
- Whether such restraints do touch the leagues made vvith outvvard princes. 26.b [p. 53]

No league is to be chearished that is not for the common vveale.	27.a [p. 53]
A vworthy example to be folovved in vving of ftraungers.	27.a [p. 54]
What harmes come and may come by the alteration of the coyn.	27.b [p. 55]
That the substance and quantity is esteemed in coyne, and not the name.	28.b [p. 56]
That the necessity of mutuall traffique & commodity of exchange made coyne to be deuifed.	29.a [p. 57]
Why Golde and Siluer vvere the stufte most meetest for Coyne to be stricken in.	29.a [p. 57]
Why Gold and Siluer are esteemed afore all other mettals.	30.a. [p. 58]
Why Siluer and Gold vvere coyned.	31.a [p. 60]
Somtime brasse, filuer & gold, vvere vveighed before coine made.	31.a [p. 60]
What losse comes of losse of credence.	31.b [p. 60]
What do ftraungers bringe vs for our treasure & chief com- modity.	32.a [p. 61]
Hovv our old coine may be transported, & the Prince & her officers not vvare.	32.a [p. 62]
We deuifed the readiest vway to driue avvay our treasure.	32.b [p. 62]
Why things vvithin the Realme should be so deare.	32.b [p. 63]
Some haue gaynes by the alteration of the coyne.	33.a [p. 63]
Who haue losse by the alteration of the coyne.	33.a [p. 63]
Of excesse in apparell.	33.b [p. 64]
In peace looke for vvarre.	34.b [p. 65]
Of excesse in buildings.	35.a [p. 66]
Hovv the alteration of the coyne shoulde bee most losse to the Prince.	35.b [p. 67]
Whether all our Woolle vvere expedient to be foulded ouer vnvvrought.	36.b [p. 69]
Myfteries are to be increased rather then minished.	37.a [p. 69]
Of three forts of Myfteries.	37.b [p. 71]
One bringeth out our treasure.	37.b [p. 71]
Another spendeth that they get in the same countrey again.	38.a [p. 71]

The thirde forte bringeth in treasure, and therefore most to bee chearished.	38.a [p. 71]
Myfteries doe inriche countreys that be els barren.	38.b [p. 72]
Alliaunces vvith fraungers are to be purchafed and kept.	39.a [p. 72]
Whether great Armyes vvere as necessary here as in Fraunce.	39.a [p. 73]
A lesse grieve vvould not be holpen vvith a greater fore.	39.b [p. 74]
The common grieues.	40.b [p. 75]
The originall caufe in euery thing is to be fearched.	41.a [p. 76]
Diuerse sortes of causes there be.	41.b [p. 76]
Hovve one thing is cause of the other, & that of the third.	42.a [p. 77]
The fraungers aunfwere touching this dearth.	42.b [p. 78]
That the alteration of the coyne vv as the very cause of the dearth, and consequently of other griefes vv which fol- lowed.	43.b [p. 80]
Hovv Inclosures might be remedied.	46.a [p. 84]
Of tovvnes decayed.	47.b [p. 86]
The occasion of the decay of tovvnes.	48.a [p. 87]
That arte is to be most cheriffed in a tovvne, that bringeth most to the tovvne.	49.a [p. 88]
Tovvnes are enryched vvith some one trade.	49.a [p. 89]
The occasion of fyfines in matters of Religion.	51.a [p. 92]
The faults on the parte of the laytye.	53.b [p. 96]
Hovv these fyfines might be remedied.	54.b [p. 98]
The byshop of Rome is no indifferent man.	55.a [p. 98]

the table of
the third di-
logue.



FINIS.

A Briefe conceipte touching
THE COMMON WEALE
OF THIS REALME
OF ENGLAND.

[Fol. 1]



*C*ONSIDERING THE diuerſe and ſundry complaints of our countreimen in theſe our daies, touching the great alteration of this common wealth, within the compaſſe of theſe few yeres lately paſt, I thought good at this time to ſet downe ſuch probable diſcourſe for the occaſion hereof, as I haue hearde oftentimes vttered by men of ſounde learnyng and deepe iudgement. And albeit I am not one to whome the conſideration and reformation of the ſame doth eſpecially belong; yet, knowing my ſelfe to bee a Member of the ſame Common weale, and to further it by all the wayes that poſſibly I may, I cannot reckon and account my ſelfe a meere ſtraunger to this matter; no more than a man that were in a Shippe, which being in daunger of wracke, might ſay, that becauſe he is not (percaſe) the maiſter or Pylate of the ſame, the daunger thereof doth pertayne nothing at all to him. Therefore, hauinge nowe ſuffycient leaſure from other buſineſſe, mee thought I coulde not apply my ſtudy to a better end then to publiſhe & make relation of ſuch matters as I haue hearde thoroughly diſputed herein.

No man is ſtraunger to the common-weale he is in.

Fiſt, what thinges men are moſt grieued with; than, what ſhould bee the occaſion of the ſame; And that knowne, how ſuch greues may bee taken away, and the ſtate of the Common weale reformed agayne. And albeit yee might well ſay, that there be men of greater wittes then I, that haue that matter in charge, yet Fooles (as the Prouerbe is) ſometimes ſpeake to the purpoſe: and, as many heads, ſo many wittes; and therefore Princes, though they bee neuer ſo wyſe themſelues, (as our moſt excellent Prynce is,) yet the wiſer that they be, the moe counſellers they will haue, (as our noble and gracious Queene doth daily make choyſe of more,) for that that one cannot

[2 Fol. 1, back]

perceauē, another doth discouer; the giftes of wits be so diuerse, that some excelles in Memory, some in Inuention, some in Iudgement, some at *the* first sight ready, & some after long consideration; & though each of these by them selues do not seuerally make perfitt the matter, yet when euery man bryngs in his gyfte, a meane witted man may of all these (the best of euery mans deuise being gathered together) make, as it were, a pleasaunt and perfect Garlonde, to adorne and Decke his head with all. Therefore, I would not onely haue learned men, whose Iudgements I would wythe to bee cheyfly esteemed herein; but also Marchaunt men, Huibandmen, & Artificers, which in their callinges are taken wyse, freely suffered, yea, and proouoked to tell their Aduyses in this matter. For some poyntes in their feates they may disclofe, that the wyfett in a Realme cannot vnfolde againe. And it is a Maxime, or a thinge receyued as an infallible verity among all men, that euery man is to bee credited in that Arte that hee is most exercysed in. For did not *Apelles*, that excellent Paynter, confider, *that* when hee layde forth his fyne Image of *Venus* to bee seene of euery man *that* past by, to the intent, he hearing euery mans iudgement in his owne Arte, might alwayes amend that was a myse in his worke, whose Censures hee allowed, so longe as they kept them within their owne Faculties, and tooke not vppon them to meddle *with* an other mans Arte; so, percase, I may be aunswered as hee was, yet I refuse not that, if I passe ¹my compasse; but, for as much as most of this matter contayneth Pollicy, or good gouernment of a common weale, beinge a Member of Philosophy moral, wherein I haue somewhat studied, I shall bee so bolde with my cowntreymen, who I doubt not will construe euery thinge to the best, as to vtter my poore and simple concept herein, which I haue gathered out of the talke of diuers and fundry notable men that I haue hearde reason on this matter; and though I should herein, percase, moue some thinges that were openlye not to bee touched, as in such cases of disceptacion is requisite, yet, hauinge respect to what ende they bee spoken, I trust they can offend no man; for harde were it to heale a soare that a man woulde not haue opened to his Phyfition, nor yet a surfet that a man woulde not declare the occasion thereof. Therefore, now to goe to the matter, vppon boldnesse of your good acceptation, that kinde of reasoning seemeth to mee best for boultinge out of the

Of many
reades is gathered a perfect counsell.

That euery
man is to be
credited in
his owne
arte.

[Fol 2]

Why the
Booke is
made by
way of Dialogue.

truth, which is vsed by waye of Dialogues, or colloquyes, where reafons bee made too and froe, as well for the matter intended, as agaynst it. I thought best to take that way in the discourse of this matter, which is, first in recounting the common and vniuerfall grieues that men complayne on now a dayes; secondly, in boulting out the verye causes and occasions of them; thirdly and finally, in deuifinge of remedies for all the same. Th^e refore, I will declare vnto you what communication a Knight had betweene him & certayne other persons of late, about this matter, which, because it happened betwene such persons as were Members of euery state *that* finde themfelues grieved now a dayes, I thoughte it not meete to bee forgotten, to lett you vnderstand that *the* persons were these: A Knight, as I sayde first, a Martchaunt man, a Doct^r, a Husbandman, and a Craftes man. And first, the Knight rehearsed *the* communication in this manner en-
fuinge:—

The *summe* of
the whole
Booke.

Fol. 2, back]

THE FIRST DIA- LOGVE.

Knighte.



After I and my Fellowes, the Iustices of peace of this Comminalty, had the other day declared the Quenes highnes commiſſion touching diuers matters, & geuen the charge to the enqueſt; I, being both weary of the heate of the people & noyſe of the ſame, thought to ſteale to a friendes houſe of myne in the towne, which ſelles Wyne, to the intent to eate a morſell of meate, for I was then faſting, taking with me an honeſt huſbandman, whom, for his honeſt and good diſcretion, I loued very well; whither, as we were comne, & had but ſkant ſit downe in a cloſe Parloure, there comes me in a Marchaunte man of that city, a man of eſtimation and ſubſtaunce, and requires the ſayde Huſbandman to goe and dyne with him; nay, (quoth I) hee wil not, I truſt, now forſake my company, though he ſhould fare better with you.

Marchaunt.

Than (quoth the marchaunt man) I will ſend home for a paſty of Veniſon that I haue there, & for a friend of mine, and a neighbor, that I had bid to dinner, and wee ſhalbe ſo bolde as to make merry with-all heere in your company; & as for my gueſt, hee is no ſtraunger vnto you neyther. And, therefore, both he of yours, & you of his company, I truſt wilbe the gladder.

Knight.

Who is it?

Marchaunt.

Doctour *Pandotheus*.

Knight.

Is he ſo? on my fayth, he ſhalbe hartely welcome, for of him we ſhal haue ſome good communication and wiſe, for he is noted a learned and a wiſe man. And immediately the Marchaunt ſendes for him, and he comes vnto vs, & bryn'geth wyth him an honeſt man, a Capper of the ſame towne, who came to ſpeake with the ſayd Marchaunt; than, after ſalutations had (as yee knowe the maner is) betweene me and maiſter Doctour, and renewinge olde acquayntaunce,

[x Fol. 3]

which had bene longe before betweene vs, we fat all downe; and when we had eate somewhat to satisfie the sharpnesse of our stomackes,

On my fayth, quoth the Doctor to me, yee make much a doe, Doctor. you that be Iustices of the peace of euerie Countrey, in fitting vpon Commissions almost weekly, and in causinge poore men to appear before you, and leauinge theyr husbandry vnlookte to at home.

Surely it is so. Yet the prince must be serued, and the common- Knight. weale, for God and *the* prince haue not sent vs the poore lyuings that we haue, but to doe seruice therefore abroad amonges our Neyghbours.

It is well if yee take it so, for nature hath grafted that perswasion Doctor. in you, and all other that followes the cleare light of Nature. As learned men haue remembred, saying, we be not borne onely to our selues, but partely to the vse of our Countrey, of our Parentes, of our Plato. Kinffolkes, and partly of our Friendes and Neyghbours; and, therefore, all good vertues are graffed in vs naturally, whose effects be to doe good to other, wherein we shewe forth *the* Image of God and Cicero. man, whose property is euer to doe good to other, and to distribute his goodnesse abroad, lyke no Nygarde nor enuyous of any. Other creatures, as they resemble nothing of that godly Image, so they study no common vtility of other, but onely the conseruation of them selues, and propagation of their owne kynde. Wherefore, if we looke to be reckned most vnylike them, being most vyle, and lykest to God, being most excellent, let vs study to doe good to other, not preferring the ease of this Carkasse, which is like the Brute beastes, but rather the virtues of *the* minde, wherein we be lyke God him selfe.

That men are not borne to themselues onely.

¹Then, (sayd *the* Husbandman) for all your paynes, (meaning by me) & all oures also, I would yee had neuer worfe Commissions in hand then this is. So wee had lost more dayes workes at our Husbandry then this.

Husband.
[1 Fol. 3, back]

Why so?

Knight.

Mary, for these Inclosures doe vndoe vs all; for they make vs to pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, & causes that we can haue no lande in manner for our money to put to Tyllage; all is taken vp for Pasture; for Pasture eyther for Sheepe, or for Grafsinge of Cattell; in so much that I haue knowne of late a dozen ploughes, within lesse compasse then fixe Myles about mee, layde downe within this feuen

Husband.

Complaynt of Inclosures by Husbandmen.

yeares; and where three score persons or vpward had their liuings, now one man with his Cattell hath all, which thinge is not the least cause of former vprores; for, by these Inclosures many doe lacke lyuings, and be ydle, & therefore for very necessity they are desirous of a chaunge, beinge in hope to come thereby to somewhat, and well assured that howe so euer it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before; more ouer, all things are so deere, that by their day wages they are not able to lyue.

Capper.

Complaynt of
dearth of vit-
tayle by Arti-
ficers.

I haue well *the* experience thereof, for I am fayne to geue my Iourneimen two pence in a day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they say they cannot sufficiently liue thereon. And I know, for truth, that the best husbände of them can saue but litle at the yeares end; and by reason of such dearth as yee speake of, wee, that are Artificers, are able to keepe but fewe or no Prentizes, like as wee were wont to doe; and, therefore, Cityes which were heretofore well inhabited and wealthy (as yee know euery one of you) are now, for lacke of occupiers, fallen to great pouerty and desolation.

Marchaunt.
[2 Fol. 4]

Complaynt of
townes by
Marchaunt men
& of all other
common ease-
ments.

So bee the most part of all *the* townes of England, Lon^don onely except; and not onely the good townes are sore decayed in there Howses, Walles, Streates, and other buildinges, but also the countrey in their high wayes & Brydges; for such pouerty rayneth euery where, that few men haue so much to spare, as they may geue any thing to the reparation of such wayes, brydges, and other common easements; and, albeit there bee many thinges layde downe now which before time were occasions of much expences, as Maygames, Wakes, Reuels, wagers at shooting, wrestling, running, and throwing the stone or barre, & besides that, Pardons, Pylgrimages, Offrings, and many such other thinges, yet I perceyue wee bee neuer the wealthier, but rather poorer; whereof it is longe, I cannot well tell, for there is such a generall dearth of all thinges, as before .xx. or .xxx. yeares hath not bene the like, not onely of thinges growinge within this Realme, but also of all other Marchaundize that wee buy from beyond the Sea, as Sylkes, Wynes, Oyles, Woode, Madder, Yron, Steele, Waxe, Flaxe, Linnen cloth, Fustians, Worsteddes, Couerlets, Carpets, and all Hearfes, & Tapestry, Spices of all sort; and al Haberdasher ware, as Paper, both white & browne; Glasfes, aswell drinckinge and looking, as for glasinge of Windowes; Pinnes, Needles, Kniues, Dag-

Many superstitious
charges
layde downe
and yet neuer
the more plenti-
ty.

Dearth of out-
warde Mar-
chaundize.

gers, Hats, Cappes, Broches, Buttons, and Laces. I wot well all these doe cost nowe more by the thyrde parte than they did but fewe yeares agoe; than, all kinde of Viçtayle are as deere, or dearer agayne, & no cause of Gods parte thereof, as farre as I can perceauē, for I neuer sawe more plenty of Corne, grasse, and Cattell of all sortes, than wee haue at this present, and haue had (as yee know) all these twenty yeares passed continually, thanked bee our Lorde God; if these Inclosures were cause thereof, or any other thinge els, it were pity but they might be remooued.

Dearth of all kinde of vit-tayle.

Synce yee haue plenty of all thinges, of Corne & Cat^ltell, (as yee say) then it should not seeme this dearth should be longe of these Inclosures, for it is not for scarcenesse of Corne *that* yee haue this dearth, for, thanked bee God, Corne is good cheape, and so hath bene these many yeares past continually. Than it cannot bee the occasion of the dearth of Cattell, for Inclosure is the thing that nourisheth most of any other; yet I confesse there is a wonderfull dearth of all thinges, and that do I, and all men of my sorte, feele most greife in, which haue no way to sell, or occupation to lyue by, but onely our laudes. For you all three,—I meane you, my neyghbour the husbandman, you, maister Mercer, and you, goodman Capper, with other Artificers,—may saue your selues meetely well. Forasmuch as all thinges are deerer then they were, so much doe you aryse in the pryce of your wares and occupations *that* yee sell agayne. But we haue nothing to sell, whereby we might aduaunce *the* pryce thereof to counterualue those things that we must buy agayne.

Knighte.

[1 Fol. 4, back]

That inclosures be not the cause of this dearth.

That Gentlemen feele most grieue by this dearth.

Yes, yee rayse the price of your Landes, and yee take Fermes also and pastures to your hands (which was wont to bee poore mens lyuings, such as I am), and haue geuen ouer to liue onely vpon your Landes.

Husband.

On my soule, yee say truth (quoth the Marchaunte), and the Capper also sayd no lesse; adding thereto, that it was neuer merry with poore Crafts men since Gentlemen became Grasers; for they cannot now a dayes (sayde he) finde theyr Prentizes and seruantes meate and drynke, but it cost them almost double asmuch as did before time; wherefore, where many of myne occupation and other like, heretofore haue dyed rych men, and bene able to leaue honestly

[Capper]

The complainyt of craftes men against Gentlemen for taking of Fermes.

behynde them for theyr Wyfe and Children; and besides *that*, leaue some notable bequestes for some good deede, as to *the* making of Brydges, & repaying of high wayes, all which thinges goe to wracke now euery where. Also, some were wont to buy Land, eyther for to helpe the poore beginners ¹of th'occupations, yea, some time they had such superfluity as they could ouer such bequestes leaue an other Portion to finde a Pryste, or to founde a Chauntry in some parishe Church; and now we are skant able to liue without debt, or to keepe few seruauents, or none, except it be one Prentiz or two. And therefore the Iourneymen, what of our occupations, and what of Clothyers, and all other occupations, being forced to be without worke, are *the* most parte of these rude people that maketh these vprores abroad, to the great disquiet, not onely of the Queenes highnes, but also of her people. And neede (as yee knowe) hath no booty.

[1 Fol. 5]

The craftes-
mans complaynt
that he cannot
set men a vvorke
for the Dearth
of victayle.

Marchaunt.

It is true, yee knowe likewise what other notable acts men of myne occupation haue done in this City. Before this, yee knowe the hospitall at the townes ende, wherein the freemen decaied are releaued, how it was founded, not longe agoe, by one of our occupation, supposing therby *that* the city should be much releaued, which then was in some decay; and yet it decayeth still euery day more and more; whereof it should be longe, I cannot well tell.

Knight.

Syr, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not *without* cause, so it is as true that I and my sorte, I meane all Gentlemen, haue as greate, yea, and farre greater cause to complayne then any of you haue; for, as I sayd, nowe that the pryces of thinges are so ryfen of all handes, you may better lyue after your degree then wee, for you may and do rayse the pryce of your wares, as the prises of vittayles, & other your necessaries doe ryse; and so cannot we so much, for though it bee true that of such landes as come to our handes, eyther by purchase, or by determination, and ending of such termes of yeares, or other Estates, that I or mine auncestors had graunted them in time past: I doe eyther receyue a better fine than of olde was vsed; or enhaunse the rent thereof, being forced thereto for *the* charge of my houlholde that is so encreased ouer that it was; yet in all my ²life time I looke not that the thyrde parte of my lande shall come to my disposition, that I may enhaunce the rent of the same, but it shalbe in mens holding, either by leases, or by copy graunted before my time,

The Gentle-
mans complaynt
how he can-
not keepe lyke
countenance
as he vvas
wvont to doe.

[2 Fol. 5, back]

and still continuing, and yet like to continue in the same state for the most part during my life, and perchance my Sonnes; so as we cannot rayse all our wares, as you may yours, and as me thinketh it were reason we did; and by reason that we cannot, so many of vs (as yee know) that haue departed out of *the* countrey of late, haue bene driuen to giue ouer our houshoulds, and to keepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court, vncalled, with a man and a Lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe halfe a score of cleane men in his house, and xx. or xxiii. other persons besides, euery day in the weeke; and such of vs as doe abide in the countrey still, cannot with two hundred li. a yeaere keepe that house *that* we might haue don with CC. markes but xvi. yeaeres past. And thearefore we are forced, either to minishe the third part of our househoule, or to raise the thirde part of our reuenewes; and for that wee cannot so doe of our owne landes, that is allreadye in the hands of other men, many of vs are enforced, either to keepe peeces of our owne Landes when they fall in our owne possession, or to purchase some Farme of other mens landes, and to store it with sheepe, or some other cattell, to help to make vp the decay of our reuenewes, and to maintayne our oulde estate with all, and yet all is litle ynough.

Why Gentle-
men doe geue
ouer their
housholdes.

Why Gentle-
men doth take
Farmes into
their handes

Yea, those sheepe is the cause of all these mischieues, for they haue driuen husbandry out of the countrey, by *the* which was increased before all kinde of victuals; & now all together, sheepe, sheepe, sheepe. It was farre better when there were not onely sheepe ynough, but also Oxen, Kine, fwyn, Pig, Goose, & Capon, Egges, Butter & Cheefe; yea, and breade Corne, and Malte corne ynough, besides, reared alltogether vpon the same lande.

Husband.

Complaint a-
gainst sheepe.

Then the Doctor, *that* had leaned on his Elbowe all this ¹while musing, fat vp and sayd, I perceaued by you all three, that there is none of you but haue iust cause to complaine.

Doctor.
[1 Fol. 6]

No, by my troth, except it be you, men of *the* church, which trauaile nothing for your lyuinge, and yet haue inough

Capper.

Yee say troth in dede, we haue leaft cause to complaine: yet yee know well, we be not so plentious as we haue bene, the first fruits & tenthes are deducted of our liuings; yet of the rest we might liue well ynough, if we might haue quietnes of minde & conscience withall. And, albeit we labour not much with our bodies (as yee say,) yet yee

Doctor.

The Doctors
complaynt for
men of his
calling.

know we labour *with* our mindes, more to *the* weaking of *the* same then by any other bodily exercife we should do, as we may well perceue by our complexions, how wan our colour is, how faint and sickly be our bodies, & all for lacke of bodily exercife.

Capper.

Complaynt a-
gainst learned
men.

Mary, I woulde if I were of *the* Queenes counsell, prouide for you well a fine, so as you should neede take no diseafe for lacke of exercife; I woulde fet you to the Plough and Carte, for the deuill a whit of good yee doe with your studies, but fet men together by the Eares, some with this opinion, & some with that, some holding this way, & some an other; and *that* so fitly, as though the troth must be as they say, that haue *the* vpper hand in contention; & this contention is not also *the* least cause of former vprores of *the* people, some holding of *the* one learning, & some of *the* other. In my minde it made no matter, though we had no learned men at all.

Knight.

[*2 orig. house*]

God forbid, neighbour, that it should be so; how should the Prynce haue counsailers then; how should we haue christian religion taught vs; how shoul[d] we know *the* estats of other realmes, & haue¹ conferenc[e] *with* them of al contries, except it were throug[h] learning, & by *the* benefit of Letters?

Doctor.

Care not therefore, goodman capper; yee shall haue few ynough of learned men *within* a while, if this world hold on.

Capper.

[*2 Fol. 6, back*]

I meane not but I would haue men to learne to wryt & reade, yea, & to learne *the* languages vsed in countreies about vs, *that* we might write our mindes to them, & they to vs; yea, and *that*² wee might reade *the* holy scriptures in our mother tongue; & as for your preaching (except yee agree better), it made no matter howe litle wee had of it, for of dyuersity thereof cometh these diuerstities of opinions.

Doctor.

Why learning
should be like
to decay here-
after.

Then yee care for no other sciences at all, but the knowledge of tongues, and to wryte & reade; and so it appeares well that yee be not alone of that mynde, for nowe a dayes, when men sendes their sonnes to *the* Uniuersties, they suffer them no longer to tary there, then they may haue a litle of the latin tongue; & then they take them away, & beftow them to be Clarkes with some man of Lawe, or some Auditor and Receyuer, or to be a Secretary with some great man or other, and so to come to a lyuing, whereby the Uniuersties be in maner emptied, and as I thinke will be occasion that this Realme within a shorte space will be made as empty of wile and polittique

men, and consequently barbarous, and at the last thrall and subiect to other Nations whereof wee were Lordes before.

God forbid that we that bee Gentlemen shoulde not with our pollicy in warre, prouide that we come not in subiection of any other nation; and the stoutnesse of Englyshe heartes will neuer suffer that, though there were no learned men in the Realme at all. Knight.

Well, an empyre or a Kingdome is not so much won or kept by the manhode and force of men, as it is by wisedome and policy, which is gotten chiefly by learning; for wee see in all kindes of gouernance, for the most parte, the wyser sorte haue the soueraygnty ouer the rude & vnlearned, as in euery house the most expert, in euery City the wisest & most sage, and in euery common weale the most learned, are most commonly placed to gouerne the rest; yea, among all nations of the worlde they that be polytique and ciuile doe mayster the rest, though their forces be inferior to the other. The Empyres of the Greekes & Romaines ¹ doe declare that, among whom, like as learning and wisedome was most esteemed, so the Empyres were spread widest, and longest did continue of all other. And, why should you thinke it straunge, that you might more be vanquished than the other were before time, that reckened themselues as stout men as you be, yea, dwellers of this realme, as the Saxons last were by the Normands, and the Romaines by the Saxons afore that, & the Brytons by the Romaines fyrst of all. Doctor.

Whether a common vveale may be vvell gouerned wvithout learning.

[² Fol. 7]

That the learned haue alway the soueraignty ouer the vnlearned.

There may bee wyse men ynough, though they bee not learned. I haue knowne diuerse men very wise & politique, that know neuer a letter on the booke; and contrary wise, as many other learned men that haue bene very Idiots in maner for any worldly pollicy that they had. Knight.

I deny not that, but I say that if such wyse men as yee speake of had learninge to their wits, they had bene more excellent. And the other, that yee call so simple, had bene foolyshe if they had had no learninge at all. Exerctise in warres maketh not euery man meete to bee a Captayne, though hee trauayle in it neuer so longe; nor there is no other so apt for the warre, but with experience and vse he is made more perfit; for what maketh olde men commonly more wise than the younger sorte, but their greater experience? Doctor.

Yea, experience helpeth much the wit of men, I confesse. But what doth learning thereto? Knight.

Doctor.

That learning
supplieth the
lacke of expe-
rience, & that
experience is
the father of
Wysesdome.

[¹ Fol. 7, back]

[² orig. fifty]

[³orig. Cosmo-
graphy]

[⁴Fol. 8]

If yee graunt mee that experience doth help, then I doubt not but yee will graunt mee anon, that learninge doth also help much to the increase of wisdom; let *that*, then, be set for a sure grounde that experience doth further wisdom, & take it as it were *the* father of wisdom, & memory to be *the* mother. For, like as experience doth beget wisdom as a father, so memory nourisheth it as a mother; for in vaine shoulde experience be had, if *the* same were not kept in remembrance. Then if I can shew you that both experience and also memory are holpen and furthered by learninge, then yee must needs graunt me, that learning furthers wit and increaseth it; yee confesse the experience of an olde man maketh him wiser than the younge, because hee sawe mo things then the other. But an olde man seeth but onely things of his owne time, & the learned man seeth not onely his owne times experience, but also that befell in a great many of his auncestors, yea, since the worlde began. Wherefore, he must needs haue more experience then the vnlearned man, of what great age so euer he be, then so many cases as he seeth in all that time to haue happened, coulde not so well be remembered of any man, as it is kept in memory by writings; and then if the vnlearned man once forget the thinge hee sawe, hee neuer lightly remembers it againe; where as *the* learned man hath his booke alwayes to call him to remembrance of that hee should els forget. Therefore, as he that liueth a hundreth yeares must needs haue more experience then hee that liueth fifty², so hee that seeth the chaunces of the worlde as it were in a table paynted afore him of a thousand yeres, must needs haue greater experience then he that liueth but a hundreth. Also he that trauaileth many farre Countreys, hath more experience than other of like age that neuer goeth out of his natiue countrey. So he that is learned, seeth by Cosmography³, hystories, and other learnings, the right maner & vſage of euery countrey in the world, yea, of many moe then is possible for one man to trauaile through, and of these *that* he trauaileth much better, doth he learne there by small taryng, then the other (by longer experience) that are all together and wholly vnlearned, and consequently more wit, being in capacity and memory both els equipolent; & now I am forced to consider the maruylous gyftes that we haue by learning, that is, how learning supplyeth vnto man the greateſt lack *that* some Wryters haue complayned of, to be

in man kinde, that is, the breuity of Age, the groſſeneſſe & wayght of body: where in the firſt, diuerſe beaſtes, as Hartes and many other, and in the laſt all Byrdes, doe excell man; for where it is deemed man to liue aboue a hundreth yeares or theare aboutes, by the benefite of learning, he hath the commoditie of the life of a thowſand yeares; yea, two or three thowſandes, by reaſon hee ſeeth *the* euent and occurents of all that time by Bookes. And if he ſhould haue liued him ſelfe by all that ſpace, then coulde he haue had nothinge els to his commodity, but that experience of things, the reſt had bene but trauayle; which experience he hath nowe by letters, and without any trauayle in manner at all, and without the daungers that he might him ſelfe haue bene in, if hee had liued by all that ſpace. As to the other poynte, that wee be not ſo agill and light as fowles & Byrdes of the Ayre bee, as that wee might ſturre from on place to an other, wee haue the commodity through learning that wee ſhould purchaſe by ſuch Peregrinations, as well as wee ſhould if wee might flee from one Countrey to an other like Byrdes, and yet with leſſe trauayle and daunger. May wee not through Coſmography ſee the ſituation, temperature, and qualities of euery Countrey in the Worlde, yea, better and with leſſe trauayle then if wee might flee ouer them our ſelues; for that that many other haue learned through their great trauayles & daungers, they haue left to vs to be learned with eaſe & pleaſure. Can wee not¹ allſo through the ſcience of Aſtronomy knowe the courſe of the Planettes aboue, and theyre coniunctions and Aſpectes, as certaynely as if wee were amonge them? yes, ſurely that wee may: for tell mee, how came all *the* learned men heare to fore to the exacte and perfit knowledge thereof? came they not to it by conference & marking of circumſtances? (yes in deede), ſo *that* out of their writings we learned it; ²and to the knowledge whereof by fight onely wee could neuer attayne, though wee were as agill as any Byrde. What is there els profitable or neceſſary for the coniunct of mans life heare in earth, but in learning it is taughte more perfectly and more compleate than any man can learne onely by experience all dayes of his life? no not ſo much as your Feate in warre, ſir Knight, no, nor your Feate, good Huſbandman, but that either of them are ſo exactly taught and ſet forth in learning, as that neither of you, both though yee be neuer ſo perfect in the ſaid Feates but might learne many poyntes

The vvonder-
full gyftes that
vve haue by
learning.

[¹ orig. non]

[² Fol. 8, back]

That there is
no faculty but
is made more
perfect by
learning.

moe than euer yee saw before, by experience in either of them, as you, fir Knight, in *Vigeti*us, and you, good Husbandman, in *Columella*.

Knight.

I say agayne, might wee not haue that in our English tongue, & reade them ouer, though we neuer went to schole?

Doctor.

Yea, well ynough, and yet shoulde yee bee farre from the perfect vnderstanding of them, except yee had the help of other sciences, that is to say, of Arithmetique, in disposing and ordering your men; and Geometry, in deuising of Engines to winne Townes and Fortresses, & of Brydges to passe ouer, in the which *Cæsar* excelled other by reason of the learning that hee had in those sciences, and did wonderfull feates which an vnlearned man coulde neuer haue done; and if yee had warre ouer the Sea, howe coulde yee knowe towards what Coastes yee be Sea dryuen, without knowledge of the latitude of the place by the Poale, and the length, by other starres? and you, good husband, for the perfection of the knoweledge of husbandry, had neede of some knoweledge in Astronomy, as vnder what aspect of the Planets, and in the entry of what signe by the Sunne & Moone, it is time to Eare, to Dounge, to Sowe, to Reape, to Set, to Graffe, to Cut your Wood, your Timber; yea, to haue some iudgment of the Weather that is like to come, for Inning of your Corne and Grasse, and houseinge of your ¹Cattell; yea, of some part of Phisick, called *Veterinaria*,² where by yee might knowe the diseases of your Beastes, & heale them. Then, for true measuring of lande, had yee not neede of some knoweledge in Geometry, to bee a perfit husband? Then for building, what Carpenter or Mason is so cunning or expert, but hee might learne more by readinge of *vitruuius*, and other wryters of *Architecture*, that is to say, the science of building? and to passe ouer the sciences of Logicke & Rhetorique, whereof the first trauayleth about the discufcion of the true reason from the false, the other aboute the perswasion of that is to be set forth to the people, as a thinge to them profitable and expedient, whereof a good and perfit counsaylor might want neyther; well, tell mee what counsayl can bee perfit, what common weale can bee well ordered vprighte, where none of the Rulers or Counsaylors haue studied any Philosophy, specially the parte that teacheth of manners, (the other part of Philosophy I passe ouer now, which teacheth of natures, and is called phisicke,) what part of the common weale is neglected by Philosophy morall? doth it not teache,

Howe Cæsar
excelled all o-
ther capitaines
by reason of
his great learn-
ing ioyned
vvith his pro-
vvesse.

[¹ Fol. 9]

[² orig. *Veteri-
maria*.]

That knowv-
ledge in moral
philosophy is
most necessary
for Counsayl-
lor.

first, how euery man shoulde gouerne him selfe honestly; Secondly, how he shoulde guide his family wisely and profitably? And thirdly, it sheweth how a Cyty or a Realme, or any other common weale shoulde bee well ordered and gouerned, both in time of peace, and also warre. What common weale can bee without either a Gouverner, or Counfaylors, that shoulde bee expert in this kinde of learning; this confirmeth the poynt that wee now talke of; [if] men experte in this Science were consulted and followed, the commen weale shoulde bee ordered, as fewe should haue cause to complayne; therefore sayd *Plato*, that diuine Philosopher, that happy is that Commonweale where either *the* Prince is a Phylosopher, or where a Philosopher is the Prince. Plato.

I had weened before, that there had bene no other learⁿinge in the world, but that these men had, that be Doctors of Diuinity, or of the Lawe, or of Phisicke; whereof the first had all his cunning in Preaching, the second in matters of the spirituall lawe, and the third in phisicke, & in looking on diseased mens water; mary, yee tell me now of many other sciences, very necessary for euery common weale, which I neuer heard of before: but eyther there be fewe of these Doctors that can skill of them, or els they disclose but litle of their cunning. Knight.
[Fol 9, back]

Of truth there be to fewe of them that can skill of these sciences now a dayes, and of those there be too fewe of them that are esteemed any thing the more for their knowledge therein, or called for to any counsell. And therefore others, seeing these Sciences nothing esteemed or set by, they fall to those sciences that they see in some pryce, as to Diuinity, to the Lawe, and to Phisicke; though they cannot bee perfit in any of these, without the knowledge of the sciences aboue touched; and therefore it is ordayned by Uniuersties, that first men shoulde bee Bachelers and Masters of Artes, ere they shoulde come to Diuinity; and these Artes bee the seuen liberall sciences, as Grammer, Logique, Rhetorique, Arithmetique, Geometry, Musicke, and Astronony; and now they skip ouer them, and fall to Diuinity by and by, before they haue gotten or purchafed them any iudgment through the forefayd sciences, which maketh them to fall to these diuersities of Opinions that ye speake of; for all beginners in euery science be very quicke and ouer-hasty in geuing their iudgment of thinges (as expe Doctor.

What maketh
learned men to
be so fesse.

Younge studi-
ents bee all-
vvaies ouer
hasty in vte-
nering their iudg-
ments.

Pythagoras commaunded silence to his disciples for a time.

[¹ Fol. 10]

Plato commaunded that no man ignorant in Geometry should enter his schoole.

What harme may come if they bee suffered to iudge in things to Whom it doth not appertayne.

That it is not learninge sufficient, to knowe the tongues, & to vvyrite.

[² Fol. 10, back]

rience teacheth euery man); & then, when they haue once vttered their iudgmentes & opinions, they will see nothing that will founde contrary to the same, but eyther they will continue it to their owne phantasy, or vtterly deny it to be of any authority. *Pythagoras*, to his scholers *that* came to learne his prophane sciences, commaunded silence for feuen yeares, that by all *that* space they should be hearers onely, and no reasoners: and ¹in this Diuine science, euery Boye that hath not red scripture past halfe a yeare, shalbe suffered, not onely to reason and enquire of things, (for that were tollerable), but to affirme newe and straunge interpretacions vpon the same, neuer heard of before. What ende of Opinions can there bee while this is suffered? Alſo *Plato* forbad any man to come to his schoole that was ignorant in Geometry; and to this highe schoole of Dyunity, he that knoweth not his Grammer, much lesse any other science, shall be admitted at the first; I say not to learne, for that might bee suffered, but to iudge; and there commeth in the thinge, that the same *Plato* sayeth to bee an onely cause sufficient to ouerthrowe a whole Common weale where it is vsed, that is, when they take on them the iudgment of things to whom it doth not apertayne,—as youth, of thinges belonginge to olde men, children ouer their fathers, seruauents ouer their maisters, and priuate men ouer their Maiestrates; what Ship can bee longe safe from wracke, where euery man will take vpon him to bee a Pylate? what house well gouerned, where euery seruauent will bee a maister and a teacher? I speake thus much of the commendation of learninge, not onely because I heard my freind heere (the Capper) set litle by learninge, but also that I see many nowe a dayes of his opinion, which care nothinge for any other knowledge, but onely that they may wryte and reade, and learne *the* tongues; whom I can refemble well to those men that esteemeth more the Barke then the Tree, the Shale more then the Kyrnell; wherefore, they seeme to take the bright Sunne from *the* Earth, that would take away learninge from vs; for the same is no more necessary for the increase of all thinges on earth, then is learninge for the increase of Ciuility, Wifedome, and Policy amonge men. And asmuch as reasonable men doe excell all other creatures by *the* gyft of Reason, so much excelleth a learned man ²any other, through the polishing and adorning of Reason by these Sciences

Of my fayth, I am glad it was my chaunce to haue you in my Knight.
company at this time, for of a wise man a man may alwayes learne.
But mee thought yee sayde lately to my neighbour the Capper, that
wee should haue learned men few ynough within a while, if *the*
world did continue. What ment yee thereby, and what should be *the*
cause thereof?

I shewed you all ready one great cause of the same; that was, Doctor.
where I shewed you that most men were of that opinion, that they
thought learning ynough to write & reade; another cause is, *that* Why learning
they see no preferment ordered for learned men, nor yet any honour should decay.
or estimation geuen them, like as hath bene in time past. But rather
the contrary, *the* more learned, the more troubles, losses, & vexations
they come vnto.

God forbid! How so?

Knight.

Mary! haue you not seene how many learned men haue bene put Doctor.
to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares, & all for declaring
their opinions in thinges that haue ryfen in controuersie? haue you
not knowne when one Opinion hath bene set forth, and who so
euer sayd against that were put to trouble; and shortly after, when
the contrary opinion was furthered and set forth, were not the other
that prospered before, put to trouble, for saying their mindes against
this latter opinion? & so neither of both parties escaped, but eyther first
or last hee came to bee hit, of whether side soeuer hee were, except it
were some weatherwise fellowes, that coulde chaunge their opinions
as *the* more & stronger part did chaunge theirs; and what were they
that came to these troubles? the singularest fellowes of both parties;
for there came no other to the concertacion of these things, but such,
who seeing in steede of honour and preferment, dishonour and hin-
derrance, recompensed for a reward of ¹learning; will any either [¹ Fol. 12]
put his childe to that science that may bring him no better fruite than
this? or, what scholer shall haue any courage to ²study to come to [² orig. co]
that ende? the rarity of scholers and solitude of the Uniuersities doe
declare this to be truer then any man with speach can declare.

Then, I perceauie euery man findeth himselfe greeued at this time, Marchaunt.
& no man goeth cleare, as farre as I can perceauie. The Gentleman,
that hee cannot lyue on his Landes onely, as his father did before; That euery
the Artificers cannot set so many a worke, by reason all maner of
himselfe greeued.

[Debasing of
our coin.]

victayle is fo deere; the Husbandman, by reason his Lande is deerer rented then before; then we that bee Merchaunts pay much deerer for euery thing that commeth ouer sea; which great derth (I speake in compariſon of former times) hath bene alwayes, in a maner, at a stay, euer after that baseneſſe of our English Coyne, which happened in the later yeares of Kyng *Henry* the eyght.

Doctor.

That Marchauntes best saue themselves in euery alteration.

I doubt not, but if any sorte of men haue licked themselves whole, yee bee the same; for what oddes fo euer there happen to bee in exchange of thinges, yee that bee Marchaunts can espy it straight; for example, because yee touched somewhat of *that* Coyne, as soone as euer yee perceiue the price of that enhaunſed, yce by and by what was to bee wonne therein beyonde sea; raked all the olde Coyne for *the* most parte in the Realme, and founde the meanes to haue it caryed ouer, so as litle was lefte beehinde within this Realme of such olde Coyne in a very shorte space, which, in my Opyinion,¹ is a great cause of this dearth *that* hath bene since of all thinges.

Of our olde Coyne exhausted.

[*orig.* Oppinion]

Knight.

How can *that* be? what maketh it to the matter what sorte of Coyne we haue among our selues, so it be currant from one hand to another, yea, if it were made of Leather?

Doctor.

[² Fol. 11, back.]

Yea, so men commonly say, but the truth is contrary, as not onely I coulde proue by common reason, but also *the* ²prooffe & experience hath already declared the same; but now we doe not reason of the causes of these griefes, but what states of men bee griued in deede by this dearth of thinges; and albeit I heare euery man finde him selfe griued by it in one thinge or other, yet, considering *that* as many of them as haue wares to sell, doe enhaunſe as much in *the* pryce of thinges that they sell, as was enhaunſed before in the prices of thinges that they must buy; as the Marchaunt, if hee buy deere, hee will sell deere againe; so these Artificers, as Cappers, Clothiers, Shomakers, and Farmers, haue respect large ynough in sellinge their wares to the price of victayle, Wooll, & Iron, which they buy. I haue sene a Cap for xiiii. pence, as good as I can get now for ii. shillings fixe pence: of cloth yee haue heard how the price is ryfen. Now, a payre of shooes cost twelue pence, yet in my time I haue bought a better for fixe pence. Now, I can get neuer a horse shooed vnder ten pence or twelue pence, where I haue also sene the common pryce was fixe pence. I cannot, therefore, vnderstande that these men haue greateſt

Whether it make any matter of vvhatt metall the Coyne bee made of.

[Rise in prices: Cap, 1*sd.* to 3*od.*; shoes, 6*d.* to 1*s.*; horse shod, 6*d.* to 1*od.* or 12*d.*]

greife by this common and vniuerfall dearth, but rather fuch as haue their Lyuings and Stypendes rated at a certaynty, as, common Laborers at eight pence a day, Iourneymen of all occupations, feruing men to forty fhilings a yeare; and Gentlemen, whofe landes are fet out by them and their Aunceftors, either for lyues or for terme of yeares, fo as they cannot enhaunce *the* rentes thereof, though they would, and yet haue the pryce enhaunfed to them of euery thing that they buye. Yea, the Prince, of whom wee fpeake nothing of all this while, as ſhe hath moſt of yearly Reuenewes, and that certayne, fo ſhould ſhee haue moſte loſſe by this dearth, and by the alteration ſpecially of the Coyne; for, like as a man that hath a great number of ſeruaunts vnder him, if he would graunt that they ſhould pay him pinnes weekly, where before they payde him pence,¹ I thinke he ſhould be moſt looſer himſelfe; fo wee bee all but gatherers for the Prince, and of that which commeth to vs, wee haue but euery man a poore liuinge; the cleare gaynes commeth, for the moſt part, to the Prince. now if her highnes doe take of vs the ouerplus of our gettings in this baſe Coyne, I reporte me to you, wether *that* will go as farre as good Money in *the* Prouiſion of neceſſaries for her ſelfe and the Realme. I thinke plainly no, for though her grace might within this realme haue thinges at her owne price, as her grace cannot indeede without great grudge of her Maieſties ſubieſts; yea, ſince her Maieſty muſt haue from beyonde the Seas many thinges neceſſary, not onely for her graces houſhold, and Ornaments aſwel of her perſon and family as of her horſes, which percaſe might bee by her Grace ſome-what moderated; but alſo for the furniture of her warres, which by no meanes can be ſpared, as Armor of all kindes, Artillery, Ankers, Cables, Pitch, Tarre, Iron, Steele; (yea, I iudge farther) ſome Hand-gunnnes, Gunne poulder, and many other thinges, moe then I can reckon, which her Grace ſometimes doth buy from beyonde the Seas, at the prices that the ſtraungers will ſet them at. I paſſe ouer the enhaunfment of *the* charges of her Graces houſhoule, which is common to her Grace with all other noble men; therefore, (I ſay,) her Maieſtie ſhould haue moſt loſſe by this common dearth of all other; and not onely loſſe, but daunger to the Realme and all her ſubieſts, if her Grace ſhould want Treafure to purchaſe the ſaide prouiſion and neceſſaries for warre, or to finde Souldiers

What men are moſte pinched by this common Dearth.

That the Prince hath moſte loſſe by this common Dearth.

[1 Fol. 12]

What daunger ſhould it be to the Realme if the Prince ſhould vwant Treafure in time of neede.

in time of neede, which passeth all the other priuate losses that wee speake of.

Capper.

Wee heare say that the Queenes Maieftyes mint maketh vp her losses that way, by the gaires which she hath by the Mint an other way; and if that be to shorte, shee supplieth that lacke by Subsidies and impositions of her ¹Subiects, so as her Grace can haue no lacke, so longe as her Subiects haue it.

[1 Fol. 12, back]

Doctor.

Yee say well there, 'so long as the Subiects haue it,' so it is meete the Queene shoulde haue, as long as they haue it; but what, and they haue it not? for they cannot haue it when there is no Treasure left within the Realme; and as touchinge the Mint, I coumpte that profit much like, as if a man woulde take his woode vp by the rote to make the more profit thereof at one time, and euer after to lose *the* profit that might growe thereof yearly; or to pull *the* wooll of his sheepe by the roote. And as for the Subsidies, howe can they be large when the Subiects haue litle to departe with? & yet *that* way of gatheringe treasure is not allwayes most safe for the Prynces suerty; and wee see many times the profits of such Subsidies spent in the appeasing of the people that are moued to fedition, partly by occasion of the same.

Hovve the
Queenes Ma-
iesty cannot
haue Treasure
When her sub-
iects haue
none.

To vvhat pro-
fit the nevv
Mint is like.

Knighte.

Nowe that it was our chaunce to meete with so wise a man as yee be, Maister Doctor, I would wee did go thorough with *the* whole discourse of this matter, & as hetherto wee haue ensearched the very fores and grieues that euery man feeleth, so to try out the causes of them; and *the* causes once knowne, the remedy of them might be soone apparent; and though we be not the men that can reforme them, yet percase some of vs may come in place where wee may aduertise other of the same that might further and helpe forward the redresse of these thinges.

Doctor.

A Gods name, I am content to bestowe this day to satisfie your pleafurs, & though this ²communication (percase) shoulde doe no great good, yet it can doe no harme, I trust, nor offend no man, fith it is had betwene vs heere, a parte, and in good maner.

[2 orig. cōmuni-
cation]

Knight.

No, what man should be angry with him that were in an house, and espied some faulte in the Beames or Rafsters of the same, and would ensearch the default, & then certifie the good man of the house thereof, or some other dwelling therein, aswell for his owne sauegarde as for others? but, forasmuch as wee haue thus farre proceeded, as to

[3 Fol. 13]

A recapitulati-
on of the com-
mon griefes.

the findinge out of the griefes, which, as farre as I perceauē, standeth in these poynts, (that is to say) dearth of all things in comparisō of the former age, (though there be scarfenes of nothings), defolation of Countreies by Inclosures, defolation of townes for lacke of occupations and Craftes; and diuision of Opinions in matters of Religion, which haleth men to and fro, and maketh them contend one against another. Now, let vs goe to the Garden vnder the Vyne, where hauing a good, freshe, and coole fitting for vs in the shadow, there wee may proceede farther in this matter at leasure. And I will bespeake our Supper here with myne host, that wee may all suppe together. A Gods name! (quoth every one of the rest of the company), for wee are weary of fitting here so long. And so wee all departed to the Garden.

[Evils: dearth,
enclosures, lack
of work,
divisions in
religion.]

[Fol. 13, back]

THE SECOND DIA-

logue, wherein the causes or
occasions of the sayd griefes are en-
 creased

Knight.



Hen we had walked vp and downe in
 the sayd Garden a pretty whyle, I thought long
 till I had heard more of the sayde Doctors com-
 munication; for hee seemed to mee a very wise
 man, not after *the* common sort of these Clarkes,
 which can talke nothing but of the faculty that

they professe: as, if they be Deuines, of diuinity; Lawyers, of the lawe;
 & Phisitions, of phisicke onely; this man spake very naturally of euery
 thinge, as a man vniuersally seene, that had ioyned good learning with
 good wit; and therefore I desired him and the rest of our faide com-
 panions, to resorte againe to the matter that wee left at, and first
 to discourse & search out what should be *the* causes of the faide
 common and vniuersall dearth of all thinges (in comparison of the
 former age), saying to *the* Doctor thus: I maruayle much, maister
 Doctor, what should be the cause of this dearth, seeing all thinges are
 (thankes bee to God) so plentifull. There was neuer more plenty of
 Cattell *then* there is now of all sortes; and yet there is scarcify of
 thinges which commonly make dearth. This is a maruaylous dearth,
 that in such plenty commeth, contrary to his kinde.

That it is a
 maruaylous
 dearth that
 commeth in
 time of plenty.

Doctor.

Syr, it is (no doubt) a thinge to be mused vpon, and worthy of In-
 quisition; let mee heare euery one of your opinions, and than yee shall
 heare myne.

Husband,
 [Fol 14]
 The occasion
 of this dearth
 is layde to the
 Gentleman

I thinke it is longe of you, Gentlemen, that this dearth ¹groweth,
 by reason yee enhaunse your lands to such a height, as men that liue
 thereon must needs sell deare againe; or els they were neuer able to
 make their Rent.

And I say it is long of you Husbandmen, that wee are forced to
 rayse our Rents, by reason wee must buy so deare all thinges that wee
 haue of you, as Corne, Cattell, Goose, Pigge, Capon, Chiken, Butter
 and Egges. What thinge is there of all these but that yee sell it nowe
 dearer by the one halfe then yee did within these xxx. yeares? Can-
 not you, Neighbour, remember, that within these xxx. yeres, I could
 in this towne buy the best Pigge or Goose that I could lay my hand
 on for foure pence, which now costeth twelue pence; a good Capon
 for threepence or fourpence, a Chiken for i.d., a Hen for ii.d., which
 now costeth mee double & triple the money? it is likewise in greater
 ware, as Biefe & Mutton.

Knight.

From the Gen-
 tlemen it is
 layde to the
 Husbandmen.

[Great rise in
 prices lately.]

I graunt that: but I say you & your sorte, men of landes, are the
 first cause heereof, by reason you rayse your landes.

Husband.

Well, if yee and your sorte will agree thereto, *that* shalbee holpen;
 vndertake that you & your sorte will sell all thinges at the price yee
 did xxx. yeares agoe, & I doubt not to bringe all Gentlemen to lette
 vnto you their landes at *the* rent they went at xxx. yeares past; and
 that the fault is more in you that bee Husbandmen, then in vs that bee
 Gentlemen, it appeareth by this,—all the landes of the Realme are not
 enhaunfed, for some haue takings therein, as Leases, or Copies not yet
 expyred, which cannot bee enhaunfed though *the* owners would; and
 some Noblemen and Gentlemen there bee, that when their landes be
 at their disposition, yet they will enhaunce nothing aboute the olde
 rent, so as a greate parte of the landes of the Realme stand yet at the
 olde rent; and yet neuerthelesse there is none of your sorte at all, but
 selleth all things they haue, dearer then they were wont to doe by *the*
 one halfe. And yet these Gentlemen that doe enhaunse their rentes,
 doe not enhaunse it generally to the ¹double; though I confesse that
 some of vs that had landes either giuen vs by the Kings highnesse,
that belonged heretofore to Abbeyes and Priories, and were neuer
 surueyed to the vttermost before, or otherwise descended to vs, haue
 enhaunfed any of them aboute the old rent, yet all *that* amounteth not
 to halfe the landes of the Realme.

Knighte.

The Gentle-
 mens excuse
 and resonable
 offer.

[¹ Fol. 24, back]

How say yee? hee sayeth well to you nowe; will yee sell your
 wares as yee were wont to doe? and hee will let you haue his lande
 at the rent yee were accustomed to haue it. When the husbandman
 had pawfed a while, hee sayd:

Doctor.

Husband. If I had the price of euery thing that I muſt pay for beſides like-wiſe brought downe, I could be content; els not.

Doctor. What thinges bee thoſe?

Husband. Mary, Iron for my Plough, Harrowes, and Cartes; tarre for our ſheepe; ſhoos, cappes, linnen & wollen cloth for my meany, which if I ſhould buy, neuertheleſſe, as deare as I doe nowe, and yet ſell my wares good cheape, though my rent were thereafter abated, except the other thinges aforeſayd might bee abated in pryce together, I could neuer lyue.

Doctor. Then I perceauē yee muſt haue *the* pryce of other things qualified, as well as the rent of your land, ere yee can aford your ware good cheape.

Husband. Yea, (but fir) I thinke if the lande were brought downe, that the pryce of all thinges would fall withall.

Doctor. Graunt that all the Landlords in this realme woulde with one affent agree, that theyr landes ſhould bee in theyr Tenaunts handes, at like rent as they were at xxx. yeares agoe; yee ſayd afore yee coulde not yet ſell your wares as good cheape as yee might xx. yeares paſt, becauſe of the pryce that is rayſed in other thinges that yee muſt buy; and if ye would ſay that thoſe men ſhould be driuen againe to ſell thoſe wares that yee buy, firſt better cheape, and then yee will ſell yours thereafter, I pray you, how might they ¹be compelled to doe ſo? they be ſtraungers, and not within obedience of our ſoueraigne Lady, that doe ſell ſuch wares, as Iron, Tarre, Flaxe, and other; then conſider mee, if yee cannot ſo compell them, whether it were expedient for vs to ſuffer ſtraungers to ſell all their commodities deere, & wee ours good cheape; if it were ſo, than it were a greate enryching of other countreyes, and impouerifhing of our owne; for they ſhould haue much Treafure for theirs, and haue our commodities from vs for a very litle; except yee could deuife to make one pryce of our commodities among our ſelues, and another outwarde, which I cannot ſee how it may bee?

Knight. Nay, I will make my Neighbour heere another reaſonable offer, if hee reſuſe this: let my Tenauntes rent bee increaſed as your payment is increaſed after the rate, and yet I am contented.

What meane yee by that?

Husband. That it vvere not expedient that ſtraungers ſhould ſell deere and vvere ours good cheape.

Knighte. I meane this: yee ſell that yee were wont to ſell a foretime for

[Fol. 15]
If all Landes
vvere abated
in their rent,
vvwhether this
dearth vvoulde
be remedied.

That it vvere
not expedient
that ſtraungers
ſhould ſell
deere and vvere
ours good
cheape.

A nother offer
of the Gentle-
man made to
the Husband-
man.

xx. groates, now for xxx.; let my rent bee increafed after that proportion and rate, that is, for euery xx. groates of olde rente, x. fhillings, and fo as the pryce of your wares rifeth; and yet I doe but keepe my land at the olde fient.

My bargayne was to pay for my holde but vi. poundes xiii. fhil- Husband.
linges iii.d. of yearly rent, and I pay that truely; yee can require no more of mee.

I cannot much fay agaynst that; but yet I perceau I fhallbe ftill Knight.
a lofer by that bargayne, though I cannot tell *the* reafon why; but I perceiue yee fell dearer, that yee liue on, and I good cheape that which is my liuing; helpe mee, mayfter Docter, I pray you, for the Husbandman driueth mee to the Wall.

Mary, but mee thinketh, touching the matter yee did reafon Doctor.
of, you draue him to his fhiftes; that is, to confeffe that this dearth rifeth not at your hand. And, though hee doe de^lfend him felfe for [1 Fol. 15, back]
his paymente to you by a colour of lawe, yet hee feemeth to confeffe thus much, that the lawe compelleth you to take litle for your land, & that there is no lawe to reftayne him, but hee may fell his wares as deere as he lifeth. It is enough for your purpofe, that yee tooke in hand to proue that this dearth rofe not firft at your hande; but, whether (the pryces of thinges increafing as they doe) it were reafon yee did rayfe your wares (which is your lande), or to bee payde after the olde rate when yee did fette your land; if yee bee compelled to pay for your prouifion after the newe rate, wee will talke of that hereafter; or, let *that* bee confidered of other wife men; but now let vs fee, if the Husbandman were forced to fell his thinges good cheape, whether all thinges fhould bee well then. Our Englifhe Coyne being fupposed to be bafe, and of no fuch eftimation in other countreies as within our owne Realme, (as for the moft parte it hath beene) before that it was reftored by our noble Prince, which now raygneth; put the cafe this, *that* this husbandman fhould bee commaunded to fell his wheate at viii.d. the bufhell, Rye at vi.d., Barely at iii.d., his pig and goofe at iii.d., his capon at iii.d., his Henne at i.d. ob.; his Wooll at a marke the Todde; Biefes and Muttons after the olde pryces in time paff haue beene; hee hath then enough to pay his Landlord, as hee had in time paff; his Landlord agayne hath as much rent as hee was wonte to haue; and the fame when the price is fo fet, will goe as far for the

Whether if the Husbandman vvere forced to abate the prices of his ftuffe, this dea[r]th should be thez mended.

[Even if the Husbandman were orderd to sell at old prices and the Landlord to take his old rent,

sayd wares, whereof *the* pryces be thus set as fo much of olde Coine, payde after the olde wont would haue done; all this is yet well; heere is yet neither Lord nor Tenaunte grieved; well, let us goe farther: The Hufbandman muft buy Iron, Salt, Tarre, Pitch; and fuppofe hee fhould bee alfo forced to reare vp Flaxe on his owne, and that pryces of cloth, both Linnen, & Woollen, & Leather, were fet after the rate. The Gentleman muft buy Wynes, Spyces, Silkes, Armour, Glaffe to glaze his houfe withall; Iron alfo for Tooles, Weapones, and other Instruments neceffary, as Salt, Oyles, & many other diuerfe thinges, more then I can reckon without fomme; whereof they may in no wife want, as Iron & Salt, for of that which is within *the* realme of both, is not halfe fufficient for the fame; Oyles, Tarre, Pitch, and Rozyn, whereof wee haue none at all; and without fome other of the faid commodities wee could liue but grofly and Barbaroufly, as without Wynes, Spyces, & Silkes, thefe muft be brought from beyonde the Seas; fhall wee buy them as good cheape after the rate? A man would thinke yes; for when fraungers fhould fee that with leffe money then they were wont to take for thefe wares, they may buy as much of the commodities of this realme as they were wont afore with more money, they will bee content to take the leffe money when it goeth as farre as *the* more went before, and fo fell their wares as good cheape; (as for an example) if they fell now a yard of Veluet for xx.s. or xxii.s., and pay that for a Todde of Wooll, were it not as good for them then to fell their Veluet at a marke a yard, fo they had a Todde of Wooll for a marke?

[1 Fol. 16]

could foreign
wines, glass for
windows, &c.¹be bought at
like low prices ?]

Knighte.

I would thinke fo, for thereby hee fhould be at no more losse then hee is now. And fo the like reafon may ferue for Iron, Wynes, Salt, Spice, Oyles, Pitch, Tarre, Flaxe, Waxe, and all other outwarde commodities.

Doctor.

If I fhould afke you this queftion, whether they fhould bee compelled by a lawe to fell theyr wares fo or no, what could yee fay?

Knight.

It maketh no matter whether it were fo or no; & I think they cannot, becaufe they be out of the Princes Dominion, and at liberty whether they will bring any thing to vs or no; but feeinge they may haue all thinges heere, as good cheape at that price they fell for leffe money, as they had before for the greater price, they will willingly bring their wares and fell them fo.

¹ Thereof I doubt, vpon the former supposition of our base Coyne ; Doctor.
for I thinke they would sell still at the highest as they doe now ; or [¹ Fol. 16, back]
bring nothinge at all to vs. For yee must vnderstand they come not
alwayes for our commodities, but sometimes to sell theirs heere, know- The straungers
ing it heere to be best vendible, and to buy in other countreyes other vwill take but
commodities, where the same is best cheape ; and some times to sell in money currant
one parte of the Realme their wares that bee there most desired, and euery Where
to goe to some other parte of the realme, for the commodities that for thir vware
be there most abundaunt and best cheape, or partly of our Countrey & that they haue
partly of another ; and for *that* purpose Coyne vniuerfally currant is on their
most commodious, specially if they extend to bestowe it in any other charge.
place, then where they were vnladen of their marchaundize. Now, if
our coyne were not so allowed in other places as it is heere, the straunger
should be at greater losses if he should take our coyne for his wares, so
as he had leauer bring his wares to other places where hee might
haue Coyne currant in all places for it, that he might bestowe when
and where he list. If they would looke but for our wares for theirs,
thinke yee that they would not study to bring vs such wares or stufte
as should be best cheape with them and most deare with vs.

Yea, no doubt that is the policy of all Marchaunts. Knight.

What stufte is that, trowe you ? Doctor.

Mary, Glassees of all sortes, paynted Clothes, & Papers, Orengees, Knighte.
Pippens, Cherries, perfumed Gloues, and such like tryffles.

Yee say well, they will percase attempt vs with such & such Doctor.

things as are good cheape with them ; it costeth but their labours
onely, and their peoples, which els should be idle ; yet these things be
some what after the price in other places vendible as well as heere.
But when wee feele the lacke of Iron, Steele, Salt, Hempe, Flaxe,
and such other, such light wares as yee speake of will not be de-
sired heere, ²but reiected, and these other looked for. what other
things els will they bring, trowe you ?

That straun-
gers and all
Marchauntes
bring things
that bee best
chape to them,
and deereest
vvith vs.
[² Fol. 17]

Percase yee meane Silkes, Wynes, and Spycles ? Knight.

No, not that, for those bee in good price els where. Doctor.

What, then, should they haue to vtter to vs, that is best cheape with Knight.
them and deereest with vs ?

Brasse, for it should go *with* them but for Brasse in dede, Doctor.
and therefore good cheape, and heere with vs a great part for

Siluer, and therefore deere with vs; and *that* they would bringe vnto vs.

Knight.

How? in brasse Pots, Panes, and other Veffel of Brasse?

Doctor.

Not so; no man would take such Stuffe but for Brasse in deede.

Knighte.

['] Doctor.

How then? ¹ Then the Doctor tolde mee, that it was in Coyne made beyonde sea, like in all thinges to our Coyne, which they brought ouer in heapes; and when they see that esteemed heere as siluer, they bringe that for our commodities, as for our Woolles, felles, Cheese, Butter, Cloth, Tinne, and Ledde, which thing euery man will be glad to sell for the most they can get; and beinge offered of straungers more of our Coine then they may get within the countrey, they will sell them to straungers rather then vs, with whom the price is set; then straungers may aforde *that* Coine good cheape, for they make it them selues, and the Stuffe is good cheape that they make it of, and so they will geue thereof for our sayde commodities, as much as yee will aske. Then, though they made not such Coyne themselves, yet, seeing they must pay more for our wares, or els no man would bring them to them, when hee may haue as much at home of his neighbours, the straungers must needs haue a consideration of that in the price of *the* sayd outwarde marchaunderize that they sell, & also holde them deerer. And thus by the one way they may exhauste our cheife commodities, and gieve vs brasse for them, where with wee cannot buy such ² other like necessary commodities againe as wee shoulde want, if they were not plenty within our Realme. Much like the exchange that *Homer* sayeth *Glaucus* made with *Diomedes*, when he gaue to his man his golden Harnesse for Brasse. But *the* other way they must needs bee brought to sell their wares deerer to vs, and then, if this husbandeman and Gentleman, and so all other within this realme, should be compelled to sell their thinges good cheape, and yet buy all thinges deere that cometh frome beyonde the Sea, I cannot see how they should longe prosper; for I neuer knewe him that bought deere and sold good cheape, and vse it any long space, to thrive.

Knight.

There may be searchers made for such Coyners as yee speake of, comming in, and punishments deuised therefore; and for goinge forth of Viçtayles also, that none shall passe this Realme.

Doctor.

There may be no deuise imagined so stronge, but that yee may bee deceaued in both those points, as well in such coyne brought in as in

[Base coin made abroad, and exchanged for English goods.]

[² Fol. 17, back. *Catch word* like o.]

Glauci & Diomedis permutatio.

He that selles good cheape and buieth deere shall not lightly thrive.

viçtailes caried forth; for many heades will deuise many wayes to get any thinge by; & though wee bee enuyroned with a good Poole, (that is, the Sea,) yet there is to many Posterns of it to gett out and in, vnwares of the maister. Whosoeuer hath but a pretie house, with any Family of his owne, and but one Gate to go forth and come in at, and the maister of *the* house neuer so attentiuē, yet somewhat shalbe purloined forth; much more out of such a large Realme as this is, hauinge so many wayes and Posterns to goe forth at and come in. And yet if straungers shoulde bee content to take but our wares for theirs, what shoulde let them to aduaunce *the* prices of their wares, though oures were good cheape vnto them? and then shall wee be still losers, and they at the winning hand with vs, while they sell deere and buy good cheape, and consequently enrych themselves and impouerishe vs. Yet had I leauer aduaunce our ¹wares in price as they aduaunce theirs (as wee nowe doe), thoughte some bee loofers thereby; but yet not so many as should bee the other waye. And yet, what businesse shoulde there bee in making of prices of euery trifle? for so it would bee, if the price of any one thinge bee abated by commaundemente; and therefore I cannot perceaue that it maye bee remedied by either of you both (I meane you, Gentleman, & you good husbandman); for if it rose at either of your hands, so it might be remedied likewise at the same, by releasfing the thing againe at either of your handes that was *the* cause of this dearth. But if either you should release your rente, or you the price of your Viçtayle to the olde rate, yet that coulde not compell straungers to bringe downe the price of theirs, as I haue sayde; and so longe as their commodities be deere, it were neither expedient, nor yet could yee (though yee woulde) make your commodities good cheape (except yee can deuise a waye how to liue without them & they with out you), which I thinke impossible, or else to vse exchaung of ware, for ware without Coyne (as it was before Coyne was founde), as I reade in the time of *Homer* it was, and also the Ciuile lawe doth affirme *the* same, which were very combersome, and would require much cariage of ware vp and downe, where nowe, by the benifit of Coyne, a man may by those tokens fetch the wares that hee lacketh a far of, without great trouble of cariadge; and hard were it readily to finde all wares that the one hath to pay the other, of equal value.

It is not possible to keepe our Treasure from going forth of the Realme, if it be in more estimation else vvhere.

[1 Fol. x8]

That the d[e]arth lose neither at the Gentleman nor Husbandmans hand.

Permutation of thinges before Coyne.

Husband. If neither the gentleman, nor I may remedy this matter, at wofe hands lieth it to bee holpen then?

Doctor. I will tell my mynde therein hereafter; but first let vs boulte out *the* cause of this Dearth. And therefore let mee learne what other thing should be the cause thereof.

Capper. Mary! these Inclosures and great Pastures are a great cause of the same, Whereby men do turne the erable lande, ¹beinge a liuing for diuerse poore men before time, nowe to one mans hand; and where both Corne of all forte, and also cattell of all kinds were reared aforetime, now there is nothing but onely sheepe. And in steede of C. or CC. persons that had their liuing thereon, now bee there but three or foure Shepherds, and the Maister onely, that hath a liuing thereof.

Doctor. Yee touch a matter that is much to be considered, albeit I take not that to bee onely *the* cause of this dearth at this time; but this I thinke in my minde, that if that kinde of inclosing doe asmuch increase in xxx. yeares to come as it hath done in xxx. yeares past, it may come to *the* great defolation and weaking of the strenght of this realme, which is more to be feared then dearth, & I thinke it to bee *the* most occasion of any thinge yee spake yet, of these wilde & vnhappy vprores *that* hath bene among vs; for by reason of these Inclosures many Subiectes haue no Grounde to liue vppon, as they had before time, and occupations be not alwayes set a worke all a like, and therefore the people still increasinge, and their liuings diminishing, it must nedes come to passe that a great part of *the* people shalbe idle and lacke liuinge, for hunger is a bitter thing to beare. Wherefore they must needes, whan they lacke, murmur agayne them *that* haue plenty, and so stirre these tumultes.

Knights. Experience should seeme to proue playnely, that Inclosures should bee profitable and not hurtfull to the common weale; for we see *the* countryes where most Inclosiers be, are most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, Northamptonshyre, &c. And I haue hearde a Ciuilion once say, that it was taken for a Maxime in his lawe (this saying), 'that which is possessed of many in common, is neglected of all'; & experience sheweth that Tenaunts in common be not so good husbandes as when every man hath his parte in feueralty; also, I haue heard say, that in the most countreyes beyonde *the* Sea, they ²knowe not what a common ground meaneth.

[1 Fol. 18, back]

Complaynt against sheepe-maisters.

That Inclosures is the occasion of desolation & vveaking the povver of the Realme.

Quod in communi possidetur, ab omnibus negligitur.

Reasons to defend Inclosures
[2 Fol. 19]

I meane not of all Inclofures, nor yet all commins, but onely of fuch Inclofures as turneth common & erable fields into pafture, and violent Inclofures of commins without iuft recompence of them that haue right to commen therein; for if lande were feuerally enclofed, to the intent to continewe hufbandry thereon, and euery man that hath right to commen had for his portion a piece of *the* fame to himfelfe enclofed, I thinke, no harme, but rather good, fhould come thereof, if euery man did agree thereto; but yet it woulde not be fodaynely done, for there be many poore cottages in England, which hauing no lands of their own to liue one, but their handy labour and fome refreshing vppon the fayde commens, which if they were fodaynely thruft out from that commodity, might make a greate tumulte and a diforder in the commonweale; and percafe alfo, if men were fuffred to inclofe their grounds vnder the pretence to keepe it ftill in tillage within a while after they woulde turne all to Pafture, as wee fee they doe now, too faft.

Doctor.
What kinde of Inclofures is hurtfull.

[Poor, without land.]

If they finde more profit thereby then otherwise, why fhould they not?

Knighte.

I can tel why they fhould not, wel ynough, for they may not purchafe themfelues profit by *that* which may be hurtfull to other; but how to bring them *that* they would not fo doe, is al the matter; for fo long as they finde more profit by pafture then by tillage, they will ftill inclofe and turne erable land to paftures. (*quoth the Knight*) That well may be reftained by lawes, if it were thought moft profitable for *the* common weale, but all men doe not agree to that poynte.

Doctor.
Whether that vvhich is profitable to one may be profitable to all other if they vse the same feate.
Knight.

I wot well they doe not, and therefore it were hard to make a lawe therein, fo many as haue profit by that matter refifting it. And if fuch a lawe were made, yet men, ftudying ftill of there moft profit, woulde defraud the lawe by one meane or other.

Doctor.

¹ I haue heard oftentymes much reafoning in this matter, and fome, in maintenaunce of thefe Inclofures, would make this reafon: euery m[a]n is a Member of the commonweale, & that which is profitable to one man may be profitable to another, if he would exercife the fame feate. Therefore, that which is profitable to mee, & fo to another, may be profitable to all, and fo to *the* whole commonweale. as a greate Maffe of Treafure confifteth of many pence, and one peny added to another, and fo to the thirde and fourth, &c., maketh vp a

Knight.
[¹ Fol. 19, back]

greate fomme; fo doth each man added one to anothere make vp the whole body of a common weale.

Doctor.

That reafon is good, adding fome what more to it: true it is, that that thing which is profitable to each man by himfelfe, fo it be not preiud[i]cial to any other, is profitable to the whole commonweale, and not otherwife; or elfe ftealing or robbing, which percafe is profitable to fome men, were profitable to the commonweale, which no man will admit: but this feate of inclofinge is fo, *that* where it is profitable to one man, it is preiudicial to many; therefore I thinke that reafon fufficiently answered.

[Enclosures
profit one man,
hurt many.]

Knight.

Alfo, they will laye forth another Reafon, faying, that *that* which is our owne commodities fhould bee alwayes aduaunced as much as might be, and thefe fheepes profit is one of the greateft commodities wee haue; therefore it ought to bee aduaunced as high as it may bee.

Doctor.

I coulde aunfwere that argument with the like reafon as I did the other; true it is, we ought to aduaunce our owne commodity as much as wee can, fo it bee not to as much more the hinderaunce of our other commodities. Or elfe, where as the breede of Coneyes, Deere, and fuchlike, is a commodity of this Realme; yet, if wee fhoulde turne all our erable grounde to nourifhe that commodity, and giue vp the Plough, and all other commod[i]ties for it, it were a great folly.

Euery com-
modity muſte bee
aduaunced ſo
as it be not
preiudiciall to
other greater
commodities.

Knight.

[* Fol. 20]

Doctor.

¹They will ſay agayne, that all Groundes bee not meete for ſheepe.

It is a very ill Grounde, but either it ſerueth to breed ſheepe or to feede them vpon; and if al that is meete either for the one [or other], were turned to the mayntenaunce of Sheepe, and none other thinge, where ſhall wee haue our other commodities growe?

Knighte.

All cannot doe ſo, though ſome doe.

Doctor.

What ſhould let them all to do *that* wien they ſee ſome do? yea, what ſhould better encourage them thereto, then to ſe them that do it be come notable riche men in ſhort time by *the* doing thereof? And then if euery man ſhould do ſo, one following the example of another, what ſhould enſew thereof, but a meere ſolitude and vtter deſolation of the whole realme, furniſhed onely with Sheepe and Sheepardes, in ſteed of good men, whereby it might be a pray to the enemyes *that* firſt would ſet vpon it? for then *the* ſheepe Mayſters & theire Sheepherds could make no reſiſtaunce to the contrary.

[If all grew
Sheep inſtead
of good Men,
England would
be the prey of
her foes.]

Who can let them to make their most aduantage of *that* which is their owne? Knight.

Yes, mary! men may not vse their owne thinges to the damage of the commonweale; yet for all this that I see, it is a thinge most necessary to bee prouided for, yet I cannot perceue it shoulde bee the only cause of this dearth, for this Inclosinge and greate grafinge, if it were occasion of that dearth of any thing, it muste bee of Corne cheifly, and nowe these many yeares past we had Corne good cheape inough. And the dearth *that* was then most, was of cattell, as Biefes and Muttons; and the broode of these are rather increased then diminished by Pastures and inclosinges. Doctor.

No man may abuse his ovrn thinges to the preiudice of the common vveale.

Why should men be then so much offended with these Inclosures? Knighte.

Yes, & not without great cause, for thoughe these many yeares past, through the great bounty of God, we haue had ¹much plenty of Corne whereby it hath bene good cheape, one Acer bearinge as much Corne as two most commonly were wont to do,—yet if these yeares had chaunsed to be but meanelly fruitfull of Corne, (no doubt) we should haue had a great dearth of Corne, as wee had of other thinges. And then it had bene, in a maner, an vndoing of the poore Commens. And if hereafter there shoulde chaunce any barren yeares of Corne to fall, wee should bee assured to finde as greate extremity in the price of Corne, from *that* it was wont to bee, as we finde now in the prices of other victayle. And specially if wee haue not ynough to serue within *the* Realme, which may happen hereafter, more likely then in time past, by reason that there is much lande since turned to pasture; for euery man will seeke where most aduantage is, & they see there is most aduantage in grafing and breeding then in husbandry and tillage, by a great deale. And so longe as it is so, the Pasture shall euer incroch vpon tillage, for all the lawes that euer can be made to the contrary. [1 Fol. 20, back]

harvests have alone stopt the undoing of the poor.]

And how thinke yee that this might be remedied, then? Knight.

To make the profit of the plough to be as good, rate for rate, as the profit of the Grafier and sheepe maister is. Doctor.

How coulde that be done? Knighte.

Mary, I coniecture two manner of wayes, but I feare me the deuises shall seeme at the first blufh so displeasunt vnto you, ere yee confider it thoroughly, that yee will reiect them ere yee examyne them; for we talke now to haue things good cheape; and then if I should Doctor.

How Inclosiers may be remedied without constraint of lawes.

mention a meane *that* should make some things deerer for the time, I shoulde bee anon reiected, as a man *that* spake against euery mans purpose.

Knighte. Yet, say your minde and spare not, and though your reason at the first seeme vnreasonable, yet we will heare whether yee can bring it to any reasonable ende.

Doctor. Remember what we haue in hand to treat of, not how the prices of things onely may bee brought downe; but ¹how these Inclosures may bee broken vp, and husbandry more vied; of the prices of things we shall speake heere after. [Kn.] Wee wil remember well that.

Doctor. What maketh men to multiply pastures & Inclosures gladly?

Knighte. Mary, the profit that groweth thereby.

Doctor. It is very true, and none other thing. Then finde the meanes to doe one of these two thynges that I shall tell you, And yee shall make them as glad to exercise tillage as they doe nowe Pastures.

Knight. What be those two things?

Doctor. Mary, either make as litle gaynes to growe by *the* Pastures as there groweth by *the* tillage, Or els make *that* there may growe as much profit by tillage as did before by the Pastures, and then I doubt not but tillage shall be aswell cherished of euery man as Pasture.

Knight. And how may that be done?

Doctor. Mary, the first way is to make *the* wooll to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof as the Corne is; and *that* shallbe, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing ouer Sea, vnwrought, as yee make of Corne; another, is to increase *the* custome of Wooll that passeth ouer vnwrought. And by that the price of it shalbe abated to the breeders, and yet *the* price ouer Sea shal be neuer the lesse; but, that which is increased in the price thereof on straungers, shall come to the Queenes highnesse, which is as profitable to the Realme as though it came to the breeders, and might relieue them of other subsidies. Thus farre as touchinge the bringing downe of the price of Woolles; now to the inhaunsinge of the price of corne, to be as good to *the* husbandman as wooll should be; and that might be brought to passe if yee wil let it haue as free passage ouer Sea at all times, as yee haue now for Wooll.

Marchaunt. By the first two wayes, men woulde send lesse wooll ouer sea then

[¹ Make grazing pay less, or tillage more.]

That a like restraint of vwooll shuld be made as is of Corne, or none to be sent ouer.

[Export of corn to be as free as that of wooll.]

they doe nowe, and by that way the Queenes ¹custome should be [2 Fol. 21, back]
 dyminished; by your latter way, the pryce of Corne should be much
 enhaunfed, wherewith men would be much grieved.

I wot wel it would bee deere at the first, but if I can perfwade Doctor.
 you that it were reafonable, it were so; and that the same could bee
 no hinderaunce to the Realme vniuerfally, but greater profit to the
 same, then I thinke ye would be content it shoulde be so; and as
 touchinge the Queenes custome, I will speake afterwarde.

I graunt, if yee could shewe me that.

Marchaunt.

I will assay it, albeit the matter be somewhat intricate; and, as I Doctor
 shewed you before, at the first vew would displease many; for they
 would say, 'woulde yee make Corne deerer then it is, haue wee not dearth
 enough els with out that? Nay, I pray you finde the meanes to haue
 it better cheape, if it may bee, it is deare enough already', and such other
 like reafons would bee sayd. But now let the husbandman answere
 such againe: 'Haue not you Grafiers rayfed the price of your Woolles
 and Felles? and you Marchauntmen, Clothiers, and Cappers, rayfed
 the price of your marchaundize and wares, ouer it was wont to bee in
 manner double? Is it not as good reafon, then, that wee should raise
 the price of our Corne? what reafon is it you should bee at large, and
 we should be refrayned? Eyther let vs all be refrayned together, or els
 let vs bee all at like liberty. Ye may sell your Wooll ouer Sea, your
 Felles, your Tallow, your Cheefe, your Butter, and your Leather,
 (which ryfeth all by grafing) at your pleasure, and for *the* deereft
 peny yee can get for it; and wee shall not sell out our Corne, except it
 bee at x d. the bushel, or vnder, that is as much to say, as wee that be
 husband men shall not sell our ware, except it be for nothing, or for so
 litle as wee shall not be able to liue thereon.' Thinke you if the hus-
 bandman here had spoke these wordes, that he did not speake them
 somewhat ²reafonable?

Reasons vvhy
the Husband-
man should
be at like liber-
ty as other to
sell his vvares.

[2 Fol. 22]

I thanke you with all my hart, for ye haue spoken in *the* matter Husband.
 more then I could doe my selfe, and yet nothing but that is most true.
 Wee felt the harme, but wee wist not what was the cause therof;
 many of vs sawe well longe agoe, that our profite was but small by
 the Plough, & therefore diuerse of my Neighbours, that had in time
 past some two, some three, some four Ploughs of their owne, haue
 layde downe, some of them part, and some of them all their Teemes;

That by breeding the husband hath most cleare gaynes.

and turned either part or all their erable ground to Pasture, and there by haue waxed very riche men. And euery day some of vs inclofeth some part of his ground to Pasture; and were it not that our ground lyeth in *the* common fieldes, entermingled one with another, I thinke also our fieldes had bene enclosed, of common agreement of all the towneship, longe or this time. And to say *the* very truth, I, that haue enclosed litle or nothing of my ground, coulde neuer be able to make vp my Lords rent, were it not for a litle herd that I haue of Neate, sheepe, swyne, geese, and Hennes, that I do reare vpon my ground; Whereof, because *the* price is somewhat round, I make more cleare profit then I doe of all my corne; & yet I haue but a very bare liuing, by reason that many things doe belong to husbandry which bee now ex[c]eedinge chargeable ouer they were in time past.

Capper.

Though this reason of maister Doctors here doth please you well that be husbandmen, yet it pleaseth vs that be artificers nothing at all, which buy most both breade-corne and malt-corne for our peny; and whereas ye, maister doctor, say, that it were as good reason that the Husbandman should reyse the price of his corne, and haue as free vent of the same ouer sea, as we doe and haue of our wares, I cannot greatly deny; but that yet I say that euery man hath neede of corne, but they haue not so much of other wares.

[Fol. 22, back]
Doctor.

That profit aduanceth all faculties.

Honos alit Artes.

¹Therefore, the more necessary that corne is, the more be the men to be chearished that reareth it; for if they see there bee not so much profit in vsinge the plough as they see in other feates, thinke ye not that they will leaue that trade, and fall to another *that* they see more profitable? As yee may perceiue by the doings of this honest mans neighbours, which haue turned there erable lande to pasture, because they see more profit by pasture then by tillage. Is it not an old saying in Latin, *Honos alit artes*? that is to say, profit or aduancement nourisheth euery facultie; which saying is so true, that it is allowed by the common iudgement of al men. Wee must vnderstand also, that all things that should bee done in a common Weale, bee not to be forced, or to be constrained by the straight penalties of the lawe, but some so, and some either by allurement and rewardes rather. For what lawe can compell men to be industrious in trauayle, or labour of body, or studious to learne any science or knowledge of the mynde? to these things they may be well prouoked, encouraged, and allured;

if they that be industrious and paynefull, bee rewarded well for their paines; and bee suffered to take gaynes and wealth as rewardes of their laboures, and so likewyse they that be learned, be aduanced and honoured accordinge to their forwardnes in Learning; euery man will then study, either to bee industrious in bodely labour, or studious in things that pertaynes to knowledge. Take these rewards from them, & go about to compell them by lawes thereto, what man wil plough or digg *the* ground, or exercise any manuell art wherein is any paine? or who will aduenture ouer seas for any Marchaundise, or vse any facultie wherein any perill or daunger should be, feing his reward shalbe no more then his *that* fits still? But yee wil percase aunswere me, *that* all their reward shal not be taken away, but part of it. Yet then yee must graunt me, *that* as if all these rewardes were taken from them, all these faculties must ¹decaie; so if part of that reward be minished, the vse of these faculties shall minish withall after the rate, and so they shal be the lesse occupied, the lesse they be rewarded & esteemed. But now to our purpose: I thinke it more necessary to deuise a meane how husbandry may be more occupied rather then lesse; which I cannot perceiue how it may be brought to passe, but as men do se the more gaines therein, the gladder they will occupie that feate; and this to be true (that some things in a common weale must be forced with paines, and some by rewards allured) may appeare by *that* which the wise and politique senatour *Tully* wryteth: saying, that it was the wordes of *Solon*, which was one of the seuen wyse men of *Greece*, and of those seuen the onely man that made lawes, that a common weale was holden vp by two things chiefly, that is, by reward and payne; of which words I gather, that men should be prouoked to do good deedes by rewardes and preferments; and to abstaine from ill doings by paines. Trowe you, if husband men be not better chearyshed or prouoked *then* they be to exercise *the* plough, but that in proceffe of time, so many ploughes wil be layd downe, as I feare me there be all ready, that if one vnfruitefull yeare shall happen amonge vs, as commonly doth once in seuen yeares, we should *then* not onely haue dearth, but also skarcenes of corne, that we should be driuen to seeke it from outwarde parties, and pay deare for it.

How would yee haue them better chearyshed to vse the plough? Knight.

To let them haue more profit by it *then* they haue, & liberty to Doctor.

That some things are to be allured by reuwardes, and some other vvith straight paynes forced, in a common-Weale.

[¹ Fol. 23]

The lesse honor or profit is geuen to any arte, the lesse it shalbe frequented.

Tullius in Ep. ad att

[Free Trade in
Corn needed.]

fell it at all times, & to all places as freely as men may do other things; but then (no doubt) the price of corne would rise, specially at *the* first, more then at length; yet *that* price would prouoke euerie man to set *the* plough in the ground, to Till waste grounds, yea, & to turne the lands *that* is now enclosed for pasture, to erable; for euery man will the gladder follow ¹that, wherein they see the more gaines; and thereby must nedes ensue, both greater plenty of corne within the realme, and also much treasure should be brought into the realme by reason thereof; And, besides that, plenty of all other victuall encreased amonge vs.

[¹ Fol. 23, back]

Knight.

That would I faine heare you declare howe.

Doctor.

Ye haue heard that by this free vent and sale of corne, *the* husbandmans profit is aduanced; then it is shewed that euery man naturally will follow that wherein he sees profit ensue; therefore men wil the gladder occupy husbandry; & the more doe occupie husbandry, the more plenty of Corne must nedes be; And *the* more plenty of corne there is, thereof the better cheape; And also the more will be spared ouer *that* which shall suffice for the realme. And then, that may bee spared in a good yeare, shall bringe vs againe either corne, or els the commodities of other countreis necessary for vs. Then the more husbandry there is occupied, the more vniuersall breede should be of all victuals of Neate, Sheepe, Swine, Geefe, Hennes, Capons, & Chickens; for al these are reared much on corne.

Profit vvill
make husband
men more oc-
cupied, & there
by more profit,
and consequent-
ly better
cheape of
corne.

Knight.

If men shoulde sell, when a good seasonable yeare is, all that is ouerplus when the Realme is serued, what shoulde wee doe if a barren yeare shoulde happen, when no store of corne is left of the good yeare before?

Doctor.

Fyrst, ye muste consider that men will bee sure they will keepe inoughe to finde themselves within the realme, ere they sell any forth of the same; and hauing libertie to sell at their pleasure, doubt ye not but they had leuer sell their corne two pence or three pence in a bushell better cheape within the realme, then to bee at the charge of cariage, and perill of aduenture, in sending it ouer, and sell it dearer, except it be for much more gaines. And thus men beinge prouoked with luker, wil keepe the more corne, loking for a deare yeare in the country, whereby must nedes be great store; ²and though they did not so, but should sell ouer sea all that they might spare ouer that

[Husbandmen
sure to keep a
stock of corn in
hand.]

[² Fol. 24]

serues the realme when *the* yere is plentifull; yet, by reason that through the meanes aforefaid moe Ploughes are set aworke then would suffice the Realme in a plentifull yere; if a scarce yere should fal after, the corne of so many ploughes as in a good yere would be more then enough in an vnfruitfull yere, at the leaſte would be ſufficient to finde the Realme; & ſo ſhould *the* Realme be ſerued with enough of corne in a ſcarce yere, & in a plentiful yere no more then inough, which might be ſold ouer for great treaſure or greater commodities; where now in a plentifull yere we ſeeke to haue but as much as may ſuffice *the* Realme. Then if a ſcarſe yere ſhould happen, we muſt needes lacke of our owne to ſerue, and ſhould be dryuen to buy from beyond the ſea; and then, if they were as enuious as wee bee, might not they ſay, when we requyred any corne of them, (that ſeing they could get none from vs when we had plenty,) why ſhould they let vs haue any corne when wee haue ſcarſitie? Surely common reaſon would that one region ſhould helpe an other when it lackes; and therefore God hath ordeyned that no countrey ſhould haue all commodities; but that which one lackes, an other brings forth; & that *that* one countrey lacketh this yere, another hath plenty thereof, commonly the ſame yere, to the intent men may knowe that they haue neede one of anothers helpe, & thereby loue and ſocietie to growe among all men the more. but here we would doe as though we had neede of no other countrey on earth, but to liue all of our ſelues; & as though wee mighte make the market of all things as wee liſt our ſelues. For though God is bountifull vnto vs, & ſends vs many greate commodities, yet wee coulde not liue without the commodities of others. And, for example, of Iron and Salte, though wee haue competently thereof, yet wee haue 'not the thirde parte to ſuffice the Realme, and that can in no wiſe be ſpared if yee wil occupy huſbandry; then tar, roſyn, pitch, Oyle, and ſteele, wee haue none at all; and for Wyne, ſpyces, linnen cloth, filkes, & coloures, though we might liue indifferently without them, yet far from any ciuility ſhould it be, as I deny not but many things wee might haue heere ſufficiently that wee buy now from beyond ſea, and many things wee might ſpare wholly; whereof, if time will ſerue, I ſhall talke more here after. But nowe to returne to the firſt poynte I ſpake of before: to bee one of the meanes to bring huſbandry vp, that is, by baſing *the*

[Free Trade in Corn would ſo increaſe the growth of corn, that we ſhould haue plenty even in a ſcarce year.]

[God has ordained that one country ſhould help another.]

[We can't live without other countries' products,

[i.e. Fol. 24, back]

and we ought to exchange with them freely.]

estimation of wooll & felles. Though I take not that way to bee as good as the other, for I doe not allowe that meane that may bafe any of our commodities, except it bee for the inhaunfing of a better commodity; but if both commodities may bee inhaunfed together, as by the laft deuife I thinke they might be; I allowe that way better, neuertheleffe, where as you (brother Mercer) shewed afore, that either by restraining of wooll and other commodities, till they were equal within the Realme after the rate of the corne, or inhaunfing the custome of wooll and other the sayd commodities, till the price beside the custome of the sayd commodities were brought like to the corne in proportion, *the* Quenes custome shoulde bee diminished; I thinke not so, for the one way, as much as she shoulde haue for *the* more wooll at litle custome ventred ouer, so much should we haue for the lesse wooll at a greater custome ventred. And the other way, as much as her Grace should lose by her custome of wooll, so much or more should her grace winne by *the* custome of Clothes made within the realme. But one thing I doe note by this later deuife, what, if they should take place, we must doe, that is, if wee keepe within vs much of our commodities, wee must spare many other things that we haue now from beyonde sea, for wee must alwayes take heede that wee buy no more ¹of straungers then we do sell them, for so we should impouerish our selues and enrich them. For hee were no good husband that had no other yerely reuenues but of his husbandry to liue on, that would buy more in the market then he felles againe. And that is a pointe that wee might saue much by our treasure in this realme, if wee would. And I maruell no man takes heede to it; what number first of trifles comes hether from beyond the sea that wee might either cleane spare, or els make them within our realme, for the which wee either pay inestimable treasure euery yere, or els exchange substantiall wares and necessary for them, for the which we might receaue great treasure. Of *the* which sort I meane as well looking glasse as drinking, and also to glaze windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles, Puppettes, penners, Inkehornes, Toothpickes, Gloues, Kniues, Dagges, Owches, Brouches, Agglettes, Buttons of silke & siluer, Earthen pots, Pinnes and Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thousand like thinges that might either be cleane spared, or els made within the

Whether the
Quee. custome
should be di-
minished by re-
straint of vvoll
vvvrought.

[We must keep
the balance of
trade with
foreigners equal.]

[1 Fol. 25]

Hovve straun-
gers fetch from
vs our great
for very trifles.

[Foreign knick-
nacks that we
could well do
without, or make
here.]

realme sufficient for vs ; and as for some thinges, they make it of our owne commodities and send it vs againe, whereby they set their people a worke, and doe exhauſte much treaſure out of this Realme : as of our woll they make Clothes, Cappes, and Kerſeis ; of our felles they make Spaniſh ſkins, Gloues, and Girdels ; of our Tinne, Saltſellers, Spooones, and Diſhes ; of our broken Linnen, clothes and ragges ; Paper both white and browne. What Treafure (thinke yee) goes out of this Realme for euery of Theſe thinges ? and then for all together, it exceedes myne eſtimation. There is no man can be contented now with any other Gloues, then be made in *Fraunce* or in *Spayne* ; nor Kerſie, but it muſt bee of *Flaunders* die ; nor Cloth, but *French* or *Fryſeadowe* ; nor Ouche, Brooch, or Agglet, but of *Venice* making, or Millen ; nor Dagger, Swearde, ¹Knife or Gyrdle, but of ſpaniſh making, or ſome outward countrey, no, not as much as a Spurre but that is fetched at the Millener. I haue heard within theſe xl. yeares, when there were not of theſe Haberdaiſhers that felles french or Millen Cappes, Glaſſes, Kniues, Daggers, Swordes, Gyrdels, and ſuch thinges, not a doſen in all London ; & now from the tower to Weſtminſter alonge, euery ſtreate is full of them, and their ſhoppes glitter and ſhine of Glaſſes as well drynking as looking ; yea, all maner of veſſell of the ſame ſtuffe,—paynted Cruſes, gaye Daggers, Knyues, Swordes, and Gyrdels ; that it is able to make any temperate man to gaſe on them and to buy ſomewhat, though it ſerue to no purpoſe neceſſarie. What neede they beyonde ſea to trauaile to *Perowe*, or ſuch farre countreies, or to trie out the ſandes of the ryuers of *Tagus* in *Spaine*, *paſtolus* in *Aſia*, and *Ganges* in *India*, to get amonge them after much labour ſmall ſparkes of gold ; or to digge the deepe bowels of the earth for the mine of Siluer or Golde, when they can of vile claie not farre ſought for, and of pryple² ſtones and Ferne rootes make good Golde and Siluer, more then a great many of Siluer and Golde mines would make. I thinke not ſo litle as a hundreth thouſand poundes a yeare is fetched of our Treafure for thinges of no valure of themſelues, but onely for the labours of the workers of the ſame, which are ſet a worke all on our charges. What groſnes of wits be we of, that ſe it, and ſuffer ſuch a continual ſpoyle to be made of our good and treaſure by ſuch meanes ! and ſpecially that will ſuffer our owne commodities to goe and ſet ſtraungers a worke, and then

Our delicacy
in requiring
ſtraungers
Wares.

[Foreign goods
that are the
faſhion in
England.]

[¹ Fol. 25, back]

The encrease
of haberdaiſh-
ers & mileners
ouer they vvere
v wont to be.

[Glittering
glaſſes, &c.,
tempt buyers.]

How the ſtraun-
gers finde an
eaſyer vway to
get treaſure by
thinges of no
value, then by
any mynes of
gould or ſiluer.
[² pybble,
pebble.]

[What aſſes we
are, to ſpend
£100,000 a yeare
in foreign
nonsenſes.]

Hovv straungers finde their nation vvith our commo-
dities, and on
our costes.

[¹ Fol. 26]

[Why don't we
make up our own
materials?]

Knight.

[Foreign work,
tho' doubly taxt,
sells cheaper
than ours does.]

Doctor.

Why straungers
may aforde
vware better
cheape made
by them, then
vve may the
same made
here, & yet
that it vvare
better for vs to
buy our ovvne
though they
vvare dearer.

[An English
Paper-maker
undersold by
foreign paper
imported.]

The latter should
have been
heavily
customd.]

[² Fol. 26, back]

Knight.

to buy *them* againe at their handes; as of our Woll they make and die Kerfies, Friseadowes, broade Clothes, and Cappes beyonde sea, & bryng them hether to bee folde againe; wherein I pray you note what they doe: they make vs pay at the ende for our owne stufte againe. Yea, for *the* fraungers custome, for their worke¹manshippe and colours, and lastely for the second custome in the retourne of the wares into the realme again; where as, by working the same within the realme, our owne now should be set a worke at the charges of fraungers, the custome should be borne all by fraungers to the Queene, & the cleare gaines remaine within the Realme.

If yee ponder such thinges and other, which goeth ouer Sea yerely from vs for the same, yee speake to litle by as much againe; but one thinge I haue marked, that albeit it is true, that though fraungers buy their woll deare, & pay twise custome, that is, both at going out of the wooll, and when it retournes in clothes or cappes, yet the same shalbe better cheape then that which is made within the Realme, whereof that should come, I would faine knowe.

Whether it come of our cloth, or of our chargeable fare, or of our idlenes, which we Englishmen vse, percase, more then other nations, I knowe not; yet it were better for vs to paie more to our owne Countrey men for these wares, then to fraungers lesse; for how litle gaines so euer goeth ouer, it is lost to vs cleare; but how much so euer *the* gaines is that goeth from one of vs to another, it is all saued with in the Realme; and a like reason as you make now heere, Once a Booke-seller made mee, when I asked him why we had not white and browne paper made within *the* realme, aswell as they had made beyond the sea? Then he aunswered mee *that* there was paper made a while within *the* realme. At the last the man perceiued that made it, that he could not aforde his paper as good cheape as it came from beyond *the* sea, and so he was forced to lay downe making of paper; and no blame in the man, for men will geue neuer the more for his paper becaufe it was made here; but I would eyther haue the paper staied from coming in, or so burdened with custome, that by that time it came hether, our men mighte aforde their paper better cheape then fraungers might do ²theires, the customes considered.

There, ye speake a thinge that the Queenes Attourney would not agree vnto; for if such ware were made within the realme, *then* the

Queenes custome should be lesse, by reason that litle or no such wares should come from beyond the Sea.

If the Queenes Atturney did regard as well the profit that should come after, as that which is present afore *the* eyes, hee would agree to this well enough; for, by this meanes, inestimable treasure should be saued within *the* realme; and then it could not growe to the profit of the subiects; but it must needes growe also to the profite of the Queene, for the wealth of the subiectes is the profit of the Queene; and in mine opinion they doe not beste provide for her Graces profite, that procureth onely a presente commoditie, but rather that commodity that may longest endure without grieve of her subiects.

Doctor

The most durable & vniuersal profit is more to be esteemed then short and particular.

You would haue a lawe made, that no such ware should be brought from beyond the sea to be sould heere, of such things as could be made heere as wel as there.

Knight.

Yea, forfooth! so would I wishe.

Doctor.

I was once in a Parlyament, when such a thinge was mooued, but onely for Cappes, that none made beyond sea should bee sould heere within the Realme, and then it was aunswered by a greate wise man, that it was to bee feared least it touched the league made betwene *the* Princes highnesse & some forraigne Prince; what thinke you, then, would haue bene said, if yee would haue moued a lawe to be made of our wooll, our Tynne, our Led, and Hydes, beyond sea, should haue bene sould heere?

Knight.

Whether our restraints doe touch the leagues made vvith other Prynces.

I cannot tell, whether that should touch the league or no, nor whether any such league be: but I say to you, *that* I think it a maruaylous league that shoulde let vs to make lawes to binde our owne subiects, that might be profitable to them; ¹ and if there were any such league, I had leauer it were broken then kept, which, being broken, shoulde doe vs good, & being kept, should doe vs harme; and I suppose, that when wee enter any league, the same is ment to be for our weale, and not for our hinderaunce; wherefore, that league would not be esteemed *that* might hinder our common weale.

Doctor.

[¹ Fol. 27]

No league is to be cherished that is not for the commonweale.

What if they would make a like lawe beyonde the sea, that wares made within this realme should not bee sould there, as they made of late, when wee deuised a lawe that no Wynes shoulde bee caried hether in straungers bottomes.

Knighte.

Yet, should they be enforced rather to dissolue their law then we

Doctor.

[English
exports

and imports.]

A vvorthy ex-
ample to be
folloved in
vsing of straun-
gers,

[The Caer-
marthen Bayliff
who refused to
let English
apples

be exchang'd
for Welsh fizeses
and wool]

[1 Fol. 27, back]

[Why don't we
imitate the
Welshmen, and
refuse to change

our cloths and
metals for
foreign rattles,
&c., but consent
to do so for good
flax, fish, &c. ?]

ours; for our stufte is necessary for them *that* is made here: as cloth, Leather, Beire, tallow, butter, cheefe, pewter vessel, &c. Theirs bee to vs, more to serue pleasure then necessity: as Tables, Cardes, perfumed Gloues, Glasses, gally Pots, Dyalls, Orenge, Pippens, and Cheries; yee, their chiefe commodities might be better spared of vs then re-tayned of them: as wyne, filkes, spices, yron, and Salt. I would to God wee would followe but the example of a poore Hauen towne, *that* I heard of it to do of late, heere in *the* Marches of Walles, called *Car-marthen*, when there came a certayne Vessell thether out of *Eng-land*, all Laden with Appells, which aforetime was wont to brynge them good corne, the towne commaunded that nonne shoulde buy the sayd Appells vpon a great payne, and so the Bote stoode so long in the Hauen without sale or vent, till *the* Appells were putrified and lost. And when the owner demaunded of the Bayliffe of the towne, why he had stayd his sale and vent? the Bayliffe answered againe, that the sayd vessell came thether to fetch the best wares they had in the countrey, as Fryzes, brode Clothes, & wooll; and in steede thereof hee should leaue *them* in their countrey but appells, that should be spent & waisted in lesse then a weeke. And sayd, 'bring vnto ¹vs corne or malt as yee were wont to doe, whereof *the* countrey hath need, and yee shall be welcome at all times, & yee shall haue free vent and sale thereof in our Porte': thinke yee that the cities of London, South-hampton, Bristowe, Chester, and other moe, might they not learne a good lesson of this poore Welch towne in this doing? Might not they say, when shippes full of Orranges, Pippens, or Cheries come in, that if they would agayne take Plummes, Damozins, and strawberries for them, they shoulde haue free exchange? and when they bring in Glasses, Puppets, Rattles, and such like thinges, they shoulde haue like trifles for them, if any such were to bee had within this Realme, as there bee many; but if they come for our Woolles, for our Clothes, Kerseyes, Corne, Tinne, Ledde, yea, our Golde and siluer, and such substantiall and necessary thinges, let them bring in againe Flax, Tarre, Oyles, Fyhe, & such like. And not to vse them as men doe litle Children, geue them an appell for the best Iewell *that* they haue about them. And thus wee are empouerished of our treasure & chiefe commoditie, and cannot perceaue it; such is the finenesse of straungers wits and the grofnes of ours; yet it were more tollerable if wee did

no more but cheariſhe their deuifes *that* be ſtraungers ; but we haue in times paſt deuifed our ſelues many other wayes, to our owne impouerifhment, and to exhauſt our treaſure. And now I muſt come to that thinge that you (brother Mercer) touched afore, which I take to be the chiefe cauſe of all this dearth of thinges (in compariſon of former times) and of the maniſ[e]ſt impouerifhing of the Realme, and might in ſhort time haue ben *that* deſtruction of the ſame, if it had not bene *the* rather remedied, that is, the baſing or rather the corrupting of our coyne & treaſure ; whereby we deuifed a way for the ſtraungers, not only to buy our Gold and ſiluer for braſſe, and to exhauſt this realme of treaſure ; but alſo to buy our chiefe commodities ¹in maner for naught ; yet it was thought this ſhould haue bene a meane, not onely to bryng our treaſure home, but to bring much of theirs ; but the experience playnly declared the contrary, ſo that it were but a very Dullerdes parte now to be in any doubt thereof.

Of the coyne, vvhat harme might haue grovne of the alteration of it.

[The chief cauſe of all our evils is the debaſing of our coin.]

[Fol. 28]

Forfooth, and ſuch a Dullerd am I in deede, that I cannot perceau what hinderance it ſhould be to the realme to haue this mettall more then that (for our Coyne), ſeeing the Coyne is but a token to goe from man to man, & when it is ſtricken with *the* Princes ſeale to be currant, what maketh it the matter what mettall it be made of, yea, though it were but Leather or paper ?

Knight.

[Coin may well be any metal, leather, or paper.]

You ſay but as moſt ſort of men doe ſay, and yet they bee farre wide from the trueth, as men that doe not conſider the thinge groundly ; for by that reaſon God would neuer ſend dearth among vs, but the Prince might quickly remedy it. As, if Corne were at a Crowne a buſhell, the Prince might prouide Crounes enowe for him ſelfe, and alſo his ſubieſts, made of braſſe, to pay for the ſame ; and ſo to make it as eaſy for him and his ſubieſtes to pay a Crowne of ſuch mettall for a buſhell, as it ſhould be for them now to pay a penny for the ſame ; and as the pryce of Corne doth riſe, the Prince might raiſe the eſtimation of his coyne after the rate, and ſo keepe the coyne alwayes at one eſtate in deede, though in name it ſhould ſeeme to riſe. As for example, ſuppoſe Wheate this yeare to be at a grote a buſhell, & the next yeare at two grotos, the Prince might cauſe the grote to be called viii.d. ; and if the buſhel roſe to xii.d. the buſhel, he might raiſe the eſtate of the grote to xii.d. ; and ſo whether it were by making of coyne of other mettalles then be of pryce receaued among all men, or

Doctor.

[Argument againſt a currency not based on gold or ſilver.]

[1 Fol. 28, back]

The substance
and quantity is
esteemed in
coyne, & not
the name

[Wares are the
subject of ex-
change, tho'
under the name
of coin.]

[2 Fol. 29]

Aristo. lib. 5
Eth.

by enhaunfing the price of the olde coyne made in mettalles of estimation, the Prince might, if your reason were true, keepe alwaies not onely corne, but also all other victuals and necessaries for ¹mans life, alwayes at one price in deede, though in terme they should vary; but yee may see dayly by experience *the contrary* hereunto, for when God sendeth dearth either of corne or of other things, there is neither Emperor nor King can help it, which they would gladly doe if they might, as well for their owne ease as for their subiectes; and might soone doe it, if your reason afore touched might take place; that is, if either they might make coyne of what estimation they would, of vile mettalls; or els enhaunce the value of coines made in mettalls of price, to what summe they would. Yet a man at the first blush woulde thinke that a Prince in his realme might doe this easily, & make what coyne he would to be currant, and of what estimation it pleased him; but he that so thinketh marketh but the termes, & not the thinges that are vnderstanded by them, as if a man made no difference betwene vi. grotes that made an ownc of siluer, & xii. grotes that made in all but an ounce of Siluer; by the grote of the first sorte, the sixth parte of an ounce, and by a grote of the other sorte is the twelfth part of an ownc of siluer vnderstanded; and so there must be as much difference betwene the one grote & the other, as is betwene two and one, the whole thing & the halfe, though either of both be called but vnder one name, that is, a grote; we must consider, though gould & siluer be the mettalls commonly wherein the coyne is stricken to be the tokens for exchange of thinges betwene man and man, yet it is the wares that are necessary for mans vse, that are exchanged indeede vnder the outward name of the coyne; and it is the raritie & plenty of such wares that makes the price thereof hier or baser. And because it were very combrous and chargeable to cary so much of the wares that we haue abundance of, to exchange for the wares that we want, alwayes both for the weight of our wares, and also for that they could not be ca^rried so farre without perishing of the same, nor proporcioned so euen, as there should be alwayes neither more or lesse brought of our wares then were equivalent with other wares that we receiue; therefore were the mettalles of gold & siluer deuifed as wares of litle weight, most in value, & least combrous to cary, and least subiect to detriment or hurt in the cariage thereof;

And may be cut and deuided in moſte pieces and portions, without any loſſe, to bee as *the* mean in Wares to exchange all other wares by. And if the thing were to be new deuifed, neceſſity would cauſe vs to deuife *the* ſame way againe. For, put *the* caſe there were no uſe of money amonge vs, but onely exchange of wares for wares, as ſometimes I do read hath ben; we might at a time haue ſuch plenty of things in our realme, as, for example, of corne, wolles, & Felles, Cheeſe & Butter, and ſuch other commodities, as were ſufficient for vs; and there ſhoulde remaine with vs ſuch great ſtore that wee could not ſpend it in our needes, nor keepe it longe without periſhing. Would not we be glad to exchange that abundance of things *that* could not abyde the longe keeping, for ſuch wares *that* woulde abyde the keeping? which we mighte exchange againe for ſuch wares as I re-hearfed, or any other as neceſſary, when ſcarſity of the ſame ſhould happen amonge vs. Yea, verely wee ſhoulde ſtudy to haue in that exchange ſuch wares as would go in leaſt romth, and continue longeſt without periſhing, and be caried to and fro with leaſt charge, & be moſt currant at all times and at all places. Is not Gold & Siluer¹ the thinges that be moſt of that ſorte, I meane moſt of value, moſt light to be caried, longeſt able to abide the keping, apteſt to receiue any forme, marke, & moſte currant in all places, & moſt eaſely deuided into many pieces without loſſe of the ſtuffe? In ſome of theſe poynts I confeſſe precious Stones do excel both Siluer & Gold, as in value or lightneſſe of cariage; but, then, they may not be deuided² without periſhing of the ſubſtaunce; nor put agayne together after they be once deuided, nor many of them abide ſo many daungers without periſhing of the matter, nor yet receiue any marke or ſtampe eaſely, nor be ſo vniuerſally eſtemed; therefore they be not ſo meete for Instruments of Exchange as Siluer and Golde be, or els they for their pieces and lyghtneſſe of cariage might be. And, becauſe Gold and Siluer haue all theſe commodities in them, they are choſen by common aſſent of the whole world, that is knowen to be of any ciuility, to be instruments of exchange to meaſure all things by, moſt apte to be either caried far or kepte in ſtore to receiue for thinges, whereof we haue abundance, and to purchaſe by them agayne other thinges which wee lacke, when and where we haue moſt neede. As for example, if there were no coyne currant, but exchange of thinges, as I

That the neceſſity of mutual traffique and commodity of exchanging made Coyne to bee deuised.

Hom. F. de emptione & vendicatione. Li. I.

[¹ orig. Silt uer]
Why Gold & ſiluer were the ſtuffe moſt meete for coine to bee ſtricken in.

[Precious ſtones not ſo fit.]

[² Fol. 29, back]

Publica mensura. Aristo. Eth.

sayd sometime there was; fet this case, that a Man had as much corne in one yere as he could not well spend in hys house in foure yeares after, and perceiued that hee myghte not keepe it so longe, or till a deare or skarfe yeare shoulde come; and if he did, much of it shoulde perishe, or all; were it not wisdome for him then to exchange the ouerplus of that corne, for some other ware that might be longer kept with out daunger of wast, or deminishing, for *the* which he myghte at all times haue either Corne againe at his neede, or some other necessarie thinge? Yeas, no doubt, if there were no vse of Siluer or Golde, he would haue Tinne, brasse, or Leadde, or such other like thing that would abide the keeping with least detriment, and would desire to haue that thinge most that were in least weight, most in value, and in leaste daunger of wearing or perishing, & moste vniuerfally receiued, wherein Gold and Siluer excesses all other mettalles.

[Convenience of
a metallic
currency.]

Knight.

What makes these Mettalles to bee of more value then other?

Doctor.

No doubt their excellencie aboute other mettalles, both ¹ in pleasure and vse; partly the rarity of them.

[² Fol. 30]

Knight.

What be these qualities? If yee prayse the Gold for his weight or plyablenes, Led doth excel it in these pointes; if yee commend his colour, Syluer by many mens iudgementes (whose colour resembleth *the* day lyght for his clerenesse) passeth him. And Herroldes preferres it in Armes, because it is furthest of seene in *the* Fielde, nor neuer seemes other colour but his owne, be it neuer so farre of; where all other shall seeme blacke farre of, and so loose the strengthe of theyr owne.

[The merits of
Silver]

Doctor.

As much as the Led approacheth the Golde in that point—I speake of weight and pliablenes—it is cast behinde it in other qualities farre more commendable, as in colour it either passeth Siluer, by some other mens iudgementes, because it resembles the colour of the celestiaall bodies, as the Sunne and Starres, being the most excellent thynges that commeth vnder the view of the bodely senses of man; or it is equivalent to it in armes. I know not how much it is esteemed; well I wote Prynces blase their armes most with that colour, whether it bee for excellency of the same, or for that they loue the mettall it is made of so wel, I cannot tel. But now to esteeme theyr other qualities: Golde is neuer wasted nor consumed by fire; yea, the more it is burned the more puerer it is; which ye can say of none other mettalles. Then it weares not lesse by occupying, it defyleth not the thing

Why Golde, &
Syluer are este-
med afore al o-
ther mettalles.

it toucheth, as Siluer doth, with which ye may draw lynes, whych is a declaration that the stuffe falleth away, albeit wryters do maruell that it should draw so black a line, being of that brightnes and colour it self. Then there is no rust nor scurfe *that* diminisheth the goodnes or wasteth *the* substance of Gold; it abides *the* freating, and licours of Salt & Vinegar without damage, which wearcth any other thing; it needes no fire, ere it be made Golde, as others require; it is Golde as soone as it is founde; it draweth without wooll,¹ as it were Woll; it is easily spred in leaues of maruailous thinnes; yee may adorne or guild any other mettals with it, yea, Stones and Timber; it is also nothinge inferiour in commodity of making vessels or other Instrumentes to filuer, but rather puerer, cleaner, and more sweete to kepe any liquor in. Next him approacheth Siluer in commenda[ti]ons, as in clennes, beauty, sweetenes, and lightnes. And it serues not onely to make vessels and other instrumentes, but it is also sponne, but not without Woll, as Golde may bee, though they could not doe it aforetime, but with Gold onely, as I haue hearde; church Vestures were made onely of Gold then, and now of late of this Siluer, being spon with filke and guilte, they counterfeite the olde exceffe of clothe of Golde and tyssue. Now to speake of other mettals, yee see what vses they serue for, whych if these were away should bee more esteemed. Then I coulde you the raritie commends the fayd mettals of Golde and Siluer yet more *then* this. For as they do excel in qualities, so Dame nature seemes to haue layde them vp in a further warde, then her other giftes, to shew vs that all fayre things be rare, and *that* the fayrest thinges, as they be hardest to be attained, so they be most to be esteemed. If a Glasse (as *Erasmus* sayth wel) were as rare as filuer, it should be as deare as filuer, and not without cause; who could glasse a Window with filuer so as he might keepe out the iniury of the weather, and yet neuertheless receive the commodity of the light through *the* same to his house, as with glasse he might? And so I might commend other things for their vse afore Gold or Siluer, as Iron & steele, with whom yee may make better tooles for many necessary vses then with Gold or Siluer; but for the vses that we talke of, Siluer and Golde do clearely excel al other mettals. I passe ouer that matter. Thus I haue shewed some reason why these mettals of Golde & Syluer are growen in estimation aboue other.

[The merits of
Gold over
Silver]

[1 Fol. 30, back]

[The uses of
Silver.

It is now spun
into Church
vestments.]

[The scarceness
of Gold and
Silver makes
them valuable.

Were Glass as
scarce as silver,
it 'ld be as dear.]

Knight.
[1 Fol. 37]

Why Golde &
Siluer vvere
coined.

Doctor.

Plini lib. 33
Cap. 3.

Sometime
brasse, siluer &
Gold vvere
vveighed be-
fore Coyne
made.

Inst. de test.
ord. § 1.

[Coin markt
to guarantee
its weight]

[2 Fol. 37, back]

Why losse com-
meth of cre-
dence.

¹ Why doe Kynges and Princes stricke these mettalles and other with a Coyne? but because they would haue that coyne, of what value so euer it be, to beare the effate that *the* coine pretendeth, which they did in vaine if they could make the mettall that beareth that, to be neither better nor worse in estimation. Then I had as lief haue final gaddes or plats of Siluer and Gold, without any coyne at al to go abroad from man to man for exchange.

Surely the time was so, (euen amonge the *Romaynes*, when neither braffe, siluer, nor golde was coined;) but were esteemed onely by the weight. And thereof to this day remayneth these vocables of coynes, as *Libra*, *Pondo*, *Dipondius*, as *Solidus*, *Denarius*, wordes of waights, that afterward were geuen to coynes, pretending *the* same weights. Also the common officers that waighed these rude mettals were called *Libri pendes*, whereof we haue mencion made in *the* Ciuile lawe; but, because in great traffique & assembly of buyers, & such, it was tedious to tary for *the* weighing of these Mettalles, and trying, it was thought good that the Princes should strike those mettals with seuerall markes, for the variety of the weights they were of, to assure *the* Receiuer the same to be no lesse then the weight it pretended. As for playner example, they strake *the* pounce weight with the marke of the pound, and two ounce with the marke of *the* ounce, and so after the variety of *the* weights of other pieces variable markes; whereby began the names of Coynes, so that the people needed not to bee troubled with the weighing and trying of euery piece; beinge assured by the marke of the Prynce, that euery piece containd the weight that was signified by the marke set on euery one; the Prynces credite was then such amonge their subiects as they doubted nothinge therein. As soone as they attempted to doe otherwise, that is, to marke the halfe pound with *the* marke of the pound, & the halfe ounce with the marke of *the* ounce, ²a while their credite made those coynes currant. As I read among *the Romaynes* practized more then once, but assoone as it was espied, the two pieces of halfe pounds went no farther then *the* one piece of a whole pound went before. And at length, as much as they wonne at the first, they lost at the last in payment of their rentes, customes, and duties. And so the nearer East, the further from West. And they consequently lost their credite; much like as I haue knowne certain townes in England to haue done

which were wont to make their clothes of a certayne bredth and length, and to set their seales to the same; while they kept the rate truly, straungers did but looke on the seale, and receaue theyr ware, wherby theſe townes had great vent of theyr clothes, and confequently prospered very well. Afterward, ſome in theſe townes, not contented with reaſonable gaines continuall, and deſiering more, Deuiled clothes of leſſe lengthe, bredth, and goodneſſe, then they were wont to bee, and yet by the commendation of the ſeale to haue as much Money for the ſame as they had before for good clothes, and for a time they gat much, and ſo abaſed the credite of theyr Predeceſſors to theyr ſinguler Luker, which was recompenced with the loſſe of theyr Poſterity. For after theſe Clothes were founde faulty, for all their ſeales, they were not onely neuer the better truſted, but much leſſe for theyr Seale, yea, though their Clothes were well made; for when theyr vntruth and falſhoode was eſpied, then no man woulde buy theyr clothes, till they were enſeached and vnfolded, regarding nothing the ſeale; and yet becauſe they founde them vntrue in ſome parte, they miſtruſted them in other; and ſo would geue leſſe for thoſe clothes then for any other lyke, hauing no Seales to the ſame, whereby the credite of the ſaid townes was loſt, and the townes vtterly decayed. Dyd yee not ſee that our Coyne was diſcredited immediately vpon the alteration of it, in the late yeares of King *Henry* ¹the eyghte, ſpecially among Straungers, whych euer before deſiered to ſerue vs afore all other Nations, at all our needes, for the goodnes of our Coyne? And then they would let vs haue nothing from them, but onely for our commodities; as Wooll, Felles, Tallow, Butter, Cheefe, Tynne, and Ledde; & where before time they were wont to brynge vs for the ſame, either good Golde or ſiluer, or els as neceſſary commodities agayne; then they ſent vs eyther ſuch trifles as I ſpake of before: as Glaſſes, gally Pots, tennice Balles, Papers, Gyrdels, Brouches, Buttons, Dyalles, and ſuch light ware that ſtandeth them in no charge or uſe, or els (if it be true that I haue heard, and as I tolde you in your eare before) they ſent vs Braſſe for our Treafure of Golde and ſiluer, and for our ſayd commodities; I warrant you, yee ſawe no Golde nor Siluer broughte ouer vnto vs, as it was before vſed, & no maruayle; to what purpoſe ſhould they bring ſiluer or Golde thither, whereas the ſame was not eſteemed? Therefore, I haue heard ſay for a truth, and I beleue it the rather to

[Some English towns ſtampt their full-measure cloths with a ſeal, and buyers bought by the ſeal only.]

[Then ſome ſcamps put the ſeal on ſhort-measure cloths.]

[The cheat was found out, and then the ſeal diſcredited even good cloths.]

[Fol. 32]

[So our baſe coin was ſoon found out, and then foreigners 'ud only take our products, wool, cheeſe, tin, &c., in exchange for their glaſſes, paper, buttons, &c.]

What doe ſtraungers ſend vs for our Treafure & chiefe commodities?

[Debasd English
coin imported
from abroad.]

bee true, because it is likely, that after that our Coyne was basd and altered, Straungers counterfeited our Coyne, & founde *the* meanes to haue greate Masses of that transported hether, and here vttered it well for our olde Golde and siluer, as also for our chiefe commodities, which thinge I reporte mee vnto you what inconuenience it might bring vnto this Realme if it were suffered, in a small compasse of time?

Knight.

There be searchers that myght let that matter well ynough, if they be true, both for staying of such falsē Coyne to come in, and of our old Coyne to goe forth.

Doctor.

I sayd so to the man that tolde mee the same tale that I tolde you euen now. And he answered me, there were many wayes to deceaue the Searchers, if they were neuer so true, as by putting of the sayde Coyne in their shippes balast, or in some vesselles of Wyne or other Lyquor, transpor^ted either vnto vs or from vs. then, euery Creaque in this Realme hath not searchers; And if they had, they bee not such faintes as would not bee corrupted for money. Besides this, was there not made proclamations that the olde coyne, specially of Golde, should not be currant here aboue such a pryce? was not that the rediest way to driue away our golde from vs? euery thing will goe where it is most esteemed, and therefore our treasure went ouer in heapes.

[Howv our olde
coyne may bee
transported, &
the Prince or
her officers not
knowing of it.
[+ Fol. 32, back]

We deuse the
rediest vway to
driue away
our treasure.

Knight.

I belieue well, that these were meanes to exhaust *the* olde treasure from vs, which yee haue reiectēd; but how it should make euery thing so deare among our selues, since *the* time (as yee sayd it doth), I cannot yet perceaue the reason.

Doctor.

Why? doe yee not perceiue, that by reason hereof wee payde dearer presently for euery thing that we haue from beyonde the Sea, then wee were wont to doe before?

Knight.

That cannot be denied.

Doctor.

By howe much, thinke you?

Knight.

By the thirde parte, well maner of things.

Doctor.

Must not they that buy deare, sell deare agayne their wares?

Knight.

That is true, if they intend to thriue; for he that selleth good cheape & buyeth deare, shall neuer thriue.

Doctor.

You haue your selfe declared the reason why things *within* the Realme proued after *that* time so deare; for wee must buy deare all

things bought from beyond the sea, & therefore wee must sell agayne as deare our things, or els wee make ill bargaynes for our selues. And though that reason maketh it plaine, yet the experience of *the* thing maketh it playner; for where yee say that euery thing bought beyond the sea is commonly dearer by the third parte then it was, do yee not see *the* same proportion rayfed in our wares, if it be not more

Why thinges
vwithin the
realme should
be so deare.

What losse haue wee by this, when wee sell our commodities as deare as wee buy others? Knight.

¹I graunte to one sorte of men, I accompt it no losse; yea, to some other a Gayne more then any losse, and yet to some other sort a greater losse then it is profit to *that* other; yea, generally to the vtter impouerishing of the Realme, and weaking of the Queenes maiesties power exceedingly. Doctor.
[Fol. 33]

I pray you, what be those sorts that yee meane? And first of those that yee thinke should haue losse thereby? Knight.

I meane al these that liues by buying and selling; for, as they buy deare, they sell thereafter. Doctor

What is the next sort that yee say would win by it? Knight.

Mary, all such as haue takings or Fearmes in their owne manurance at the olde rent; for where they pay after the olde rate, they sell after the new; that is, they pay for their lande good cheape, and sell all things growing thereof deare. Doctor.
Some had
gaynes by the
alteration of
the coyne.

What sorte is that which yee sayde should haue greater losse hereby, then these men had profit? Knight.

It is all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and all other that liue either by a stented rent or stypend, or doe not Manure the ground, or doe occupy no liuing or selling. Doctor.

I pray you peruse these sortes as yee did the other, one by one, and by course. Knight.

I will gladly: firste, the Noblemen and Gentlemen lyue for the most part on the yerely reuenues of their lands and fees geuen them of the Prynce. Then ye know he that may spend now by such reuenues and fees CCC.li. a yere, may not keepe no better port then his father, or any other before him, that could spend but nigh CC.li.; and so yee may perceiue it is a great abatement of Mans Countenance, to take away the thirde parte of his liuing; and therefore Doctor.
Who had losse
by the alteration
of Coine.

gentlemen doe study fo much the increafe of their Lands and enhaunfing of their Rentes, and to take Fearmes and paffures to their owne handes as yee fee they doe, and all to feeke to maintayne their countenaunces as their predeceffors did, and yet they came fhorthe there in. Some other, feeing the charges of houfeholde encreafe fo much, as by no prouifion they can make, it can bee holpen, geue ouer their houfholdes, and get them Chambers in London or aboute the courte, and there fpend their time, fome of them with a feruaunt or two, where he was wont to keepe thirty or forty perfons daily in his houfe, and to doe good in the Countrey in keeping good order and rule among his neighbors. The other forte be euen Seruingmen, and men of Warre, that hauing but their olde ftented wages, cannot finde them felues there-with as they might afore time, without rauin or fpoile. And ye know xii.d. a day now will not go fo far as viii. pence would aforetime. And therefore yee haue men fo euill willing to ferue the Prince now a dayes, from *that* they were wont to bee. Alfo, where xl. fhillinges a yere was honeft wages for a Yeomen afore this time, and xx. pence a weeke borde wages was fufficient, nowe double as much will fkante beare their charge.

[1 Fol. 33, back]

[Some gentlemen give up their country-houses, and get chambers in London.]

[12d. now won't go so far as 8d. of old.]

[Yeomen's wages, —40s. a year, and 20d. a week boardwages, —are doubled.]

Knight.

[Seruingmen.]

That is longe of theyr exceffe, afwell in Apparell as in fare, for now a dayes Seruingmen goe more costely in apparell, and looke to fare more daintely then their maifters were wont to doe in times paff.

Doctor.

[Seruingmen's dress of old.]

Of excesse in apparell and fare.

[Seruingmen's gay dress now.]

No doubt that is one great caufe of the greater charge of houfeholde. For I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer, and a frife coate in winter, and with a plaine white hofe made meete for his body, And with a piece of biefe, or fome other difhe of fodde meate all the weeke longe: Now he will looke to haue at the leaft, for fommer, a coate of the fineft cloth that may bee gotten for money, and his Hofen of the fineft Kerfey, and that of fome fraung die: as Flaunders die, or french puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer, if he weare cloth. Then their coates fhallbe garded, cut, & ftitched; and the breches of their hofe fo drawn with filke, that *the* work²manfhip fhall farre paffe the pryce of the ftuffe. And thys thing is not reftained as it fhould be, but rather cherifhed of the Maifters, on fruiuing with the other who may bee moft proude, and whofe retinue may goe moft lauiſh & gay for a time of ſhowe; whereas through ſuch

[2 Fol. 34]

[Masters strive whose retinue shall be most gay.]

exceſſe they are fayne all the reſt of the yere to keepe the fewer ſeruauntes. And ſo in exceſſe of meates, they fare at ſome tymes in the yere, that in the whole yere after they keepe eyther no houſes at all, or if they doe it ſhalbe very ſmal. Like exceſſes aſwell in apparell as in fare were ſeene in *Rome*, a litle before the declination of the Emperre, ſo as wyſe men haue thought it was occaſion of the decay thereof. And, therefore, *Cato* and diuerſe wyſe ſenatours at that time, would haue had lawes made for reſtrainte of ſuch exceſſes; and for that, through the inſolencie of ſome that maintained the contrary, *the* ſame were not duly executed, much pride enſued there, and of pride, diuiſion; and through deuſion, vtter deſolation of the common weale. I pray God this Realme may beware by that example, ſpecially London, the head of the emperre, where ſuch exceſſes (by reaſon the Wealth almoſt of thys Realme is heaped vp there, as the Corne of a Field into a barne) be moſt ſeene; for in other parties commonly of thys Realme, the lawe of neceſſity keepes men in a good caſe for exceeding either in apparell or fare. I thinke wee were as much dread or more of our enemies, when our Gentlemen went ſimply, and our Seruingmen plainly, without Cuts or gards, bearing their heauy Swordes and Buckelers on their thighes, in ſteed of cuts and Gardes and light daunſing Swordes; and when they rode, carying good Speares in their hands, in ſtede of white rods, which they cary now, more like ladies or gentlewomen then men; all which delicacyes maketh our men cleane effeminate & without ſtrength.

[Exceſſe in food now.]

[London goes to the greateſt exceſſe in dreſſ and food.]

[Light ſwords for heauy, and white rods for ſpeares, are now carri'd: men are ſo effeminate.]

We may thanke our longe peace & quiet within *the* realm, that men be not forced to ride ſo ſtrong. It was a troblous ¹ world as well within the Realme as without, when men went and rode as you do ſpeake.

Knight.

[Fol. 34, back]

What can you tell what time or how ſone ſuch a world may come again? Wiſe men do ſay, that in peace men muſt looke and provide for warre, and in warre again for peace. If men might be alwaies ſure of peace, then needed no man to keepe men at all. But ſith it is otherwiſe, and that *the* iniquitie of men is ſuch as they cannot bee longe wythoute Warre, And that we reckon heere in Englande our chiefe ſtrength to be in our Seruingmen & yeomen, it were wiſedome to exerciſe them in tyme of peace, ſomewhat wyth ſuch apparell, fare, and hardenes, as they muſt needes uſtayne in time of warre,

Doctor.

In peace, looke for vvarre.

[The ſtrength of England is in Seruingmen and Yeomen.]

then the fame ſhall bee no nouelty to *them* when they come to it; and theyr bodies ſhall bee ſtrong, and harder to beare that that they were ſomewhat accuſtomed withall afore. Let this that I ſay be of no credite, if delicacie¹ and *tendernes* was not the moſt occaſion of the ſubduing of the greateſt Empyres that were.

Knight.

[Men can only
bear light armour
now.]

Surely, ye ſay very well, and that which ſoundeth to good reaſon. I muſt needes allowe *that* I haue found true my ſelfe, for my men are ſo tenderly viſed in time of peace, that they can not away with any heavy armour in time of warre, but either ſhirts of Maile or Coates of linnen ragges, which a² ſhotte may perhaps deceyue vs. Then what ſaye you by our buildings, that wee haue here in Englande of late dayes, far more exceſſiue then at any time heretofore? Doth not that impouerish the Realme, & cauſe men to keepe leſſe Houſes?

Doctor.

[Building good
for the realm.]

[3 Fol. 35; mis-
numberd 36]
zg. neigh-

I ſay that all theſe thynges be tokens & Ornamentes of peace, and that no doubt is cauſe of leſſe Houſholdes, ſith the buildings and trimming of thoſe houſes ſpendes away that that ſhould be otherwiſe ſpent in houſhold. But it doth not empouerish the Realme at all, for all the expences of buildings, for the moſt part, is ſpent amonges our ſelues & ³amonges our neighbours⁴ and Countrey men: As amonges Carpenters, Maſons, and Labourers, except men will fall to guilding or painting of theſe Houſes. For in that much treaſure may be ſpent, and to no viſe. Alſo the Arefes, Verderers, and Tapiftry workes, wherewith they bee hanged commonly, conueieth ouer into *Flaunders* & other ſtraunge Countreyes (where they be had from) much of our Treaſure.

Of exceſſe in
building.

Knight.

[Did not the
taking of the
Church
Revenues by the
Crown ſend
much money
abroad?]

Syr, yet I muſt remember you of one thing more, which men do ſuppoſe to be a great occaſion of the ſpendinge of the treaſure abroad; & it is where there is comen to *the* crown of late yeares much lands, by reaſon of Monaſteries, colleges, and Chauntres diſſolued, which men ſuppoſe hath bene the cauſe two maner of waies, that there is leſſe treaſure abroad in the Realme. One is, becauſe the reuenues of the ſayd places, diſſolued heretofore, were ſpent in the country, and went from hand to hande there, for Vittayle, cloth, and other thinges; and now are gone to one place out of *the* country. Another is, that diuers men whych had any ryches or wealth, vttered the ſame, to buy perſelles of the ſayd diſſolued landes, lying commodities for them; whereby, one way & other, the whole riches of the country is ſwept away.

Truth it is, also, that it wringed the countrey abroad for the time, and had kept it so still if the Kynges Maieftye had not disperfed the fame lands abroad among them in the countrey againe; but after *that* his highnes departed with a great deale of those poffeffions, part by gift and part by fale, treasure hath and will encrease againe, abroad, asmuch as euer it was, if it be not letted by other meanes; so that I take *that* to be no great cause of the dearth that we haue, for the foyle is not taken away, but the poffeffion thereof is onely tranfferred from one kinde of persons to another.

Doctor.

[No, it only transferrd the possession of the land from one man here to another.]

Then, to retourne to the matter of the Coyne where wee ¹[1]eft, I haue heard your conceipte how the alteration thereof within our Realme did some Men no harme, as Buyers and sellers: some other it dyd good vnto, as Farmors that had Lande at the olde Rent; and some other, as Gentlemen, men of warre, seruauents, and all other lyuing by any rated or stented rent or stipend, were great losers by it. But I heard you say it was so much withall to the losse of the Prynce, that it might be to the great perill of the whole Realme in proceffe of time. I meruayle how it shoulde bee so, for I hearde wise men say, that the Queenes highnesse Father did winne inestimable great fummes by the altera[t]ion of the Coyne.

Knight.

[1 Fol. 35, back]

[How did Henry VIII.'s debasement of our Coin injure the Country?]

So it was for the time, but I liken that gaines to such as men haue when they sell away their Lands, to haue the greater some at one time, and euer after to loose the contynuall increase what should grow therof. For you knowe al the treasure of this Realme must once in few yeares come to the Prynces handes by one meanes or other, and from thence it shoulde goe abroad againe to the Subiects. As all Springes runneth to the *Ocean* Sea, & out of it are they spred abroad againe; then, as they came into *the* kings coffers at the first in good mettall, they came forth in such as you haue heretofore seene. And, albeit it seemeth at *the* first viewe to empouerishe but the subiects only, at length it empouerisheth also the Prynce; and then, if the Prince should want in time of warre, specially sufficient treasure to pay for armor, weapons, tacklings of shippes, gunnes, and other artillery, necessary for *the* warre, and could by no meanes haue of the subiectes wherewith to buy *the* same, what cause should the Realme be in? Surely in very euill; & therefore these Coynes and Treasure be not without cause called of wise men, *Nerui bellorum*, (*that is to say*)

Doctor.

Howv the alteration of the Coyne should be most losse to the Prince.

[How can the Prince buy armour and artillery from abroad, with base coin?]

[Coin the Sinews
of War.]

[¹ Fol. 36]

[We can't have
base or fancy
coin, so long as
we want to buy
foreign goods]

[Stafford's two
remedies :

1. stop the import-
ation of trifles ;

2. forbid the
export of raw,
unwrought,
materials.]

Knight.

[No Clothiers
wanted here.]

Doctor.

[² Fol. 36, back]

Knight.

[Unemployd
Clothiers the
cause of all
insurrections.]

the Synowes of Warre. And that is the greatest daunger that I doe consider shoulde growe for want of treasure to the Prince and the Realme; ¹for though a Prynce may haue what coyne he will currant within his Realme, yet the fraungers cannot be compelled to take them. And I graunt, if men might liue within themselues, all together without borowinge of any other thing outwarde, we might deuise what coyne we woulde; but since wee must haue neede of other, and they of vs, wee must frame our things, not after our owne phantasies, but to followe the common market of all the worlde; and wee may not set the price of things at our pleasure, but follow the price of the vniuersall Market of the World. I graunt, also, that Brasse hath bene coyned ere this; yea, & Leather in some places. But euer I reade, that was at an extreme neede, which thinge is not to bee followed as an example, but to be eschewed as longe as possible may be. And if our treasure be farre spent and exhaust, (as it happened in the later yeares of Kinge *Henry* the eight,) I could wish that any other order were taken for the recouery of it, then *the* deprauing of our coines, which serueth the Prince but a litle while, for some present shifte, and hindred him a longe time afterwards. I am perswaded that within our Realme treasure might bee soone recouered by these two meanes: first, if we forbad the bringing in and selling of so many trifles as I before reherfed to be brought vs from beyond the sea, & that nothing made beyond the sea of our owne commodities should be sould heere. And secondly, if we forbad that none of our commodities shoulde passe vnwrought ouer sea, which being wrought here, and sould ouer, should bring in infinite treasure in shorte time.

Mary, and there yee bee contrary to the opinions of many a great wise man, which thinke it better *that* all our wooll were sould ouer so vnwrought, then any Clothiers shoulde be set a worke withall within this realme.

That were a straunge thing, in myne opinion, that any man shoulde thinke so; and what should mooue them to be ²of that opynion, I pray you?

I will tell you. They take it, that all insurrections & vproares, for the most parte, do rise by occasion of these clothiers; For, when clothiers lack vent ouer sea, then is a great multitude of these clothiers

idle; And, when they be idle, then they assemble in companies and murmur for lack of liuing, and so picke one quarrell or other to stirre the poore cominalty, that bee as idle as they, to a commotion. And, sometimes by occasion of warres, there must needs bee some stay of Clothes, so as they cannot haue alwayes lyke sale or vent; at euery which time, if the sayd Clothiers should take occasion of commotion, they thinke it were better that there were none of them in the Realme at all, and consequently, that *the* woll were vttered vnwrought ouer sea then to haue it wrought here.

Whether all
out Woll
were expedient
to be sould o-
uer vnwrought

So it may seeme to them that considereth one inconuenience and not another. Surely, whosoeuer hath many Persons vnder his Gouvernaunce shall haue much a doe to gouerne them in quietnesse; and hee that hath a greate family, shall haue sometimes trouble in ruling of them. It were but a meane Pollicy, eyther for a Prince to diminish the hys number, for a Maister of a House to put away hys Seruaunts, because he would not haue any trouble with the gouernaunce of them; he that would so doe might be well resembled to a man that should sell his land because he would not bee troubled with the accompt of it. I thinke it meete that we did not onely encrease *the* feate of clothing, but also intend diuers other mo feates and occupations, wherby our People might bee set a worke, rather then take away any occupation from them; specially such as clothing is, that fettes so many thousandes a worke, and enryche both Towne and Countrey. Where it is occupied in *Venice*, as I haue heard, and in many other places beyond Sea, they rewarde and chearish euery man that bryngs in ¹any newe Arte or misterye, whereby the people might be set a worke, with such thinges as shoulde both finde their workemen, and also bring some treasure or other commodity into the Countrey. And shall we contrarywise labour to destroy our best and most profitable trade, which is by clothing? I would know what thinge els might bringe vs treasure from straunge parties, or wherewith shoulde so many of our people be set a worke, as haue now their lyuings by clothing, if that occupation were layde downe?

[We want our
cloth-making
trade increas'd,
and more trades
brought in.]

[1 Fol. 37]

Mysteries are
to be encrease[d]
rather than di-
minished.

Mary! wee might haue treasure ynough from outward Parties for our Woolles, though nonne were wrought within the Realme; And, as for an Occupation, to set our Clothiers a worke, they mighte bee set to the Plough and husbandry, and that should make husbandry to

Knighte.

[Set Clothiers to
ploughing.]

be the more occupied, & grasing lesse, when all these people that now doe occupy clothing should fall to husbandry.

Doctor.

[If every one
bred sheep,

we should have
no men to defend
the realm.
And if Clothiers
turne Husband-
men, they'd
starve.]

[¹ Fol. 37, back]

As to the first that yee sayd, that Wooll is sufficient to bring in treasure; if it were (as it is not in deede,) yet that Feate were not for the Weale nor for continuance of the Realme. For when euery man would fall to breede sheepe, and to increase Wooll, and so at length all other occupations should bee set a side, and breeding of sheepe onely occupied; then yee knowe that a fewe sheepe maisters would serue for a whole Shyre; & so in proesse of time the multitude of the subiects should be worne away; and none lefte but a fewe Shepherds, which were no number sufficient to serue the Prince at neede, or to defende this realme from Enemies. As to the other parte of your tale, whereby yee woulde that these Clothiers shoulde fall from that occupation to husbandry; how coulde so many added to them that occupy husbandry already, get their lyuinge by the same, when they that bee husbandmen now haue but a small Lyuinge thereby? And if yee woulde say to mee that they shoulde haue at all times free vent and full Sale of ¹their corne ouer sea, then commeth the same inconuenience in that ye thought to auoide before, by putting them from clothiug. For some yeres it should happen either for warres, or by reason of plenty in all partes beyond the Sea, that they should haue no vent of their corne, and then be dryuen to be idle, and consequently for lacke of liuing to assemble together, and make like vproares as ye spake of before.

[In France are
many trades,
and the artisans
make rows,
but no one wants
to destroy the
men,

who are the
riches of the
land.]

They haue in *Fraunce* more handy craftes occupied, and a greater multitude of Artificers, then we haue here by a greate deale; and for all that they haue made many greate sturres and commotions there before this, yet they will not destroy Artificers; for, they know *that* the higheft Prynces of them all, without such artificers, could not maintaine their estate. Doe not all theyr toules, customes, taxes, tallages, and subsidies, chiefly growe by such artificers? What king can maineteine his estate with his yearly reuenues, onely growing of his landes? For, as many seruauents in a house, well set a worke, gaines euery man somewhat to their maister: So doth euery artificer in a Realme ech gaine somewhat; and altogether, a great masse to the king & his realm euery yeare it bringeth.

Knight.

And now, because we are entred into communication of artificers,

I will make this diuifion of them. Some of them doe but conuey money out of the countrey; Some other, that which they get, they doe ſpend againe in the countrey. And the third forte of Artificers is of *them* that doe bring in Treafure into the countrey. Of the firſt fort, I reckon all mercers, Grocers, Vintners, Haberdashers, Milleners, and ſuch as doe ſell wares growing beyond the ſea, and do fetch out our treafure for the fame, which kinde of artificers, as I reckon them tollerable, yet not ſo neceſſary in a common Weale but they might be beſt ſpared of all other. Yet, if we had not other Artificers to bringe in as much treafure as they doe ¹cary forth, we ſhould be greate looſers by them. Of the ſecond forte bee theſe Shoemakers, Tailours, Carpenters, Maſons, Tylers, Bouchers, Brewers, Bakers, and Viſtailers of all fortes, which, like as they get their liuing in *the* countrey, ſo they ſpend it; but they bring in no treafure vnto vs. Therefore, we muſt cheariſh well the third fort. And thoſe be Clothiers, Tanners, Cappers, and Worſtedmakers, onely that I knowe, (which by their miſteries & faculties) do bring in any treafure. As for our wolles, felles, Tinne, Ledde, Butter, and Cheefe, theſe be commodities that the ground beares, requyring the induſtrye of a fewe perſons; and if wee ſhoulde onely truſt to ſuch, and deuyſe nothing els to occupy our ſelues with, a few perſons would ſerue for the rearing of ſuch thinges, and few alſo it would finde; and ſo ſhould our realme be but like a grange, better furniſhed with beaſtes then with men, whereby it mighte be ſubiecte to the ſpoile of other nations; aboute whych is the more to be feared and eſchued, becauſe the countrey of his owne kinde is apte to bringe forth ſuch thinges as bee for encrease of cattell, then for ſuch thinges as be for *the* nourifhment of men. If *Pomponius Mela* be to be beleueed, which, deſcrybing thys Ilande, ſayeth thus: *Plana, ingens, & ferax: ſed eorum, que pecora, quàm homines benignius alant*; That is to ſay, ‘it is playne, large, & plentifull. But of theſe thinges that nourifheth Beafteſ more kindly then men.’ So many Foreſtes, Chafes, Parkes, Marſhes, and waſte groundes being more here then moſt commonly elſewhere, declare the ſame not to bee all in vayne that hee affyrmes. It hath not ſo much erable Grounde, Vynes, Olyues, Fruites, and ſuch as bee both moſt neceſſary for the foode of men. And as they requyre many hands in their culture, ſo they finde moſt perſons foode, as *Fraunce* and diuerſe other Countreies haue.

Three ſortes of Artificers.

[1. Middlemen importers.]

One bringeth out our Treafure.

[1 Fol. 38, *mis-numbered* 34]

A nother ſpend that they get in the ſame countrey agayne.

The third ſort bring in Treafure, and therefore muſt be cheriſhed.

[Our land brings forth food for beaſts rather than men.]

Pomp. Me.

[Fol 38, back]

Therefore, as much ground¹ as is here apte for these things, would be touned as much as may be to such vses as may finde moste perfons. And ouer that townes and Cities would be replenished wyth all kinde of Artificers, not onely clothyers, which is, as it were, our naturall occupation, but with Cappers, Glouers, Paper-makers, Glasiers, Paynters, Golde-smithes, blacke-smithes of al fortes, Couerlet-makers, needle-makers, pinners, and such other; so as we should not onely haue inough of such thinges to serue our Realme, and saue an infynite treasure that goeth now ouer for many of the same; but also might spare of such things ready wrought to be folde ouer, whereby we should fetch againe other necessary commodities or treasure. And this shoulde both replenish the Realme of People able to defende it, and also saue & winne much treasure to the same. Such occupations alone do enrich diuers countreyes that be else baren of them selues.

[New trades wanted in England.]

Mysteries doe enrich countries that be els barren.

[See how Flanders and Germany are enrich by their manufactures.]

And what riches they bring to the Countries where they be well vsed, the Countrey of Flaunders and Germanie do well declare, where, through such occupations, it hath so many & eke so wealthy Cities that it were almost incredible so litle ground to sustaine so much people. Wherefore, in my minde they are far wide of right consideration, that would haue either none or els lesse clothing within this Realme, because it is some time occasion of busines & tumultes, which commeth for lacke of vent. There is nothing euery way so commodious or necessary for mans vse, but it is sometimes, by ill handling, occasion of some displeasure, no, not fier and water that be so necessary, as nothing can be more.

Knight.

Yea, master Doctor, we stand not in like case as *Fraunce* or *Flaunders* that yee speake of; if they haue not vente one way, they may haue it another way allwaies, for the firme land is rounde about them in maner. If they bee at warre with one Neyghbour, they will bee friendes with another,² to whose Countreyes they may sende theyr commodities to sell.

[2 Fol. 39]

Doctor.

So may wee bee, if wee were so wyse to keepe one Friende or other alwayes in hande. Who will bee so mad, being a Priuate man, but hee will be sure to doe so? Let wyse men consider what Friendes this Realme hath had in time past. And if they bee now lost or intercepted another way since, let vs purchase other for them; or els geue as litle occasion of breache with our Neyghbours as may bee.

Alliaunce vvith straungers are to be purchased and kept.

The Wyfe man, as I remember, fayth in *Ecclesiastes* : *Non est bonum homini effe solum.*

Alfo, in Fraunce they haue diuerfe Bandes of men in Armes, in diuerfe places of the Realme, to reпреffe fuch Tumults quickly if any fhould arife. If wee had the like heere, wee might bee bould to haue as many Artificers as they haue.

Knight.

Whether great Armies bee as neceffary heere as in Fraunce.

GOD fworbote¹ that euer wee fhoulde haue any fuch Tyrantes come among vs; for, as they fay, fuch will in the Countrey of Fraunce take poore mens Hennes, Chikens, Pigges, and other prouifion, and paye nothinge for it, except it bee an ill turne, as to Rauifhe hys Wyfe or his Daughters for it. and euen in like manner fayd the Marchaunt man; adding thereto, that hee thought that woulde rather bee an occafion of Commotions to bee ftirred, then to bee quenched. For (as hee fayd) the Stomaks of Englifhe men woulde neuer beare to fuffer fuch Iniuries and Reproches, as hee heard that fuch vsed to doe to the Subiects of Fraunce, which in reproche they call Pefaunts.

Husband.

[¹ Gods forbode, God's forbid- ding. p. 74.]

[Tyranny over the poor in France.]

Marchaunt.

[French 'Peasants.']

Mary, the Prynce might reftrayne them well ynough, for doing Outrages, vpon great paynes.

Knight.

What if it were skant in his power to do? the *Romaines* had fometimes fuch men of armes in diuerfe places for defence of the Empyre, it was thought, that at length it ouer²threwe the fame. *Iulius Cæfar* doth that declare; and many times after that, when the Emperors died, the men of warre erected what Emperor they lyfted, sometime of a Slaue or a Bondman, contrary to the election of the *Senate* of *Rome*, being chiefe Counfaylors of the Empyre, till the whole Empyre was cleane deftroyed; it is not for commotions of Subiects that Fraunce alfo keepeth fuch, but the ftate and neceffity of the Countrey, which is enuironed about with enemies, and neither fea nor wall betwene them, againft whofe Inrodes and inuafion they mayntayne thofe men of warr of neceffity. They would faine lay them downe, if they durft, for feare of their neighbours. And fome wyfe men among them haue fayd and written, that the fame men of Armes may bee the deftruction of their Kingdome at length. And befide that the largenefle of our Dominion, or Situation of the fame towarde other Countreyes, doth not require fuch men, nor yet the reuenewes of this realme, is able to make vp the like number with Fraunce. And then if we fhould make a leffe number, wee fhould declare our felues in-

Doctor.

[² Fol. 39, back.]

[France must keep troops;

and yet they may destroy the country.]

A lesse grieve
vvould not be
holpen vvith a
greater sore.

feriour in power to Fraunce, to whom wee haue bene hitherto counted Superiour in successe, through the stoutenesse of our Englishe hartes. And therefore I would not haue a small fore cured by a greater grieve, nor for auoydinge of populer sedition, which happeneth very seldome and soone quenched, to bring in a continuall yoake, & charge both to the Prince and the people.

Knighte.

You say well, and so as I can say no more against your sentence, but yet I would wishe your saying coule satisfie other men as well as it doth mee.

Doctor.

Well, it is nowe tyme to make an ende. I haue troubled you heere with a tedious and longe talke.

Knight.

I could be content to be troubled longer of that forte.

Marchaunt
& Capper.

And so coule wee, though it were all this day, but for troubling of your selfe, gentle maister Doctor.

Knighte.

[¹ Fol 40, *mis-*
numbered 36]

¹ Yet the most necessary poynte which we spake of is yet behinde, that is, how these things may be remedied; And therefore we will not goe from you, till wee haue hearde your aduice herein.

Doctor.

A Gods name, I will shewe my phantasie in that part; But let vs first goe to supper. And so wee went together to our Supper, where our Hofte had prepared honestly for vs.

[p. 73, l. 7. *God sworbote*. Compare in the Percy Folio *Robin Hood*, &c., p. 18, l. 59, vol. i.,

“Now Marry, *gods forbott*” said the Sheriffe,
“that euer that shold bee.”

The phrase occurs again in p. 30, l. 64; p. 393, l. 1230. “Forebedyng (or *forbode*, or forefendyng). *Prohibicio, inhibicio*.”—*Promptorium*, ab. 1440 A.D.]

THE THIRD DIA-

[Fol. 40, back]

logue, wherein are deuifed

*some remedies for the ſame
griefes.*



After wee had well refreshed our ſelues at Knight.

ſupper, I thought long til I had knowne *the* iudgement of mayſter Doctor about the remedies of the thinges aboue remembred, how he thought they might bee beſt redreſſed, and with leaſt daunger or alteration of things. (And therefore

I ſayd vnto him thus :) Since yee haue declared vnto vs (good maiſter Doctor) our diſeaſes, and alſo the occaſions thereof, we pray you leaue vs not deſtitute of conuenient remedies for the ſame. You haue perſwaded vs full, and wee perceauē it well our ſelues, that wee are not now in ſo good ſtate as wee haue bene in times paſt. And you haue ſhewed vs probable occaſions that hath brought vs to that caſe, therefore now wee praye you ſhewe vnto vs what mighte remedye theſe our griefes.

[Pray, Doctor, tell us the remedies for our country's illa.]

When a man doth perceauē his griefe, and the occaſion alſo of the ſame, hee is in a good way of amendment. For, knowing the occaſion of the griefe, a man may ſoone auoide the ſame occaſion ; and that being auoyded, the griefe is alſo taken away. For as the Phyloſopher ſayth : *Sublata cauſa tollitur effectus*. But, let vs briefly recount the griefes and then the occaſions thereof, and thirdly goe to the inquisition of the remedies for the ſame. Firſt, this vniuerſall ¹dearth, in compariſon of *that* former age, is *the* chiefeſt griefe *that* all men complaines moſt on. Secondly, Incloſures, & turnyng of erable Grounde to paſture. Thyrdly, decayinge of Townes, Towneshippes, and Villages ; and laſt, deuifion & diuerſitie of opinions in religion. The occaſions or cauſes of theſe, although I haue before diuerſely

Doctor.

[The illa are,

1. Dearth.

[¹ Fol. 41]

2. Incloſures, and turning Arable into Paſture.

3. Decay of Townes.

4. Religious Differences.]

[The Doctor's
Prologue.]

The originall
cause in euery
thing is to be
searched.

[Analogies of,
i. a crowd at a
narrow passage ;

2. a clock , and

3. the building
of a house]

[The original
cause call'd
'efficient']

[† Fol. 41, back]

Diuers sortes
of causes there
bee.

[The primary
cause to be
distinguish'd
from secondary
causes.]

Cic top.
Lib. 5.

declared after the diuerfitie of mens myndes and opinions. Yet heere I wyll take out of the same ; But only such as I thinke verely to be the very iust occasions in deede. For, as I shewed you before, diuers men diuerfly iudge this or that to be the cause or occasion of thys or that gryefe ; and because there may be diuers causes of one thinge, and yet but one pryncipal cause that bryngeth forth the thinge to passe : Let vs seeke oute *the* cause, omitting all the meane causes, whych are driuen forward by the least oryginall cause. As in a presse going in at a straight, the formost is driuen by him that is nexte hym, & the next by him that followes him, and the thyrd by some violent and stronge thinge that dryues hym forward, which is the first and pryncipall cause of the puttynge forward of the rest afore him. If he were kept backe and staied, al they that goe afore would stay withal. To make this more plain vnto you : as in a clocke there be many wheelles, yet the first wheele being styrred, it dryueth the next, and that the thyrd, &c., till the last that moues the Instrumēt that fryckes the clock ; So in making of an house, there is the Mayster that would haue the house made, there is the Carpenter, & there is the stufte to make the house with al ; *the* stufte neuer stirres till the Workeman do set it forward ; the workeman neuer trauailes but as *the* maister prouoketh him *with* good wages : and so he is the pryncipall cause of thys house making. And this cause is of *the* learned called 'efficient' ; as that *that* bryngeth the pryncipal thing to effect. Perswade this man to let this buildyng alone, and the house shall neuer come to passe, yet the house can not bee made wythout the stufte, and worke^lmen ; and therefore they be called of some *causæ sine quibus non*, and of some other *Materiales & Formales* ; but all commeth to one purpose. It is the efficient cause, *that* is, the pryncipall cause, without remouing of which cause *the* thing that cannot be remedied. And because that it was graffed in euery mans iudgement, *that* the cause of any thing being taken away, the effecte is taken away withall ; Therefore Men tooke the causes of these thynges that we talke of wythout Iudgement, not discerning the pryncipall cause from the meane causes, that by taking away of these causes that bee but secondary, as it were, they were neuer the neare to remedy the thing they went about. Much lyke the wyfe of *Aiæx* that lost her husband in *the* shippe called *Argos*, wished *that* those Firre beames had neuer

bene felled in *Peleius* wood, whereof the sayd shippe was made, when that was not the efficient cause of the loosing of her husbande, but the wild fire cast in the said shippe, which did set it a fyre. Such causes as they be, be called remote, as it were to farre of; so they bee also idle and of no operation of themselves, without some other to set them a worke. And percase, I (whyle I degresse so farre from my matter) shalbe thought to goe as far from the purpose; yet to come to our matter, and to apply thys *that* I haue sayde to the same. Some thinkes this Dearth beginnes by the tenaunt, in selling his wares so deare; & some other by the Lord, in reysing his land so high. And some by these inclosures. And some other by the reysing of our coine, or alteration of the same. Therefore, some by taking some one of these things away, (as theyr opinion serued them to be the pryncipall cause of this dearth) thought to remedye this dearth; But as the tryall of the thyng shewed, they touched not the cause efficient pryncipall; and therefore theyr deuise tooke no place: and if they had, the thinge had ben remedied forthwith, for that is proper to the pryncipal cause, that as soone as it is taken away, the effect is remoued also. ² Yet I confesse al these things rayseth together with this dearth, that euery of them should seeme to be the cause of it; neuerthelesse, that is no good prooffe that they should bee the causes of it, no more then was the steeple made at *Douer*³ the cause of the decay of the Hauen of *Douer*, because the Hauen began to decay the same time that the Steeple began to be builded. Nor yet, though some of these because of the other in deede, yet they be not all the efficient causes of this dearth. But as I haue sayd before, of men thrusting one another in a thronge, one dryuing another, and but one first of al, that was the chiefe cause of that force; So in this matter that we talke of, there is some one thing that is the oryginall cause of these causes; that be, as it were, secondary, and makes them to be the causes of other. As I take the reysing of al prises of victuals at the husbandmans hand, is cause of the raysing of the rent of his land. And that Gentlemen fall so much to take farmes to theyr hands, leaft they bee driuen to buy theyr p[r]ouision so deare, that is a great cause againe that Inclosure is the more vsed; For Gentlemen hauinge much land in their hand, and not being able to weilde all, & see it manured in husbandry, which requyareth the industry, labour, and gouernaunce of a greate many of persons, doe conuer-

[Remote causes need not be considerd.]

Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

[*orig.* attestation]

[The principal or efficient cause of the Dearth has not yet been toucht.]

[² Fol. 42]

[Tenterden steeple and Dover harbour.]

[³ ? Tenterden.]

Hovv one thing is cause of another, & that of the third.

[Is the chief
cause of the
Dearth in the
Merchant?]

moste of that Lande to Pastures, wherein is requyred both lesse charge of Persons, and of the which neuerthelesse commeth more cleare gaines. Thus one thyng hanges vpon another, and sets forwarde one another, but one first of all is *the* chiefe cause of all this circuler motion & impulsion. I shewed, ere while, that *the* chiefe cause was not in the husbandman, nor yet in *the* Gentleman. Let vs see whether it were in the marchaunt man. It appeareth by reason that all wares bought of him are dearer now far then they were wont to be; the husbandman is dryuen to sel his commodities dearer. now *that* the matter is brought to maister marchaunt, how can yee auoide the cause from being in you?

Marchaunt.
[Fol. 42, back]

¹ Sir, easly ynough; for as wee sell now dearer al things then wee were wont to do, So wee buy dearer all thinges of fraungers; and therefore let them put the matter from vs, for we will disburden our selues of this fault.

Doctor.

And they be not here to make aunswere; if they were, I woulde aske them why they sell their wares dearer nowe then they were wont to doe?

Marchaunt.

Mary! and to that I hearde many of them aunswere ere this (when they were asked that question) two manner of wayes. One was, they felled in deede no dearer then they were wont to do; say- ing for prooffe thereof, that they would take for theyr commodities as much and no more of our commodities then they were wont to do. As for our tod of woll, they would gieue asmuch Wyne, Spice, or Silke as they were wont to geue for so much. Yea, for an ounce of our siluer or golde, as much stufte as euer was geuen for *the* same. And their other answere was, *that* if we reckened they did sell their wares dearer because they demaunded moe pieces of our coyne for the same then they were wont to do, that was not their fault, they saide, but oures, that made our pieces lesse, or lesse worth then they were in times past. Therefore, they demaunded the moe pieces of them for their Wares: saying, they cared not what names wee woulde gieue oure coynes, they would consider *the* quantity & right value of it, that they were esteemed at euery where through *the* world.

The straungers
aunsvvere tou-
ching this
dearth.

[That because
our coin was
debasd, they
wanted more of
it for their
goods.]

Knight.

Then I would haue answered *them* there of this sorte. If they came hether but for our commodities, what made it *the* matter to them what quantity or value our coyne were? If so, they might haue

as much of our commodities for *the* same as they were wont to do. If they came againe for our siluer and golde, It was neuer lawfull, nor yet is expedient they should haue any from vs. Wherefore, I would thinke that was no cause why they should sell theyr wares dearer then they were wonte to doe.

[Then let
foreigners take
our goods, and
let our coin
alone.]

¹Then he might haue aunfwered againe, that it chaunfed not all wayes together, that when they had wares which we wanted, we had againe al those wares *that* they looked for. And therefore they, hauinge percase more wares necessary for vs then we had of such wares as they looked for, would be glad to receiue of vs such stufte currant in most places as might buy that they looked for else where at their pleasure; And that they will say was not our coyne. And as for our lawes of not transporting ouer sea any Gold or siluer, they passed not thereof, so they mighte haue the same once conueyed them; As they had many waies to haue it so, which I haue before remembred. Finally, hee might say that we had not in deede our coyne in that estate our selues, that by the name they pretended, but esteemed both the value & quantity of the stufte it was made of. For if they had brought vnto vs halfe an ounce of siluer, wee would not take it for an ounce; nor if they brought vs brasse mingled with Siluer, we woulde not take it for pure Siluer; and if wee woulde not take it so at their handes, why shoulde they take it otherwise at ours? Then they saw no man heere but woulde rather haue a cup of siluer then of brasse, no, not the maister of our mints, though they would otherwise perswade the one to be as good as the other. Wherefore, seing vs esteeme the one in deede better then the other, as all the world doth beside, why should they not esteeme our coine after *the* quantity and value of the substaunce thereof, both after the rate it was esteemed amonge vs, & also euery other where? And so as in moe pieces now, there is but the value that was in fewer pieces afore, therefore they demaunded greater number of pieces, but yet the like value in substaunce that they were wont to demaund for their wares. Now let vs see whether now goeth the cause of this matter? from the straungers; For me thinkes he hath reſonably excuſed himſelfe & put it from him.

Doctor.
[¹ Fol. 43]

[But suppose
they don't want
so much goods
of us as we do of
them,

why should they,
for the balance,
take our debased
coin as pure?]

²By your tale it must bee in the coyne, and consequently in the Kinges highnes, by whose commaundement *the* same was altered.

Knight.
[² Fol. 43, back]

Doctor.

[Henry VIII.
debasd our coin,
thinking that it
'ud be a benefit
to the realm,
but it's been a
great loss.]

Yea, percase it goes further yet; yea, to such as were the first counsaillours of that deede, pretending it should bee to his highnes greate and notable commoditie, whych, if hys grace mought haue perceiued to haue ben but a momenta in profit, and continuall losse both to his highnes and also his whole Realme, Hee with his people might haue ben easly reuoked againe from *the* practise of that simple deuise. But as a man that intendeth to heale an other by a Medicine *that* he thinketh good, though it prooue otherwise, is not much to be blamed; no more was the kinges maiesty in any wyse, (in whose time this was don, which is not to be supposed to haue intended thereby any losse, but rather commoditie to himselfe and his subiects) to be herein reprehended, albeit the thing succeeded beside the purpose.

Knight.

Then yee thinke plainly *that* this alteration of *the* coine was the chiefe and principall cause of this vniuerfall dearth?

Doctor.

That the alteration of the coyne vvas the very cause of this dearth, and consequently of other grief, euer since that time.

Yea, no doubt, and of many of *the* sayd grieues that we haue talked of, by meanes it beinge the oryginal of all; and that beside the reason of the thing being plaine inough of it self, also experience & prooffe doth make it more playne. For euen with *the* alteration of *the* coyne began this dearth; and as the coyne appayred, so rose the prices of thinges with all; & this to be true, *the* few pieces of olde coyne which afterward remained did testefie; for yee should haue for any of *that* same coyne as much of any ware, either outward or inward, as euer was wont to be had for the same. For as the measure is made lesse, there goeth more number to make vp the tale; and because this rayfed not together at all mens handes, therefore some hath greate losses, and some other greate Gaynes thereby, and that made such a generall grudge for the thinge at the firste time. And thus to conclude, ¹I thinke this alteration of *the* Coine to haue ben *the* first originall cause that fraungers first sould their wares dearer to vs, and that made all Farmors, and Tenaunts, that reared any commodity, agiane to sell *the* same dearer. The Dearth thereof made the Gentlemen to rayfe their rents, & to take Farmes to their handes for their better prouision, and consequently to inclose more Groundes.

[1 Fol 44]

[The debasement of our Coin was the original cause of the Dearth.]

Knight.

If this were the chieftest cause of the dearth, as of very good probability (by you, maister Doctor) heeretofore alleaged, it should seeme to be; how commeth it to passe (where as you say, if the cause be re-

moued, the effect is also taken away) that the pryces of all thinges fall not backe to theyr olde rate, whereas now long sithence our english coyne (to the great honour of our noble Princeffe which now raighneth) hath bene again throughly restored to his former purity and perfection?

[But Q. Elizabeth. has restored our Coin to its original purity.]

In deede, sir, I must needs confesse vnto you (although it may seeme at the first sighte to discredite my former sayings in some parte) that, notwithstanding that our Coyne at this present day, yea, and many yeares past, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse, yet the dearth of all thynges, which I before affirmed to haue proceeded of the decay therof, to remayne and continue still amongst vs. Wherefore as your doubt, herein moued very aptly and to the purpose, is well worthy the consideration, so doe I accompte it of such difficulty, that perhaps it would not be thought to stande wyth modesty to vndertake without farther study presently to dissolue the same.

Doctor.

[True. And the Dearth still continues.]

Syr, I pray you for this time omit the pleadinge of modesty. I vnderstand wel ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnprouided of sufficient store (without farther deliberation) to satisfie vs withall, in greater matters (if neede were) then these.

Knight.

Well¹, I am content (because you wyll haue it so) to² yeelde to your importunity. I will vtter franckely vnto you myne Opinion herein, but vnder protestation, that if you like it not, yee reiect it, imparting likewise with mee your owne Phantasies and Iudgements in the same. I fynde therefore two speciall causes, in myne Opinion, by meanes of the which, notwithstanding that restitution made in our coin, the aforefayd dearth of things (in respect of the former age) remaineth yet among vs. The first is, that whereas immediately after the baseness of our Coyne in the time of kyng Henry the eight, the prices of all things generally among al sorts of people rose; it must needs happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen, which liued onely vpon the reuenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the smarte hereof then any other, of what order or estate so euer. Thys therefore being taken as most true, the Gentlemen, desirous to mayntaine theyr former credite in bearing out the Porte of theyr Predecessors, were driuen of necessity as often as whensoever any Leases deuiled for terme of yeares by themselves or their Auncestors were thoroughly expyred, & fel into

Doctor.

[¹ orig. Wwell]
[² Fol. 44, back]

[Two causes of the dearth of thinges.]

[¹. The debasing of our coin by Henry VIII. This raised prices.]

[The raising of
prices raisd
Rents on Lease

This raisd the
price of food,
and all other
articles.]

[1 Fol. 45]

[If we want our
old pen'orths or
prices, we must
get Rents
lowerd]

[2. The great
increase of
money in our
days, from
India, &c.]

[Some years
ago a man with
£30 or £40 a
year was
thought rich.
Now he's con-
siderd next
door to a
beggar.]

theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the most part, but as the rents of them were farre racked beyond the old; Yea, this rackynge and hoyffing vp of Rentes hath continued euer since *that* tyme, vntill this present day. Hereupon the husbandman was necessarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before (and so continueth vnto this day), to sel his Viſtayles dearer, & to continue the dearth of them; and likewise other artificers withall, to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares; wherefore as this dearth at the fyrst time (as I said before) sprang of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firste and chiefeſt efficient cause, so doe I attribute the continuance of it hitherunto and so forward, partely to the racked and stretched rentes, which haue laſted, yea, and increaſed euer ſince that time hetherunto, & so are like to continue I know not how long. Now if we would in theſe our dayes haue the olde pennyworthes generally reſtored among vs agayne, The reſtoring of our good Coine, which allredy is paſt, (& before *the* improued rentes would only of it ſelfe haue been ſufficient to haue brought this matter to paſſe,) will not ſerue in theſe our dayes, except withall the racked rentes bee pulled downe, which poſſibly can not be without the common conſent of our landed men throughout *the* whole realme. Another reaſon I conceiue in this matter to be *the* great ſtore & plenty of treaſure, which is walking in theſe parts of *the* world far more in theſe our dayes then euer our forefathers haue ſene in times paſt. Who doth not vnderſtand of *the* infinite ſummes of gold & ſiluer, which are gathered from *the Indies* & other countries, and ſo yearly tranſported into theſe coſtes? As this is otherwiſe moſt certaine, ſo doth it euidently appeare by the common report of all ancient men living in theſe daies. It is their conſtant report, *that* in times paſt, & within *the* memory of man, he hath bene accounted a rich & welthy man, & well able to keepe houſe among his neighbors, which, all things diſcharged, was clearely worth xxx. or xl.li.; but in theſe our daies *the* man of *that* eſtimation is ſo farre in the common opinion from a good houſe-keeper, or man of wealth, *that* he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore theſe ii. reaſons ſeemed vnto me to contain in them ſufficient probability for cauſes of the continuance of this generall dearth.

Knight.

Yea, but (ſir) if the increaſ of treaſure be partly the occaſion of this continued dearth, then by likelyhoode in other our neighbors na-

tions, vnto whom yearly is conuaighed great store of gold and siluer, the pryces of victayles, and other wares in like forte, rayfed according to the increafe of their treasure.

It is euen so; and therefore to vtter freely mine opinion, as I accoumpt it a matter very hard for the difficulties aboue reherfed to reuoke or call backe agayne all our English wares vnto their old prices, so doe I not take it to be eyther profitable or conuenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wishe that our commodities should bee vttered good cheape to straungers, and theirs, on *the* other side, deare vnto vs, which could not be without great impouerishing of the Common weale in a very shorte time.

Doctor.

[¹ Fol. 45. back]

Now that you haue so well touched the occasion of this dearth, and what is to be hoped or wished of *the* same, so fully that I am well satisfied withall, I pray you shewe me the remedies of these great Inclosures, whereof al the realme complaineth of so much, and hath complayned long vpon. For you haue well perfwaded how it is a meane of greate deuolation of this realme, and that is longe of *the* great profit that men haue by pasture, ouer *that* they haue by tillage, *that* they turne so much to pasture. Now I woulde fayne heare how it might bee remedied againe; for I haue hearde this matter of long time, & often reasoned vpon aswell in Parliament as in Counsailes, & yet small remedy found therefore that tooke effect.

Knighte.

[Pray tell me the remedies for the Inclosures of Common lands.]

If I then, after so many wise heades as were in those Parliaments and Counsailes, would take vpon me to correct (as they say) *Magnificat*, & to finde a remedye for this thinge which they could neuer doe, I might bee reckened very arrogant.

Doctor.

Yet tell your phantasie therein; for though you misse of the right meane to reforme that, it shall bee no more shame for you to doe so, then it was for so many wise men as yee speake of to misse.

Knight.

You say truth, and since I speake nothing in this part *that* I would haue taken as it were for a law or determined thing, but as a certayne motion for other wise men to consider, & to admit or reiect as to their better reason shall seeme good; therefore, as yee haue boldned me already with your patience to say thus farre, I will not spare to declare my minde in ²this. But still I must keepe my grounde that I spake of, that is, to try out the effectuall cause of these inclosures, and then, by taking away of the cause, to redresse the thinge.

Doctor.

[² Fol. 46]

Knight.

Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

[A doctor gives a purge for ague to clear out its cause, the choler.]

I pray you doe so; for to mee it seemes very reasonable that ye say, and agreeable to that I heard a good Phisition tell mee once, when I was sicke of an ague: when I asked him why he gaue me purgations that made me yet weaker then I was, being weake inough alledy, saying hee had more neede to gieue me thinges that should make me stronger; Then he answered me that choler was *the* cause of my sicknes, and that hee gaue me those purgations to auoyde this humour, which being the cause of my diseafe once taken away, the sicknes should bee ridde from me withall. And, therefore, I pray you vse your accustomed order in this matter, and tel the cause of these Inclosures.

Doctor.

I shewed you before in our communication in the Garden, the thinges that I thought to be the cause thereof, and partly the remedy of the same.

Knighte.

So did other men among vs tell theyr fantie as then; but now we pray you tell which of all those causes ye take for the necessary and efficient cause of this matter.

Doctor.

[Avarice is the chief cause of Enclosures.]
Hovv Inclosures may be remedied.

To tel you plaine, it is Auarice *that* I take for *the* principall cause thereof; but can we deuise *that* all couetousnes can be taken from men? No, no more then we can make men to be without wealth, without gladnes, without feare, and without all affections; what then? we must take away from men the occasion of their couetousnes in this part; what is that? the exceeding luker that they se grow by these inclosures more then by their husbandry. And that may be done by any of these two meanes that I will tell you: Either by the minishing of the luker that men haue by grasing; Or els by aduaucing of the profite of husbandry, til it be as good and as profitable to the occupiers as grasing is; for euery man (as *Plato* faith) is naturally couetous of luker. And *that* wherein they see ¹most luker, they will most gladly exercise. I shewed you before, that there is more luker by grasing of x. Acres to *the* occupier alone, then is in *the* tillage of xx. And *the* causes thereof be many: one is, *that* grasing requires small charge & small labor, which in tillage consumes much of *the* mens gaines; though it be true *that* the tillage of x. acres brings more gaines generally amonge the maister & all his mainy, then the grasing of xx. acres. Another great cause is, that whatsoeuer thing is rered vpon grasing, hath free vente both ouer this side & also beyond the sea, to

[1 Lessen the profit of grazing, or
2. greater that of tillage.]

Omnes sunt lucri cupidi.

[1 Fol. 46, back]

[There's more profit now by grazing than tillage.]

be sold at the highest penny. It is contrary of all thinges reared by tillage, for it requires both great charge of seruants & of labor. And also if any good cheape be of corne, it paieth scant for the charge of the tillage. And then if the market doe arise, either within the Realme or without, the poore husband shalbe so restrained from selling his corn, that he neuer after shall haue any ioy to set his plough in the ground; which maketh euery man forsake tillage and fall to graing, which bringeth in all these Inclosures.

[Causes of tillage paying so badly.]

Now, what remedy for that?

Knighte.

Mary! as for the first poynt, that is, touching the vnequal charges of tillage and graing, that can not be holpen in all pointes, by reason the nature of both reapes the contrary. Therefore the latine tongue calles the one, that is, pasture, *pratium*, that is as much to say as *paratum*, ready. But the other thinge might be remedied, that the husbandman might haue as much liberty at all times to sell his corn, either within the Realme or without, as the graier hath to sell his; which would make the husbandmen more willing to occupy their plough. And other, seeing them thrive, would turn their pasture to tillage. And, though it enhaunce the market for the time, yet would it cause much more tillage to be used, and consequently more Corne, which in time of plenty within this Realme might bringe in much treasure; & in time of scarcitie would suffice for the realme, as I shewed you before.

Doctor.

Pratium quasi paratum.

[There should be no restraint on the sale of corn.]

[Fol. 47]

And thus with luker they should bee entysed to occupy the Plough, yea, & with other priuileges. I haue red that in this realme sometime there was such a lawe, as a man that had trespassed the lawe of misadventure, mought haue taken the Plough taylor for his sanctuary. Also that occupation was had so honourable amonge the *Romains*, that one was taken from houlding the plough to bee *Consull* in *Rome*, who after his yeare ended, thought no shame to resort to the same feate againe. What occupation is so necessary or so profitable for mans life as this is? Or what misery is so voyd of all craft as the same is? & how litle it is regarded; yea, how much is it despised, that many in these daies repute them but as villains, peasants, or slaues, by whome the proudest of them haue their liuings. So that I maruaile much there is any (seeing such a vility & contempt of the thing) will occupy the feat of husbandry at all; For as honour nourisheth all sciences, so dishonor must needs decay them. And there-

[Once the plough-tail was a sanctuary.]

[Husbandry is now despised. Farmers are thought villains.]

[Honour husbandry; give it profit;

put a double tax on pasture, and on exported wool.]

[Thus grazing would be discourag'd and Enclosures broken down.]

[Fol. 47, back]

[Again, keep up the old system of mixing land ownd by different people. This obliges all to keep their lands open.]

Marchaunt.

Of Townes decayed.

Doctor.

fore if ye will haue husbandry encreased, ye must honor & cherish it; *that* is, to let them haue honest gaines thereby; & since *that* gains shall come into youre countrey, why should you be offended *therewith*? Another way is to abate the commodity of grafing, as when any tax is requisite to be graunted to *the* Prince, if lands be chargeable thereto, to charge one aker of pasture as much as two of erable. Or els to burden wolls & fells, & such things as are reared by grafing, *that* passe to *the* partes beyond *the* sea vnwrought, *with* double tallage ouer any corn transported; and by enhauning the profite of tillage, and abasing of the profite of grafing, I doubt not but husbandry would be more occupied and grafing much lesse; And therby these inclosures to be broken vp. Also there is one thing of old time ordeined in this realme, which being kept vnaltered would helpe hereunto also; that is, where men are enter comminers in *the* common fields, & also haue their portions so entermedled one with another, that though they would, they could not enclose any part of *the* sayd fields so long as it is so. ¹ But of late, diuers men, finding greater profite by grafing then by husbandry, haue founde the meanes either to buy their neighbors partes round aboute them, or els to exchange with them so many acres in this place for so many in another, whereby they might bringe all theyr landes together, and so inclose it. For the auoiding whereof, I think verely that it was so of olde time ordeined, that euery Tenaunt had his lande not all in one parcell of euery field, but enterlaced with his neighbors landes, so as here should bee three acres, and then his neighbour should haue as many; & ouer that, he other iii. or iiij., and so after the like rate be *the* most partes of the copy holdes that I doe know in this countrey; which I thinke good were still so continued, for auoyding of the sayd enclosures. And thus farre as touching *that* matter.

Now that you haue well declared your opinion in these matters of the common dearth and enclosures, I pray you tell vs your minde what should be the occasion of the decay of the good Townes of this realme, & of all Bridges, Highwayes, and hospitalles; and how the same may be remedied and releued againe. For that these husbandmen & dwellers of the countrey finde not so great lacke in the fieldes abroad, but Citizens and Burgeses finde as much within theyr walles.

Since I haue begon to take vpon me to tell my phansie in all these

things, I will goe through. In mine opinion, *the* good occupations heretofore vsed in the sayd Townes were occasion of theyr wealth in times past, and the laying down of those occupations againe is the cause of the decay of the same townes. Wherefore, if such occupations may be reuyued againe in the same, they would recouer theyr former wealth againe.

[Bring back to the Towns their old Trades]

I beleuee that well, that the decay of the occupations was the decay of these townes; but what, I pray you, was ¹the occasion of such decay of the occupations?

Marchaunt.

[1st Fol. 48]

I will tell you: while men were contented with such as were made in the market townes next vnto them, then were they of our Townes & Cities well set a worke; as I knewe the time when men were contented with Cappes, Hattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of garmentes made in the townes next adioyning; whereby the Townes were then well occupied and set a worke, and yet the money payd for the same stufte remayned in the countrey. Now, the poorest younge man in a countrey cannot be content with a lether gyrdle, or lether poyntes, Kniues or Daggers, made nigh home. And specially, no Gentleman can be contente to haue eyther Cappe, Cote, Dublet, Hose, or shyрте, in his countrey, but they must haue this geare come from London; and yet many things hereof are not there made, but beyond the sea; whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and specially of the townes beyond the seas, are well set a worke, euen vpon our costes. Therefore I would wish some stay were deuised for comming of so many trifles from beyond the Sea, and specially of such things as might be made here among our selues; or els might bee either all spared, or els lesse vsed among vs; as these drinking and looking glasses, paynted clothes, perfumed gloues, daggers, kniues, pines, pointes, agletes, buttons, and a thousande other thinges of like forte. As for filkes, wines, and spice: if there came lesse ouer, it made no matter. But specially, I would that nothing made of our commodities, as wolles, felles, and tinne, should be brought from beyond the sea to be solde here, but *that* all those should be wrought within this realme. were it not better for vs *that* our owne people were set a worke with such thinges then straungers? I am sure xx. thousand persons might be set a worke within this realme, that are set a worke beyond sea with those thinges that now

Doctor.

The occasion of the decay of our Townes.

[Of old, folk were content with country-made gurdies, &c.; now no poor man is so, and

no gentleman is with country-made clothes.

All must come from London, and are often made abroad.]

[We should stop this: either make trifles here, or else not use them.]

[Foreign trifles.]

[None of our own products (wool, tin, &c.) should be imported.]

[This would set 20,000 people to work.]

[1 Fol. 48, back]

[We might make
all kinds of cloth
and clothes
here,

also paper,

all leather goods,
glass, cards,
chessmen; and

all iron tools.]

[All the money
for these now
goes abroad.][Three sorts of
traders.][1. Importers
send our money
away.2. Other trades-
men spend their
earnings in the
country.]

[2 Fol. 49]

[3.]

That arte is to
be most chea-
rished in a
tovvne that
bringes most
to the tovvne.

be made beyond the Sea, and ¹ might be made here; (might not the Prince bee glad of any ayde, whereby hee might finde X. M. persons through the whole yeare, and burden his treafures with neuer a penny thereof?) I think these things might be wrought here, not onely sufficient to fet so many a worke and serue the realme, but also to serue other parts, as all kinde of Cloth and Kersey, Worstedes, Couerlets, & Carpets of tapestry, Caps, knit Sleeues, Hosens, Peticotes, and Hattes; then Paper, both white and browne, parchment, velam, and all kinde of Leather ware, as gloues, poyntes, gyrdles, skins for Ierkins; and of tinne all maner of vessell, and also all kinde of glasse, and earthen pots, tennice balles, cardes, tables and chesses, since we will needes haue such things; And Daggers, kniues, hammers, sawes, chisells, axes, & such things made of yron. might not wee bee ashamed to take all these things at straungers hands, & fet such a multitude of their people a worke as I spake of now, whose finding & wages we doe beare now, where all this profit might bee saued within the Realme, where it should not goe from vs, but returne to vs againe from whence it came? And in settinge vp of these occupations, I would haue them most preferred and cherished, that bring most commodity and treasure into the countrey; as yee must consider three fortes of occupations: one that carieth out the treasure; the second fort, that as it carrieth none forth of the countrey, so it bringeth none in, but that it getteth it spendeth in the countrey; the third bringeth in treasure to the countrey. Of the first forte are Vintners, Milleners, Haberdashers; these galley men, Mercers, Fustian Sellers, Grocers, & Potheccaries that selleth vs any wares made beyond the Sea, for they doe but exhaust the treasure of the Realme. Of the second fort are Viçtaylers, Inhouders, Bouchers, Bakers, Brewers, Taylors, Cordwinders, Sadlers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Masons, Blacke Smythes, Turners, and ² Hoopers; which, like as they conuey no money out of the countrey, so they bringe none in; but where as they get it they spend it. Of the thyrd fort bee these clothiers, cappers, worsted-makers, Pewterers, Tanners, which bee all that wee haue of any arte which I can nowe reckon, that brings into the realme any treasure. Therefore these artes are to bee chearished, whereas they be vsed, and where they bee not, they would be set vp; and also other sciencies moe, as making of glasse, making of Swords, Daggers,

Knives, and all tooles of Iron and Steele; also making of pinnes, poynts, laces, thred, and all maner of paper, and parchment. I haue heard say that the chiefe trade of Couentry was heretofore in making of blew threde, and then the towne was riche euen vpon that trade in manner onely; and now our thredde comes all from beyond Sea. Wherefore that trade of Couentry is decaied, and thereby the towne likewise. So Bristow had a great trade by making of poyntes, and was the chiefe misterie that was exercised in the towne. And albeit these be but two of the lightest faculties that are, yet were there two great townes chieflie maintained by these two faculties aboue rehearsed. I heard say in *Venice* (that most flourishing citie at these daies of all *Europe*), if they may here of any cunning craftes man in any faculty, they will finde the meanes to allure him to dwell in their citie; for it is a wonder to see what a deale of money one good occupyer doth bringe into a towne, though he himselfe doth not gaine to his owne commoditie but a poore luyng. As for example, what money one Worstedmaker brings into the towne where he dwelles, and how many haue luyngs vnder him, & what wealth he brings to the towne where he dwels, truly I can not sufficiently declare, for by a few worstedmakers the same townes they haue are growen to great wealth & ryches. So of Clothing and Capping. But where other cities do allure vnto them good workemen, ours will expell¹ them out; as I haue knowen good workemen, as well Smythes as Weauers, haue come² from straunge parties to some Cities within this Realme, entending to set vp theyr craftes, and because they were not free there (but specially because they were better workemen then were any in the Towne) they coulde not bee suffered to worke there. Such incorporations had those Misteries in those Townes, that none might worke there in their faculty, except they did compounde with them first.

[Fresh trades to be started.]

[Coventry has lost its making of blue thread; and Bristol its making of poynts.]

Townes are enriched with some one trade.

[Venice entices skilful workmen to it.]

[See what money one Worstedmaker brings to a town.]

[¹ Fol. 49, back]

[² orig. comemon]
[We foolishly drive strange skilful workmen out of our towns.]

And doe you thinke it reasonable that a straunger should bee as free in a City or Towne as they that were prentises there? then no man would bee Prentice to any occupation if it were so. Capper.

I sayde not that they shall haue commonly lyke liberty or Fraunchise; but as one craft makes but one particuler companie of a Towne or City, so I would haue the weale of the whole City rather regarded then the commodity or Fraunchise of one craft or misterry; Doctor.

[Very clever workmen should not only be made free of any town,

but, in a decaying town, should be given house-rent, and lent money.]

[Fol. 50]

[2 off]

[Makers of goods for export should be encourag'd.]

[Middlemen sellers of imports only live on their customers, and do more harm than good.]

[Every town should stamp the goods made in it with its own mark.]

for, though commonly none should be admitted there to worke but such as are free, yet when a singuler good workeman in any mistery comes, which by his good knowledge might both enstruete them of the Towne being of the same faculty, and also bringe into the Towne much commodity beside, I woulde in that case haue priuate Liberties and Priuileges giue place to a publike weale; and such a man gladly admitted for his excellency to the Freedome of the same Towne, without burdening of him with any charge for his first entry or setting vp. Yea, where a Towne is decayed, and lackes artificers to furnish the Towne with such craftes as were either sometimes exercised well there, or might bee by reason of the situation and commodity of the same Towne, I woulde haue such craftes men allured out of other places where they bee plenty, to come to those Townes decayed to dwell, offering them theyr Freedome, yea, theyr house-rent¹ free, or some stocke lent them of the common stocke of such townes; and when the towne is wel furnished of such Artificers, then to stay the comming in of Foreners. But while *the* towne lackes inhabitants of artificers, it were no policy for the restauration of the towne to keepe of² any straunge artificers; for the most parte of all townes are mainteyned by craftes men of all sortes, but specially by those *that* make any wares to sell out of the countrey, and brynges therefore treasure into the same: As clothiers, cappers, worsted-makers, hatmakers, poyntmakers, pinners, painters, founders, smythes of all sortes, cutlers, glouers, tanners, parchment makers, gyrdlers, pourfers, makers of paper, thredmakers, turners, basket makers, and many other such. As for the mercers and haberdashers, vintners, and grocers, I cannot see what they doe to a towne, but fynde a liuinge to v. or vi. householdes, and in steade thereof empouersish ten times as many. But since men wil needes haue filkes, wine, and spice, it is as good that men do spend theyr money vpon such in their owne towne as to be dryuen to seeke the same further. As for *the* rest of *the* artificers, like as I said before, euen as they take no money out of *the* Countrey, so they bryng none in; as Taylours, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Ioyners, Tylers, Mafons, Bouchers, vittailers, & such like. Also an other thinge I reckon woulde helpe much to relieue oure Townes decayed; if they would take order that al *the* wares made there should haue a speciall marke, and that marke to be set to none but to such

as be truely wrought. And also that euery Artificer dwelling out of all townes (such as cannot, for the commodity of their occupations, be brought to any towne to enhabite, as Fullers, Tanners, and clothiers,) should bee limited to bee vnder the direction of one good Towne or other, and they to sell no ware but such as are first approued and sealed by the Towne that they are lymited vnto. And by these two meanes, that is to say, fy[r]ste ¹ by staying of wares wrought beyond sea, which might be wrought within vs, from comming in to be sold; Secondly, by restraining of our wolles, tiune, felles, & other commodities from passing ouer vnwrought; And thirdly, by brynging in (vnder the correction of good townes) artificers dwelling in the countreies, making wares to be sol[d]e outward, & these wares to be viewed and sealed by the towne seale before they shoulde bee solde;—I woulde thynke oure Townes myght be soone restored to theyr aunycnt wealth, or farre bettered if they would follow this.

[Country artisans to be affiliated to some town.]

[¹ Fol. 50, back]

[Stafford's 3 Remedies for the Decay of Towns.]

Now wee pray you go to the last matter ye spake of: how these diuerfities of opinions may be taken away, which troubles the people very sore, and makes great sedition and deuision among them, and in maner makes debate beetwene neighbour & neighbour, the Father and his Son, the Man and his Wyfe, which is yet more to bee feared then all other the forefayd losses of wordly² goods. For if wee were neuer so poore, and did neuerthelesse agree amonge our selues, wee shoulde lycke our selues hoale againe in short space.

Knight.

[What's the remedy for our Religious Differences?]

[² worldly]

Yee say truth: with concord, weake things do encrease & waxe big; And contrarywise, with discorde strong things waxe weake. And it must needes be true that truth it selfe sayth: 'Euery kingdome deuided in it selfe shal bee desolate.' Wherefore I cannot forbear to shewe you my poore opinion, how so great a mischiefe as this is may bee auoyded out of this our common Weale; & stil I will vse one trade, as in seeking out the oryginnall cause, and by takinge awaye of that to shew the remedye. I take the chiefe cause hereof, aswel the finnes of them that be the ministers of Christs holy word and misteries, as of you that bee the flocke. And first, of ours, that haue swarued altogether from their due course, order, and profession, to all kinde of liberality, not onely to ³the basenes of lay men, but far inferiour to them in pride, couetousnes, and such. Wherefore yee lay men, seeing in vs no excellency in our maners in deede, thinke vs vnworthye

Doctor

Concordia que res crescunt, discordia maxime dilabuntur.

[The Sins of Ministers (and Laymen) are the cause of our Religious Troubles.]

[³ Fol. 51]

[While Ministers
liu'd up to what
they preach't, all
men obeyd
them.]

to bee your Leaders and Pastors, or to whose doctryne yee shoulde
giue credence, whome yee see in lyuing far discrepant from the fame.
And therefore ye take vpon you *the* iudgment of spirituall thinges, to
whom it doth not appertain. As one inconuenience draweth euer
another after him, for so long as the ministers of the church were of
those maners & conuersation agreeable with theyr doctryne, So long
all men, yea, the greatest prynces of the worlde, and the wyfeste men, wer
content to beleue our doctrine, & to obey vs in things concerning *that*
foule; and since we fel from the perfection of life, we grew out of
credit, & the holy doctrine of Chryst suffered slander by our sinfull
liuing. So we haue giuen the fyrste occasion of this euil, & yee haue
taken it as an instrument to worke this scyfine withal. And though
both do euil therin, yet the remedy ought to begin at the roote of
this mischief, which I take to bee in the ministers & pastors spirituall.
And to be playne with you, and no more to dissemble oure owne
fautes then I haue done yours, except wee reforme our selues fyrst,
I can haue no great trust to see this generall scyfine and deuision in
religion vtterly taken away; it may, percase, wyth authority be for a
time appeased, but neuer so as it sprynge not againe, except wee re-
forme oure selues fyrst.

Knight.

Mary! and I thinke yee haue ben wel disciplined & corrected al-
ready, so as yee had good cause to bee reformed, as by taking much of
your possessions from you, and in burdeninge of your benefices with
subsidies, as well annuall as proportional, and other wayes. What
other reformation would yee haue more?

Doctor.

[* Fol. 51, back]

[We clergy haue
been beaten;
but with little
good result.

Yea, no doubt we haue had beatinge enough, if that would haue
serued, but some maisters with litle beating will ¹teach theyr schollers
better then other with more strypes can doe; and agayne, some schol-
lers will be reformed with lesse beating then other. So you and we
doe now: you in beating enough, but litle teaching; and wee agayne,
litle regarding *the* strypes, doe learne as litle. For, notwithstanding
these punishments that we haue had, the reproches and reuilinge, and
opening of our fautes, see how many of vs haue reformed our
selues, yea, so much as in our outwarde duties, whereunto we are
bound both by gods lawe and our cannons lawes and decrees; how
many moe of vs haue reforted to our benefices to be resident thereon,
which not onely by the sayd lawes, but also vpon greate penalties wee

How many
more of us liue
in our parishes
now?]

are bounde vnto by the lawes of this Realme! How many lesse now then before haue studied to heape Benefice vpon Benefice, when wee bee scante able to discharge one of them! what better triall or examination is there nowe in admittynge of ministers of the church? What more exacte searche is made by our Bishops for worthy men to be admitted to the cure of soules? What better execution of our canons and decrees doe our Bishoppes, Deanes, and Archdeacons in their visitations now, then they did before? Yea, what better hospitality, residence, or ministracion eyther of the word or of their other duties, doe our prelates and Byshops now, then they did before? doe they not lurke in their mansions & manour places far from theyr cathedral churches as they were wont, and scant once a yeaere will see their principall church, where they ought to be continually resident? be they not in a maner as vnmeete for preaching the word of God as euer they were, for all these plagues that God fendes to them? But they are so blynded, that they cannot see wherefore they be thus punished, & construe it to be for other causes, as by the couetousnes of lay men in desiringe theyr Possessions by a hatred conceiued agaynste them, for not obeyning theyr purpose² at men of the Churches hand². Or for that they cannot abyde the correction of the church, or such other causes as they imagine with themselves; And thinke that the indignation against them shortly will shake of it selfe. But I pray God it doe not rather encrease, as I feare me it will, except we amend vs the rather. How can men be content to pay *the* tenth of theyr goods which they gette with theyr sore labour and sweate of theyr browes, when they can not haue for it againe neither ghostly comforte nor bodely? what layman will be any thing scrupulous to keepe those tythes in his owne handes, when hee sees vs doe nothing more then hee for it? what credite w[i]ll any man giue to our doctrine, whom they see so light in luyng? what reuerence will they giue our personnes, in whose manners they see no grauity? But to passe from these matters to others. There be most godly ordynaunces made by our lawes by auctority of Counsayles generally, that all Archdeacons should visite in person yeaerly theyr precinctes. The Bishop euery three yeaeres to see *the* whole Diocesse, what is to be reformed either priuately or generally, that priuate faultes might be reformed forth with, and the generall at the next Synode; and therefore they haue

[The sins of the English Clergy.]

[Non-residence, Pluralities, want of care in ordaining men, and in holding Visitations.]

Bishops lurk in mansions, coming only once a year to their Cathedrals.]

[1: Fol. 52]

[2—? at church-men's hands.]

[Who likes paying us clergy tythes, when we do nothing for 'em?]

[Archdeacons and Bishops bilk the laws.]

[Procurations.]

[The sins of the
English Clergy.]
[Bishops take
the money for
Visitations, but
never visit.]

They take
money too
for holding
Synods, but
never hold 'em.]

[x Fol. 52, back.
Catchword
Whereby]

[And yet
reformation was
never more
needed than
now.]

[Good lawes we
have; but we
won't keep 'em.]

Then laymen
should make us.]

[If we Clergy
want schism to
cease, let us
reform
ourselves.]

theyr procurations. Visite they doe not in person, as they ought to doe, but by deputies, more for theyr procurations then for any reformation. The money is surely gathered, but the cause wherefore it was geuen, nothing kept; the stipend is exacted, and the worke wherefore it was due, vndon. Then is there another good ordenaunce and godly, absolued after the like sorte; where euery bishop should yerely keepe a sinode in his diocesse of all euangelicall persons, and euery archbishop a sinod for his whole prouince euery thyrd yere, that if any thing occurred in the diocesse worthy reformation, it might be referred to the prouinciall congregation, if it were either doubtfull to the bishop, or could not be reformed without greater auctority then the Bishoppes alone. ¹Where bee these sinodes now kept? yet they receiue euery yere their sinodals of the poore priests; of such good ordenance & godly there is nothing kept, but *that* which is their owne priuat commodity, which be *the* procurations & sinodals; *the* other part wherefore *that* charge was laid is omitted; the burden remaineth, & the duty is taken away; yet better it were *that* both *the* one & *the* other were taken away, then to haue *the* good parte taken & the worse to remaine. If they will say *that* there needeth nowe a daies no such visitation nor synods, then there needed neuer none of them, for moe thinges to bee reformed among vs were neuer then be now, nor reformation neuer more necessary. But our prelates would say they dare make no lawes in such sinods for feare of penurye. what neede any mo lawes made then they haue already? what should let them to put these in execution that be already made, specially since they haue the aide of the temperal lawes thereto? are there not statutes made in parliament for residence, and for refrayning of pluralitie of benefices, which had neuer neede to haue ben made, if wee would haue put our lawes in execution? Are not we worthy to haue other men to correcte and reforme vs, when we can not reforme our selues? Is it maruaile that wee bee out of credence, when our life and conuersation is contrary to oure owne lawes and profession, and that the religion of them suffereth slander, offence, & reproche, which through our defaults shalbe once required of our hands? Therefore, if we wil haue this scisme taken away from christes church, let vs first reform our selues & put our lawes in execution, as in resorting to our benefices to keepe residence, and in contentyng our selues wyth one

Benefice a piece, and wyth the lyuinge that is appointed to vs for our ministration, without deuifing of other extraordinary & vnlawfull gaines. For what is more agreeable with reafon, then a man to fpende his tyme where he hath his lyuing, and to do his office for that he hath *the* benefite of? ¹ And feeing euery benefice is a mans liuing, —& if it be not, it might be amended til it be a competent liuing, and euery one requireth one mans whole charge,—What reafon is it that one man should haue two mens liuinges, & two mens charge, where he is able to difcharge but one? Then to haue moe, & difcharge the cure of neuer a one, is to farre agaynft reafon. But fome, percafe, will fay, there be fome of vs worthy a greater preferment then other, & one benefice were to litle for fuch a one. Is there not as many degrees in the variety of benefices as there is in mens qualities? Yes, forsooth, there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices from M. markes to xx. markes a yeare of fundry values to endow euery man with, after his qualities and degree. And if a meane benefice happen to fal, let euery man be contented therewith til a better fal. And if he be thought worthy of a better, let him leaue the firft and take *the* better, for the meanest Benefice is a fufficient liuinge for fome man, which should be deftitute of a liuing, if that benefice and other like should be heaped vp together in great mens hands. Yea, I doe knowe *that* men which haue fuch meane benefices be more commonly refident, and keepe better hofpitality on the fame, then they that haue greater benefices. It is a common prouerbe, '*Its meary in Hall Whan Beardes wags all.*' Nowe looke throughe a whole Dioceffe, you fhall not finde xx. perfons refident that may difpende xl. l. a piece; nor for al the benefices in a Dioceffe, the fourth perfon refident ouer the fame. What temperal office is fo far abufed as thefe be that be spirituall and of greater charge? I pray God fend our Prelats Eyes to fee thefe Enormities; for it shoulde feeme that they are fo blinded that they cannot fee them. And then I doubt not but all delayes fet a part they will reforme them; and if they do not, I pray God fend our Maieftats temperall the minde to reforme thefe thinges with their feculer power. And to ftudy for the reformation ² of them, rather then for their poffeffions, Chriftian Princes beare not their fwords in wayne; nor yet is it fo ftraunge a thing to fee Chriftian princes reforme the Prelates that fwarue from their duties. Thus far be it fpoken

[The fins of the English Clergy.]

[1 Fol. 53]

Propter officium datur beneficium.

[We haue benefices from 1000 to 20 marks a year, for men according to their capacity.]

[The poor clergy live at home more than the rich.]

[We haven't 20 resident Parsons with 40 a year.

Not 1 Parson in 4 is resident.

If the Bishops won't reform this, I hope to God the laity will.]

[2 Fol. 53, back]

[The presumption of ill-informed laymen in judging religious matters.]

Cicero de offi. Lib. i.

The faultes in the part of the laitye. [*orig.* dutye]

[All young students are cheeky, whether in Divinity, Law, Grammar, or any other science.]

[* F3l. 54]

[No one ought to give an opinion on Bible difficulties till he's read for 7 years.]

[Evils of rash judgment.]

touching the reformation of them *that* be mynisters of *the* Church. Now to speake of *that* is to be reformed of our parte that bee of the laytye, yee must vnderstand, that al *that* geue them felues to the knowledge of any faculty, are commonly subiect to eyther of two vices (as that great clarke *Tully* doth report): *the* one is to take these things *that* we knowe not for things knowne, or as though we knewe them; for avoyding of which fault men ought to take both good space and great diligence in consideration of things, ere they come to geue iudgement of the same; the other vice, to bestowe too great a study and labour about obscure and hard thinges nothing necessary. Let vs now consider, and those faults be not among you at these dayes, ye be all now studious to knowe the vnderstanding of holy scripture. And well, for there can be no better desire, more honest, nor more necessary for any christian man; but yet doe yee not see many younge men before they haue either taken any longe time, or any good diligence in the consideration or study of scripture, take vpon *them* to iudge of high matters being in controuersie, geeuing to quicke assent eyther to their owne inuention, or to other mens, before they haue considered what might be sayd to the contrary. And this fault is not onely seene in men studious of the knowledge of scripture, but also in younge students of all other sciences: shall ye not finde a student in the lawe of the realme, after he hath bene at the study of *the* lawe not past iii. yeares, more ready to asfoyle you a doubtfull cause of the lawe, then either he himselfe or another, after *that* he hath studied the law xii. or xiiii. yeares. Yea, no doubt, so it is in a young Grammarian, Logitian, Rethoritian, & so of al other sciences. Therefore *Pythagoras* forbade his Schollers to ¹speake the firste v. yeares *that* they came to him, which lesson I would to God yee would be content to obserue, before yee gaue any iudgement in matters of holy scripture. And then I doubt not, but after vii. yeares reading, ye would by collation of one place with another of scripture, finde a greater difficulty therein then yee doe now, & bee more scrupulouse to geue an aunswere in high things then yee be now; and this harme commeth of rashe iudgement in *that* part, that when a man hath once vttered his opinion in any thinge, he will thinke it a great shame for him to bee brought from *that* he hath once affirmed for truth. Therefore, what so euer he readeth after, he construeth for the mayntenance of his

opinion; yea, and wil force that fide, not onely with his wordes and perfwasions, but alfo with that powre and authority *that* he hath, and will labour to bring other to the fame opinion, as many as he can, as tuousgh his Opinion shoulde bee the more true, the moe fauorers that he may get of *the* fame. By fuch meanes, if we feeke but for the truth, that is not to bee iudged to be alwayes on the beft fide *that* getteth *the* ouer hand by power, authority, or Suffrages extorted. it is not like in the difceptacion & inquisition of the truth, as it is in a fight or a wrefling; for he that hath the ouer hand in thefe things, hath the victory; and in the other, hee that is fometimes put to filence, or otherwife vanquished in the fighte of the worlde, hath the victory and conqueit of truth on his fide. Since wee contend but for the knowledge of the truth, what shoulde wee deuide our felues into factions and parties? but let the matter be quietly difcuffed, tryed, and examined, by men to whom the iudgement of fuch things appertayneth. And prouide, in the meane time, that neyther party do vfe any vyolence agaynst the other to bringe them by force to this or that fide, vntill the whole or moft part of *them*, to whom *the* difcufcion of fuch things appertayneth vnto, ¹doe freely confent and determine the matter. That is the onely way to defcide fuch controuerfies; and fince this contencion muft once haue an ende, it were better take an end be times, then too late, when percafe more harme fhall haue enfued of this daungerous Scifme, as hath already done in other parties, euen before our Eyes, And in like thinges hath before this time bene feene, of fuch fort as it is too lamentable to bee remembred. what loffe of Chriftian men, what diminifhing of the Chriftian fayth, what continuall warres hath the Faction of the *Arrians* bene the occafion of? did it not feperate and feuer at length all *Afia* and *Affricke* from the Chriftian fayth? Is not the Religion, or rather the wicked fuperfticion, of the *Turke* graffed ouer this *Arrian* Sect? did it not take his foundation thereof? As there is no dyuifion more daungerous then that which groweth of matters in Religion, fo it were moft expedient and neceffary to bee quikely remedied, which cannot bee done by any other way then by a free and generall counfel, that hath bene alwayes from the time of the Apoftles, who firft tooke that remedy (euen to their dayes) the onely way to quiet and appeafe all controuerfies in religion. And no doubt the holy Ghoft, as his promife is,

[Truth doesn't always get the most votes.]

[Why should seekers for the Truth split into factions?]

As Conftantyne the great did in the time of Arius.

[Fol. 54, back]

[Let all questions be discussed by experts, and the majority decide.]

[The only way to stop divisions is to have a General Council.]

[No doubt the Holy Ghost 'll come to it. Yet the Bp. of Rome or Pope] is a difficulty.]

How this scisme might be remedied.

[Fol. 55]

[Our rows are on (1.) the pay of the clergy, or (2.) points of Religion.]

Let the Clergy settle (2.) and the secular powers (1.)]

[How to deal with the Bp. of Rome.]

The Bishop of Rome is no indifferent man. [but the Whore of Babylon.]

Knight.

Marchaunt,
Husband,
& Capper.

Doctor.

wilbe presente in euery such assembly that is gathered together by no force or labor of any affection. But now wee will say, though wee would for our partes set a fide parciality, and be indifferent and vñe no cohercion to get numbers & voyces that shoulde fauour our partes, who can promise that the Byshoppe of *Rome* and other Prelates would doe *the same*? Surely, if yee did say so, yee sayd a great matter, for they be men, & much more subiect to affection; then yee be. But I shalbe bolde after my manner to tell my minde herein, aswell as in other things. I take all these matters that be now a dayes in controuerfie to be of one of these sortes: that is, either touching the profits and emolumentes of the Prelates & Mynisters ¹of the church, or touching pointes of religion. As touching those articles that concerne religion, I would wishe *that* they had onely the discufcion thereof, which ought and haue vsed alwayes to haue the iudgement of the same; & as touching the articles that concerne the profits of Ecclesiasticall persons, I would haue these left to the discufcion of the secular powers, because it concerneth secular things onely; where no man neede mistrust, but that *the* Maiestrates will provide an honorable liuing for that kinde of men that serueth so honorable a roume as *the* ministration of Gods holy word and his Sacraments. Furthermore I woulde wishe in things touching *the* byshop of *Rome*, & his iurisdic[t]-tion, *that* he should be set a part, & some other indifferent persons chosen, by christian Princes, to direct or be Presidents in the Counsayle, while his matter is in handlinge (if it please Christian Princes to houlde a counsayle with that Whore of *Babylon*), for no man is meete to be a Iudge in his owne cause. Here I haue but briefly touched *the* summes of things after my simple phantasie, referringe the allowing or reiecting of all or some of them to your better iudgement.

I am sorry that it is so late that wee must needes depart nowe.

And so bee wee, in good fayth; but wee trust ere you departe the towne, to haue some communication wyth you agayne.

I will bee glad, if I tarry in the towne. But as yet truly I knowe not whether I shall remayne here beyonde too morow morning, which if I do (in any thing *that* my simple iudgement will reach vnto you) you shall heare my farther opinion; in the meane time, I pray you so to thinke of mee as of one that if I haue spoken any thing which may

bee preiudiciall to the commonweale any way, I am ready to reuoke it, and to yeelde to the iudgement of any other man that can shew how all these griefes, or the more part of them,¹ may bee remedied by any other better meanes; for I know, of many a thousande in this lande I may worste speake in such a wayghty matter. And so here for this presente I take my leaue of you all.

[The Doctor's willing to yield to any wiser Doctor of the Social Evils of his day.]
[1 Fol. 55, back]

And thus wee departed for that time; but on the morrowe, when I knewe maister Doctor was gone out of the towne, I thought not meete this communication should bee lost, but remembred at the least in mine owne priuate booke, to the intent, as opportunity shoulde serue, I might brynge forth some of his Reasons in places where they might eyther take place or be aunswered otherwise then I could. And therefore I haue noted the sayd communication briefly of this sorte,
as you see.

Knight.
[I've set down shortly the Doctor's reasons.]

FINIS.

IMPRINTED

at London in Fleetstreet,
neere Vnto Sainte Dun-
stones Church, by Tho-
mas Marfhe.

APPENDIX.

[PROCLAMACION FOR THE ABASSING OF COYNES.]

[March, 1561.]

[*Ashm. MS. 1148, leaf 395.*]

By the Quene.

ALTHOUGH the Quenes Maiestie had determyned (aftre the tornyng of the base and copper moneyes to fyne Sterling moneyes, Whiche to hir greate honor, and the weale of the Realme was ended aboutes Michellmas last) to have forboren for the ease of hir people from the amendment of the vallue of the same fyne moneyes, for some convenyent tyme, and with some kynde of moderation therein : Yet is hir Maiestie now, vppon many and necessary cawses newly happened, moved and induced, though to hir owne private greate chardge, to alter this hir former purpose, bothe for the tyme and the moderation in the doing thereof. Whereof emonges other cawses, the rashnes of a greate sorte of people, shewing their wytt owte of season, and the covetoosnes of a greater sorte, are the principall: the one by spredding thorough the realme of rumors that frome one markett-daye to an-other the money shold be decayed, meanyng thereby to prevent vnseasonably and vntymely, hir Maiesties Determination, (for staye whereof hir Maiestie gave ordre by proclamation, but as it nowe appereth, not thereby remedied, by reason the same rumors were before-hand vniuersally spredd and dryven into mens heades by sinistre meanes) ; the other sorte, taking hold of thes rumors, and onely vppon covetoosnes furthering the same, have allredy vniuersally enhaunced the prices of all thinges to be solde for money, according to the rate as though the moneyes were allredy decayed. And nowe for that it is evydent that the vniuersall expectation for the decaye of the money, is, by meanes of these former rumors, so constantly and depely settled in mens heades; and thereafter the prices of all thinges so highly enhaunced, that vntill the moneyes be in dede

brought to the vallue at the whiche they were entended and ought to be, not onely the meaner sort of people, as laborers in husbandrye, handycraftes-men, and suche like, but also all serving-men, Soldiours and others, lyving onely by pention or wages, and therewith bying their victell and sustenance; shalbe pytefully oppressed with vnreasonable prices and derth. Therefore hir Maiestie, having compassyon of their estate, for the releffe of theym, and for the remedye of suche a willfull Derth, and consequently with one dede (that hereafter of necessitie ought to haue followed) to make suche a fynall certeyn end and honorable establishment of the state of the moneyes of this realme, as hathe been long wished, and is never hereafter to be chaunged ne altered. By the advise of hir Counsell and of many other noble, wyse, and expert men, Dothe declare, and by this proclamation dothe ordeyne; that all maner of moneyes now curraunt within this realme shall, aftr this proclamation, be vallued and curraunt as hereafter followeth. And so shall remayne withowte chaunge, being in very dede the Standard that hathe contynewed and remayned in this realme, sence the sixt yere of king Edward the fourthe, her Maiesties greate grandfather, and so all the tymes of king Edward the fyfte, king Richard the thirde, and king Henry the viith, and so forthe vntill the xvjth yere of the reigne of king Henry the eight, hir Maiesties father, whiche is so ryche and good as none canne be better for the state of this realme thereby to florish and growe in wealthe and good ordre.

First, the Moneyes of gold shalbe curraunt as followeth :

ffyne gold	{ The	{ Souerayne Royall Angell half Angell }	{ That was curraunt for }	{ xxx s. xv s. x s. v s. }	{ Shalbe curraunt for }	{ xx s. x s. vj s. viij d. iij s. iiij d. }
Crowne gold	{ The	{ Souerayne half souerayne Crowne half crowne }	{ That was cur- raunt for }	{ xx s. x s. v s. ij s. vjd. }	{ Shalbe cur- raunt for }	{ xiiij s. iiij d. vj s. viij d. v s. xx d. }
Straunge gold	{ The	{ ffranche crowne Burgundion crowne }	{ That was curraunt for }	{ vj s. vj s. }	{ Shalbe curraunt for }	{ iiij s. iiij s. }

Secondly, the Moneyes of Siluer shalbe curraunt as followeth :

ffyne ster- ling Sil- uer	{ The	{ Shilling half shilling Quarter shilling Three half pence Three farthinges }	{ That was curraunt for }	{ xij d. vj d. iij d. jd. ob. ob. q. }	{ Shalbe curraunt for }	{ viij d. iiij d. ij d. jd. ob. }
---------------------------------------	-------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------	-------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------

And forasmuche as there be three other peces of siluer moneyes curraunt in this realme, that is to saye, a grote, twoo pence, and a

penny, the which cannot be reduced to any good and even rekonynge one by one, Hir maiestie meanynge that no person shold take more harme by theym then by hir other moneyes, Dothe ordeyne that three of the same grotes shalbe curraunt for eight pence, and three of the saide peces of twoo pence shalbe curraunt for a grote, and three of the saide pence shalbe curraunt for twoo pence, And for that the quantytie thereof in the realme is not greate, and yet cumbersom to the people to paye one by one, Hir maiestie is pleased, betwixt the end of the next moneth and novembre following, thoughe it shalbe to hir pryvate chardge, to delyver at hir mynt, for every of the saide three peces, as muche other fyne moneyes as the same be nowe vallued by this proclamation. And all this, hir maiestie wold to be accepted of all good naturall subiectes, as one of the principall actes tending to the recovery of the auntyent fame and wealthe of this realme; and that no credytt be gyven to malitioose, busye, and envyoose persons, that either of ignorance or malice shall deprave this noble acte: Wherein hir Maiestie evydently susteyneth at this present so greate a burden in hir present treasure, as (were it not for respect of the comen weale) ought not to be by hir Maiestie borne. But hir principall care is, with godes grace and speciall assistaunce, to preferre allwayes the weale, suertie, and honor of this Realme, before hir owne pryvate weale or estate/.

Gyven at the Palace of Westminster, the daye of Marche, the fourthe yere of hir Maiesties reigne. 1561.

God save the Quene.

[Endorsed:—] Proclamacion for the
 Abassing of Coynes

NOTES.¹

p. x. A learned acquaintance at New College writes :

"As far as my own observation goes, I should certainly agree in considering that 'the tone of W. S.'s book is not that of a man of 27.' One phrase which is put into the Doctor's mouth, 'these 40 years' (I forget the exact context [p. 51 below]) would hardly have come naturally from a writer who had not seen 30. Nor can I see sufficient evidence to identify the William Stafford of New College with the 'Conspirator' of 1587. . . .

"The *Briefe Conceipt* is not in our College Library ; nor is it apparently among the books given to Winchester College Library by W. Stafford."

The passage my correspondent alludes to is on p. 51 below, where the Doctor says : "I haue heard within these xl. yeares, when there were not of these Haberdashers that selles french or Millen Cappes . . . and such things, not a dosen in all London." If we may identify our W. S. with his Doctor, this settles that he was not Lady Dorothy Stafford's son, specially when it is confirmd by other like sayings by the Doctor, on p. 27 (haue you not secne how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late, within this xx. or xxx. yeares) ; p. 28 (where he speaks of the old prices of caps, shoes, and horse-shoeing) ; p. 40 (if that kinde of inclosing doe asmuch increase in xxx. yeares to come, as it hath done in xxx. yeares past . . .) ; p. 64 (where he contrasts the old wages, &c. with the new, and says, "I know when a Scruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer," &c.) ; p. 68 (where he refers, as having livd in them, to 'the later yeares of King Henry the eight,' who died Jan. 28, 1547) ; p. 81 ('our Coyne at this present day, yea, *and many yeares past*, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse") ; p. 86, 87, 89, &c., all implying that the speaker was old. But, as I have noted in my Fore-words, W. S. *may* be speaking only dramatically through the Doctor (cp. 'ours,' 'yee laye men,' p. 91 ; p. 92, &c.) If so, we must notice that W. S. identifies himself, the writer of the treatise, with the Knight, on p. 32, p. 75, and in the last paragraph of the book, p. 99, "therefore I haue noted the sayd communication briefly of this sorte, as you see." If then the Knight represents William Stafford, he was probably older than the Doctor, for not only does he refer, near the top of p. 33, to his buying pigs and geese 30 years ago, but near the foot of the page he pro-

¹ The Notes and Indexes are mainly by Miss Isabel Marshall of Bedford.—F.

bably implies that he had Abbey or priory lands given him by Henry VIII. in or soon after 1532 A.D. But the safer plan is, no doubt, to rely on the general tone of the book, to which I appeald at first; and I do not think many readers will differ from the conclusion of my correspondent and myself on the point of the author's not being a man of 27.—F.

p. xii. *William Stafford and the Popish Plot*. Mr Greenfield sends me a further note (29 July 1876), which is interesting, but contains no evidence as to the authorship of the *Briefe Conceipt* :—

“The difference between us as to the author of the ‘*Compendium*’ is narrowed to a question of likelihood. I think the balance is in favour of the son of Queen Elizabeth’s Lady of the Bedchamber.

“Excuse me for suggesting that you do not seem to understand the part which William Stafford played in the project of Des Trappes. This branch of the Stafford family was strictly Protestant, of the Calvinistic type. In the reign of Mary, Sir William and his wife, with their eldest son and daughter, migrated to Geneva, where their youngest son—afterwards Sir John Stafford, Kt.—was born and baptized in Jan. 1555-6, *John Calvin* being the godfather.

“Wilham, their second son, was not a *popish plotter*. He may have been an intriguer and informer of Walsingham’s. The political morality of that age was not what it is now. Plot was met by counterplot. Elizabeth and her Lords of the Council ‘knew well how to throw the responsibility of odious measures upon their instruments.’ Success was rewarded, whilst failure was disowned and not unfrequently punished. The system of spies and informers was at its height; and Walsingham, as Secretary of State, employed both largely.

“January 1586-7 was a very critical time for the Queen and the minister. The Babington conspiracy had only just before been stamped out. It had been preceded by those of Somerville in 1583 and Throgmorton in 1584, besides a general commotion of opposite religious parties. In 1584 the Earl of Leicester organised the association ‘*against popish conspirators*,’ which was mainly to strengthen Elizabeth’s hold over the Scottish Queen’s liberty and life. More recently the commission for the trial of the Queen of Scots had pronounced sentence of death against her. Pretexts were sought for justifying Elizabeth’s signing the warrant of execution. The King of France had sent over M. de Bellievre as a special envoy to intercede for Mary’s life. He had discharged his mission before the end of December, and was now demanding his passport of return, which he received on 14 January 1586-7. Such are facts. Need I paint the effect of the situation upon an aspirant for court favour? The hope of reward, if he succeeded in implicating any of the members of the French embassy in a plot for getting rid of Elizabeth and saving the life of Mary?

“Whether he were a volunteer, or an agent of Walsingham’s, the effect of success, or failure, would be the same. Stafford tells us, however, that Walsingham directed him to go on with the affair.

"The statements of Stafford and Des Trappes as to who first took up the project of assassination are contradictory. Anyhow, Walsingham could not have believed that Stafford was in earnest, even if it emanated from Stafford: otherwise, we may be sure he would not have come out of the Tower alive. As it was, Stafford failed in committing any of the French embassy in a plot, and of so adding a justifiable pretext for Elizabeth's signing the warrant for the execution of Mary. Hence it became colourably necessary, for the credit of Elizabeth and her minister, to imprison Stafford. So much as to Stafford's doings in this matter.

"With regard to the author of the *Compendium*, I think Dr Bliss's assertion, viz., 'Besides him' (W. Stafford, M.A., of Ch. Ch. in 1618) 'was another of the same name, but before in time,' &c., must be restricted in its application to an *Oxford Student*, and not generally. This construction strengthens the claim I make for the Fellow of New College as the author of the *Compendium*."

p. xiii. Note that our Wm. Stafford had studied Moral Philosophy; p. 12, l. 26-7.—F.

p. 12. *Image* = representation. Cp. *Hamlet*, III. ii. 248.

p. 14. "*there comes me in.*" This is another of the so common instances of what Grammarians call the Ethic Dative, found constantly in Greek. It occurs in Shakspeare over and over again: *Two Gent. of Verona*, IV. iv., "he steps *me* to her trencher"; "he thrusts *me* himself into the company"; &c., &c.

p. 21. "*There may be . . . that they had.*" Cp. *Love's Labour Lost*, I. i. 71.

p. 23. *compleate*. This may be an example of the adverbial inflexion in *-e* common in Chaucer. See Morris, Introduction to Prologue, p. xl. There is another instance, uprighte, on p. 24.

p. 24. *to ear*. Cp. *All's Well that Ends Well*, I. iii.

p. 27. *esteemeth*. "The plural of the pres. indic. ending in *-eth* was the ordinary inflexion for all persons in the Old English Southern Dialects."—Morris, Int. to Chaucer's Prologue, p. xxxviii.

p. 33, l. 6 from foot: *any*. Is this for *many*, or a use of *any* = some?

p. 34. *Meany*: cp. Chaucer, meyné, *Knts. Ta.* l. 400; *Nonnes Priests Ta.* l. 573. Mod. French *ménu*.—I. M.

As *meine* is one of the words that Stanihurst calls 'Chaucer English,' I take the opportunity of reprinting all he says on the English talkt in Ireland:—

"Howbeit to this daie, the dregs of the old ancient Chaucer English Old English in Weisford and Fingall are kept as well there [in Wexford] as in Fingall, as they terme a spider, an attercop; a wisp, a wad; a lumpe of bread, a pocket, or a pucket; a sillibucke,¹ a copprous; a faggot, a blease or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I iudge); a physician, a leach; a gap, a shard; a base court or quadrangle, a bowen, or rather (as I doo suppose,) a barton; the household or folks, *meanie*; sharpe,

¹ Sillybawk, a syllabub. *Lincolnshire*.—Halliwell's Gloss.

keene ; estrange, vncouth ; easie, eeth¹ or eefe ; a dunghill, a mixen. As Bater. for the word 'bater,' that in English purporteth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a meere Irish word that crept vnawares into the English, through the dailie intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie in all countries the women speake most neatlie and pertlie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, speaking in the person of Crassus, seemed to have obserued : yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out contrarie. For The pronun-
tiation of the
Irish women. the women haue in their English toong an harsh & brode kind of pronuntiation, with vttering their words so peeuishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset. And most commonlie, in words of two syllables they give the last the accent : as theysaie, markeat, baskeat, gossoupe, pussoat, Robart, Niclese, &c : which doubtles dooth disbeautifie their English aboue measure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt custome, there is none that could dislike of their English."—1586. Richard Stanihurst, *The Description of Ireland*, Holinshed's Chronicle, 1587, vol. ii. p. 11, col. i, l. 28—58.—F.

p. 37. *Brass money.*

French Soldier. Est il impossible d'échapper la force de ton bras ?

Pistol. Brass, cur !

Thou damned and luxurious mountain goat,
Offer'st me brass ?—*Henry V.*, IV. iv. 17—21.—P. A. Daniel.

p. 40. "*Men do turne . . . but only sheepe.*" This passage, with those on p. 46 and p. 80, is strong evidence of the existence of the Old Teutonic Arable Mark. See Maine's *Village Communities*, Lect. III.

p. 49. "*Surely common . . . men the more.*" Compare with this the following passage from the official letter given to Sir Hugh Willoughby and Sir Richard Chancellour in 1553, when they set out on their famous voyage of discovery. It is quoted in the Introduction to Adam Smith, from Hakluyt, Vol. III. p. 231 : "For the God of Heaven & Earth, greatly providing for mankinde, would not that all things should be found in one region to the ende that one shoulde need of another ; that by this means, friendship might be established among all men and every one seek to gratifie all . . ."

p. 50. *foreign trifles exchanged for English valuables.* Compare Harrison, Book II, chap. 9, p. 235, col. 2, ed. 1587 : "I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuersitie of stuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our selues could so like of it. But such alas is our nature, that not our own, but other mens, do most of all delite vs ; & for desire of noueltie, we oft exchange our finest cloth, corne, tin, and woollles, for halfe penie cockhorses for children, dogs of wax or of cheese, twopennie tabers, leaden swords, painted feathers, gewgaws for foolcs, dogtricks for disards, hawkeswhoods, and such like trumperie, whereby we

¹ A.S. *eaðe, eðe.*

reape iust mockage and reproch in other countries." See too chap. 10, p. 236, col. 1, l. 50, "one trifling toie not worth the carriage, comming (as the prouerbe saith) in three ships from beyond the sea, is more woorth with vs, than a right good ieuell, easie to be had at home." And chap. 1, p. 221, col. 1, l. 27, "And it is so sure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the sea, though it be not worth three pence, is more esteemed then a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far exceedeth that value." Also, Book II., chap. 19, p. 323 of my edition.—F.

p. 51. *the Millener*: the dealer in goods imported from Milan. The name has narrowd into that of the maker or seller of ladies' bonnets, hats, caps, &c.—F.

p. 51. *glasses*: on the general use of glass drinking vessels, see Harrison, Book II., p. 147; and Falstaff in 2 *Hen. IV.*, II. i. 155, "Glasses, glasses is the only drinking." Also F. Thynne's *Emblems*, &c. p. 62, l. 8, "glasse vessells for banquettinge are dailie had in pryse."—F.

p. 51. *vile claie*, &c.: the silex and potash to make glass of.—F.

p. 51. *pryple* (*pebble*) *stones and Ferne rootes*. Compare Harrison, p. 147: "The poorest also will haue glasse if they may; but sith the Venecian is somewhat to deere for them, they content themselues with *such as are made at home of ferne and burned stone*."—F.

p. 52. *Wool exported, and wrought abroad*. Compare Harrison, Book III., chap. 10, p. 236, ed. 1587: "Some of them [foreigner traders] can saie without anie teacher, that they will buie the case [= skin] of a fox, of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once wax wiser, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flourish againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be fullie wrought at home (as cloth if you will, for an example) and not caried out to be shorne and dressed abroad, while our clothworkers here doo starue and beg their bread, and, for lacke of dailie practise, vtterlie neglect to be skilfull in this science."—F.

p. 64. *Excesse in apparell and fare*. Compare Harrison, Book II., chapters 7 and 6, p. 167—172, p. 144—155.—F.

p. 64. "*Countenance*," fair shew. Cp. *Measure for Measure*, V. i., "Unfold the evil which is here wrapt up in *countenance*."

p. 97. "*hee that is sometimes . . truth on his side*." There is a passage similar to this in J. S. Mill's *Essay on Liberty*, ch. ii. p. 16, People's Edition.

ARCHAIC WORDS AND FORMS.

- A, to, p. 27.
 A doe, to do, p. 15.
 Aduyses, p. 12, l. 12, opinions. Fr. *avis*.
 Afore, before, p. 22.
 Agayne, *prep.* against, p. 40, l. 12 from foot.
 Agglettes, tagged points, p. 50.
 Appayred, grew worse, p. 80.
 Areses, pieces of Arras tapestry hangings, p. 66.
 Assay, p. 45, try.
 Assoyle, resolve, explain, p. 96.
 Assuered, p. 43, sure.
 Away, *for* do away, p. 66.

 Basing, p. 49, cowering.
 Ben, p. 80, been.
 Biefes, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, oxen.
 Booty, remedy, p. 18; same as Boote, Chaucer's Prologue, l. 424.
 Bouchers, p. 71, butchers.
 Bread-corn and malt-corn, p. 46.
 Broode, *s.* breeding, stock, p. 43, l. 10.
 But, only, "liveth but a hundreth," p. 22.
 By, during, "lived *by* all that space," p. 23, and p. 26.
 By, on, "lived *by* their day wages," p. 16.
 By course, in order, p. 63.
 By likelihood, p. 82, probably.
 By means it being, p. 80, by means of its being.

 Can, know, p. 25.
 Censure, p. 12, line 21, opinion, criticism.

 Chargeable, p. 46, expensive.
 Cheape, *s.* p. 35, bargain, price.
 Chearished, p. 47. Fr. *cherer*, to cheere, to cherish, &c.
 Ciuilion, p. 40, l. 7 from foot, one learned in the Civil Law.
 Civile, p. 21, civilized.
 Civility, p. 26, civilization.
 Cleane, p. 19, proper, neat, well appointed.
 Close, p. 14, private.
 Come in place, p. 30.
 Commodities, commodiously, conveniently: "lying commodities for them," p. 66, l. 3 from foot.
 Competently, p. 49, enough.
 Compleate, p. 23, completely.
 Concept, conception, idea, p. 67.
 Concertation, p. 27, conference, p. 20, 23, comparison.
 Conjunct, p. 23.
 Conservation, p. 15, preservation.
 Considered *of*, for *by*, p. 35, l. 25; consider me, p. 34.
 Countenance, 'fair shew,' state, p. 63, p. 64, and note.
 Cut, slasht, p. 64, l. 6 from foot.

 Damozins, p. 54, damsons.
 Dearth, dearness, p. 47, l. 4 from foot.
 Declination, decline, p. 65.
 Devise, p. 12. Fr. "*Devis*: m. Speech, talke, discourse, a conference or communication." — Cotgrave.
 Disceputation, p. 12, l. 7 from foot. Fr. "*Diceptation* . . . disputation, contention, arguing, debating, reasoning, about a matter." — Cotgr.

- Discussion, distinguishing, p. 24.
 Dispend, p. 95, spend.
 Displeasaunt, p. 43, l. 3 from foot, displeasing.
 Eare, to plough, p. 24, and note.
 Eke, p. 72, also.
 Enhaunse, p. 28, raise.
 Ensearch, p. 30, l. 3 from foot, search out, seek for.
 Enter-commencers, p. 86, inter-commeners.
 Entermedled, p. 86, intermixed.
 Equipolent, p. 22, of equal power.
 Erable, p. 41, l. 15 from foot, ploughable, arable.
 Estats, states, condition, p. 20.
 Esteeme, p. 58, estimate.
 Evangelicall, p. 94, preaching the gospel.
 Exercise, tillage, practise it, carry it on, p. 44, l. 15.
 Feate, p. 12, l. 13; p. 41. Fr. "*faict* : m. A fact, act, motion, . . also, an allegation, proposition, argument, or article, in pleading." —Cotgrave.
 Feate, manufacture, trade, p. 46, p. 69, l. 19.
 Fetched at, p. 51.
 For, before infinitive, for to helpe, p. 18, like Fr. *pour aider*.
 Freating, p. 59, fretting, biting.
 Fryseadowes, p. 51, ? Frisian fine cloth.
 Furniture of her warres, equipment for them, p. 24.
 Garded, braided, ornamented, p. 64, l. 6 from foot.
 Gardes, braidings, ornaments, p. 65, l. 19, 20.
 Gettings, earnings, p. 29.
 Goeth clear, is free from blame, p. 27.
 Good, better, best, used as a term of comparison, "good cheap," a good bargain, p. 34 et passim.
 Graffe, graft, p. 24.
 Groundely, p. 55, fundamentally.
 Growing of, proceeding from, p. 70.
 Haleth, p. 31, haul, pull.
 Handy labour, p. 41.
 Hath bene, p. 40, have been.
 Have in charge, p. 11.
 Him, it, p. 82.
 His, *gen.* its, p. 81.
 Holde, p. 35, l. 5, holding, farm.
 Holpen, p. 33, helped.
 Hoyssing, p. 82, hoisting.
 Husband, farmer, husbandman, p. 32, &c. ; p. 40, l. 4 from foot.
 Image, p. 12, picture.
 Impulsion, p. 78, impulse.
 In maner, p. 21 ; in manner for, p. 15 ; maner, welt : "well maner of things."
 Inning, p. 24, getting in.
 Intend, p. 69, l. 20, devise, create.
 Lay forth, bring forward, p. 42.
 Least, p. 77, lest.
 Leaver, p. 37, rather.
 Let, hinder, p. 94 et passim.
 Licked themselves whole, p. 28, 91.
 Longe of, result of, modern vulgar along of, p. 16.
 Luker, p. 48, lucre, money, gain, profit.
 Maintenaunce, in, of, p. 41, in support of.
 Manurance, holding or handling (?), p. 63.
 Manure, p. 63, p. 77, to cultivate. Cp. *Othello*, I. iii. 328 : "sterile with idleness or *manured* with industry."
 Meane, p. 41, means.
 Mcany (mainy, p. 84), household, following, p. 34, p. 64, and note.

- Member of Philosophy, p. 12.
 Minish, p. 19.
 Misterye, p. 69, trade, business.
 Moe, more, p. 22.
 More, greater, p. 32, l. 11 from foot.
 Mought, p. 80, might.
 Move, p. 12, l. 8 from foot, touch on, discuss.
 Muttons, p. 35, l. 4 from foot, sheep.
 Myne, p. 68, my.
 Neare, p. 76, nearer.
 Non, not, p. 23.
 Nor, no, p. 21, double negative, like Fr.
 Noted a, *for* noted as a, p. 14.
 Occasion, take, p. 69.
 Occupied, carried on, practist, p. 47, l. 18.
 Occupier, p. 89.
 Occurrents, occurrences, p. 23.
 Of, p. 46, l. 5, by.
 Of my faith, p. 27; of all hands, p. 18, *for* on.
 On, complain, *for* of, p. 13.
 Ordered, p. 27, l. 10, arranged, made accessible.
 Other, for others, p. 15.
 Over, besides, in addition to, p. 8.
 Owches, p. 50, ornaments, jewels.
 Paines, punishments, p. 47.
 Pass my compass, p. 12, go beyond my limit.
 Paynefull, p. 47, l. 1, trouble-taking, laborious.
 Penner, p. 50, l. 5 from foot, pen-case.
 Percase, perchance, perhaps, p. 41, l. 13, &c.
 Perfit, perfect, p. 23.
 Peruse, p. 63, examine.
 Phantasies, fancies, p. 68.
 Physicke, Physics, p. 24, l. 2 from foot.
 Plentious, well to do, p. 19.
 Poulder, powder, p. 29, l. 5 from foot.
 Prety while, a, p. 32.
 Provoked, p. 12, l. 11, p. 47, l. 8 from foot, calld on, stirrd up.
 Puke, French, p. 64, l. 7 from foot. 'Explained by Baret, a colour between russet and black. "*Chidro scuro*, a darke puke colour," Florio, p. 97.'—Halliwell's Glossary.
 Pull, p. 30, pull up, pluck out.
 Purchased, procured, p. 25.
 Pylate, p. 26.
 Rear corn, to grow it, p. 46.
 Refreshing, *sb.* p. 41.
 Remember, remind, p. 66.
 Reporte me, I, p. 29, I appeal (to you).
 Resemble, compare, p. 26.
 Resemble, to, of, p. 15.
 Respect, to have, to, p. 28.
 Rise *at* your hand, p. 35, l. 20, rise from, be caused by, your hand.
 Romth, space, p. 57.
 Scripture, hath not red scripture, p. 26, studied. Cp. Fr. *Scavoir moult d'escripture*, to be learned, or skilfull in, or well acquainted with, most bookes.
 Seene, a man universally, p. 32, cultured.
 Selled, p. 78, sold.
 Set by, p. 25, 26, to value.
 Sette, lease at a fixt rent: "sette your land," p. 35; "price is so set," p. 35.
 Shale, p. 26, husk, shell.
 Shiftes, p. 35, l. 14, turns, tricks.
 Should, p. 22, 37, would.
 Sith, p. 30, since.
 Skant, scarcely, p. 14.
 Slake, p. 93.
 Smarte, p. 81.
 Sorte, of that, p. 74, in that way.

Spake, p. 32, spoke.
 Sparkes of gold, p. 51.
 Spoke, p. 45, spoken.
 Stay, at a, p. 28, at a fixt level, permanent.
 Stent, *sđ.* p. 35, l. 4, stop, point.
 Stented, fixt, stopt, limited, p. 63, 66.
 Stricke, strike, p. 60.
 Subjection of, subjection to, p. 21.
 Such who, p. 27.
 Suerty, p. 30, safety.
 Sweeped, swept, p. 66.

Taken, p. 12, considered.
 Tallage, p. 86, l. 8, duty, tax. Fr. "*taille* : f. A taske, or tax ; a tallage, tribute, imposition."—Cotgrave.
 Taryng, p. 22, tarrying, remaining.
 Than, then, p. 11, 14, 17.
 That that, that which, p. 23, 66.
 That, *for* those, p. 23 ; *for* that which, p. 22 ; *for* what, p. 12.
 This, *adv.* thus, p. 35, l. 7 from foot.
 Thorough, p. 30, through.
 To, in addition to, p. 23.
 Trade, p. 91.
 Travaile, p. 21.
 Trespass, break (the law), p. 85, l. 13 from foot.
 Trimming, ornamentation applied to houses, p. 66.

Understood, understood, p. 56.
 Uprighte, uprightly, p. 24.
 Use, p. 38, to be in the habit of.
 Uttered, p. 69, l. 8, put forth, exported, sold.

VERBS.

Infinitive Mood, used for Subjunctive.

Societie to grow, p. 49.
 to the intent to eat, p. 14 ; to the intent to continue, p. 41.
 in hope to come, p. 16 ; ground to sustaine, p. 72.

Used for Modern dependent Indicative Clause.

"I . . confess . . that, . . yet the dearth . . to remain and continue," p. 81 ; "to assure . . . the same to be," p. 60.

Used for Present Participle.

have given over to live, p. 17 ;
 heard of it to do, p. 54.

Past Participle in *-en*.

are growen, p. 59.
 is comen, p. 66.

Indicative Mood, Present tense, 3rd pers. plural, ending in *-eth*.

Esteemeth, p. 26, note.
 Conueieth, p. 66.
 Standeth, p. 31.

Sing. number after plural nouns, &c. :

some excelles, p. 12 ; other that followes, *for* others who follow, p. 15 ; inclosures . . causes, p. 15 ; men sendes, p. 20, &c.

Verderers, p. 66, ? Fr. "*Ouvrage de verdure*, Forest worke ; or flourisht worke, wherein gardens, woods, or forests, be represented."—Cotgrave.

Vente, p. 84, last line ; course.

Ventered, p. 50, sold. Fr. *vente*, sale.

Vility, p. 85, l. 3 from foot, vileness.

Wall, driveth me to the wall, puzzles me, beats me, p. 35.

Weaking, weakening, p. 40, l. 17.

Weild, p. 77, l. 3 from foot, wield, manage.

What, p. 18, which.

Whether, p. 79, where, whither.

Which, p. 14, who.

Whom, p. 21, those with whom.

Wist, p. 45, knew.

Would, p. 41, should.

INDEX.

- Ajax*, wife of, 76, 77
Apelles, 12
Apples, cargo of, at Carmarthen, 54
Arable, scarcity of, discussed, 40—42, 84; remedy proposed and discussed, 43—50, 84—86
Architecture, use of writers on, 24
Arians, 97
Aristotle, his opinions on gold and silver currency, 56, 57
Arithmetic, uses of, 24
Army, standing, discussed, 73
Arte, man to be credited in his own, 12; what artes are to be encouraged, 88
Artes, the seven liberal sciences, 25
Artificers, their grievances, 16, 27; three sorts of, 71, 88; foreign—to be encouraged, 89—91; country—to be subject to some town, 91
Astronomy, its uses, 24
Author, member of philosophy, moral, 12; his reasons for, and plan in, writing this, 11—13

Balance of trade, 50
Barley, price of, 35
Barr, throwing the, 16
Benefices, 93, 95
Bristowe, its chief trade, 89
Buildings, increase of, 66

Cæsar, 24, 73
Cap, price of, 28
Capon, price of, 33, 35
Cappes, restraint on import, in Parliament, 53
Carmarthen, its treatment of foreign apples, 54
Carrying trade, law concerning, 53
Cato, would restrain excess, 65
Cause and effect, 76, 77
Chickens, price of, 33
Church revenues, results of confiscation, 66
Cicero, his opinions quoted, 15, 47, 76, 96
Civil Law, 39, 40, 60
Clergy, complained of, 91; their faults and how they may be remedied, 92—98

Clothiers, supposed danger of, to commonwealth, 68, 69
Coin, debased: first used, 28; injurious to princes, 67; why should it matter what sort of, we use among ourselves? injurious to foreign trade, 37; is it cause of dearth? 79, 80; false: suspected utterance of, by foreigners, 38, 61, 62; old: exportation of, forbidden, and current value reduced, 62; Roman, 60
Coinage, use of, 60
Columella, 24
Commodity, staple, of country to be encouraged, 42
Common fields, 40, 86
Commonwealth, great alteration in, of late years, 11; danger to, if prince wants treasure, 29, 67; no league adverse to, to be cherished, 53; foreign alliances advantageous to, 72
Community, classes of, how affected by rise in prices, 63; condition of, 64, 67
Complayntes, of husbandman, 14, 17; of capper, 16—18; of knight, 17—20; of doctor, 19—20; recapitulation of, 31, 75; primary cause to be sought, 75—77
Corn, free export of, advocated, 44, 45, 85; free trade in, 49
Cosmography, use of, 22, 23
Country, condition of, 16
Coventry, chief trade of, 89
Currency, preferable to barter, 39; effects of debased, 55; necessity of fixed value for, 55, 56, 60, 61; advantages of gold and silver, 57; must be regulated by reference to universal market of world, 68

Dearth, its first appearance, 28, 55; who suffer most from, 29; its peculiarity, 32; suggested reasons for, discussed: (i) rise in rents, 32—35; (ii) rise in prices, 33—36; (iii) inclosures, 40—43; (iv) importation of trifles, 51; efficient cause of, 80; causes of continuance, 82
Diomedas, 38
Divinity, how studied, 26, 96. See *Religion*.

Dover, 77

Efficient cause, 76

Endowments, 18

England, state of, at this time, 16; description of, by Pomponius Mela, 71; compared with other countries, 72, 73

Erasmus, 59

Essex, 40

Experience, use of, 21, 22

Extravagance in dress and fare, 64, 65

Flanders, prosperity of, discussed, 72

Foreign craftsmen, English jealousy of, 89

Foreign trade, influence on prices, 36—39; in trifles, 51, 61; discussed, 54, 68, 87

Foreign work, cheaper than home, why? 52

Foreigners. See *Strangers*.

France, condition of, 70

Free trade in corn, its advantages, 49

Ganges, gold found in, 51

Gentlemen, their grievances, 17—20, 27; condition of, 63, 64; does cause of dearth lie with? 32—34, 39

Geometry, use of, 24; Plato required knowledge of, 26

Germany, prosperity of, 72

Glaucus, 38

Gold, its uses and qualities, 58, 59

Goose, price of, 33, 35

Griefs. See *Complayntes*.

Harvests, plentiful, 43; fail every seven years, 47

Hen, price of, 33, 35

Homer, 38, 39

Horse-shoeing, price of, 28

Husbandman, his grievance, 15—17, 28; does cause of dearth lie with? 33—35, 39; condition of, 45, 48

Imports, lists of, 16, 37, 49; foreign manufactures, 50

Inclosures, complained of, 15; question of, discussed, 40, 41; a cause of, 77; efficient cause of, 84; where there are most, 46

Income, what was formerly a sufficient, 19, 82

Iron, insufficiency of, in country, 36

Iustices of Peace, 15

Kent, 40

Knight. See *Gentlemen*.

Labourers, wages of, 29

Lands, rent mostly stationary, 33; owners farm their own, 81, 82; distribution of church, 66

Learned men, scarce; why, 25

Learning, advantages of, to common weal discussed, 20—23; little valued now-a-days, 26; causes of decay of, 27

Logic, what, 24

London, gentry flock to, 64; extravagance of, 65

Luxury, growth of, 64, 65

Manufactures, home, to be encouraged, 53, 68, 87; what may be carried on in England, 88

Maygames, 16

Merchant, his grievances, 16, 17, 28; always best off, 28; policy of foreign and others considered, 36, 37; does cause of dearth lie with? 78. (See Harrison's opinion in his *Description of England*, p. 131.)

Mint, 30

Music, one of seven liberal arts, 25

Nations which gain the mastery, 21

Noblemen, condition of, 63, 64

Northamptonshire, 40

Opinions, diversities of, accounted for, 25; remedies suggested, 91

Pactolus, gold found in, 51

Paper, foreign, cheapest, 52

Pastures, increase of, 15, 40, 46, 84; must supersede tillage, 43; cause of profit in, 84; advisable to tax, 86

Perow, gold in, 51

Philosophy, moral, knowledge of, useful, 24, 25; author member of, 12

Physick, knowledge of, useful, 25

Pig, price of, 33, 35

Plato, 15, 25, 26, 84

Pliny, 60

Plough-tail, a sanctuary, 85

Pluralities, 93, 95

Pomponius Mela, 71

Prices, rise in, 28, 33, 64; influence of one article on others demonstrated, 34; effects of compulsory lowering of, 35, 36; influence of foreign, on that of home commodities, 62, 63

Princes, wisest, have many counsellors, 11; suffer from dearth, 29; do they gain or lose by alteration of coin? 29, 67

- Procurations*, 93, 94
Produce, Raw, exported and returned worked, 51, 52; home, should be manufactured at home, 52, 87
Proverbs :—Foolles sometimes speake to the purpose, 11; As many heads, so many wittes, 11; Its merry in Hall whan Beardes wags all 95
Pythagoras, 26, 96
Religion, divisions concerning, lamented, 25—27, 91; late persecutions of learned for, 27; two great errors in those who study, 96; how truth is to be sought, 97; general counsel proposed, 97; subjects of controversy, 98
Rent, relation to prices, etc., 18, 32—35; effect of lowering, 35; lacked rents, 82
Restraints, advocated, 52, 53; whether our, touch leagues with foreigners, 53
Retorique, what, 24
Revels, 16
Roman army, 73
Rome, excess in, 65
Rye, price of, 35
Salt, insufficiency of, in country, 36
Sciences, seven liberal, 25
Scripture, ignorant interpretation of, 26
Searchers, 38, 62
Serving men, condition of, 64; wages of, 29
Several holdings, 40
Shoes, price of, 28
Silver, preferred by heralds, 58; its good qualities, 58, 59
Solon, 47
Stamp, every town to have its own, for its goods, 91
Stone, throwing the, 10
Strangers, does chief cause of dearth lie with? 78
Students, young, character of, 25, 26, 96
Subsidies, 30
Synods, 94
Tagus, gold sought in, 51
Tillage. See *Arable*.
Towns, causes of decay of, 87; suggested remedies for, 89—91
Trade, value of, to princes, 70; balance of, advocated, 50. See *Foreign*.
Treasure, increase of, in country, 82
Tully. See *Cicero*.
Universities, 20, 25; rarity of scholars at, 27
Velvet, price of, 36
Venice, 69, 89
Veterinaria, knowledge of, useful, 24
Vigetius, 24
Vitruvius, 24
Wages, rise in, 16, 64
Wakes, 16
Warre, to be provided for, 65, 66
Wheat, price of, 35
Window glass, 50
Wool, is export of unwrought, to be restricted? 44, 50, 68; worked abroad, 52; price of, 35

THE ROGUES AND VAGABONDS

OF

SHAKSPERE'S YOUTH.

PRESENTED

TO HIS FELLOW MEMBERS OF

The New Shakspeare Society

BY

F. J. FURNIVALL.



ROXBURGHE AND BAGFORD BALLAD WOODCUTS OF BEGGARS, &c.,
here, and on the backs of the Title-pages too.

The Rogues and Vagabonds

OF

Shakspeare's Youth,

DESCRIBED BY

Jn. AWDELEY in his *Fraternitie of Vocabondes*, 1561-73,
Thos. HARMAN in his *Caueat for Common Cursetors*, 1567-73,
and in *The Groundworke of Conny-catching*, 1592.

EDITED BY

EDWARD VILES & F. J. FURNIVALL

IN 1869 FOR THE *EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY*,

AND NOW REPRINTED.

PUBLISHT FOR

The New Shakspeare Society

BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 57, 59, LUDGATE HILL,
LONDON, E.C., 1880. ✓



Series VI. No. 7.

HUNGAY: CLAY AND TAYLOR, THE CHAUCER PRESS.

FORETALK.

THE 550 copies of this Book that I hand over to the Society towards making up its issue for this year, 1880, are but a token of repentance for my oversight in ordering Part II. of my edition of Stubbes's *Anatomie* to be sent out last year, when there was no money to pay for it, instead of keeping it back for this year. Not being able to afford a fresh book, I can only offer this reprint of an old one, which was used in part by Harrison in his *Description of England*, I. 218-219, and which I have always intended should form one of our *Shakspeare's-England* Series. (My *Captain Cox*, or Laneham's Letter on the Kenilworth Festivities in 1575 (Ballad Soc.), should form another, when money can be found for it.)

Thomas Harman's Will (p. xiv, below) I couldn't find at Doctors' Commons when I searcht for it, though three John-Harman wills of his time turnd up.

The print of the Stationers' Registers call'd for at p. xxvi, has since been produc't by Mr. Arber, to whose energy we are all so much indebted for such numbers of capital texts; and the book only needs an Index to be of real use. The entries on p. ii, vi, vii, below, are in Arber's *Transcript*, i. 157, 334, 345. (See too i. 348, 369.†) The Hunterian Club, Glasgow, reprinted, in 1874, S. Rowlands's *Martin Mark-all* (p. xvi, below) from the text of 1610, in its handsome edition of all Rowlands's works.

As connected, more or less, with the Vagabonds of London, I add, overleaf, a copy of the curious cut of the notorious Southwark brothel, 'Holland's Leaguer' in 1632, on which Mr. Rendle has commented in his "Bankside, Southwark," *Harrison*, Part II. p. ix-x., and the site of which is shown on the left of our first plan from Roque's Map, *ib*, p. 67*.

The Brothel is shown, says Mr. Ebsworth, (*Amanda Ballads*, 1880, p. 507*), fortified and sentried, as kept by a Mrs. Holland, before 1631. "The picture was frontispiece of a quarto pamphlet, '*Holland's Leaguer; or, an Historical Discourse of the Life and Actions of Donna Britanica Hollandia, the Arch Mistris of the wicked women of Eutopia: wherein is detected the notorious sinne of Pandarisme*,' etc., sm. 4to. printed by A. M. for Richard Barnes, 1632. . . .

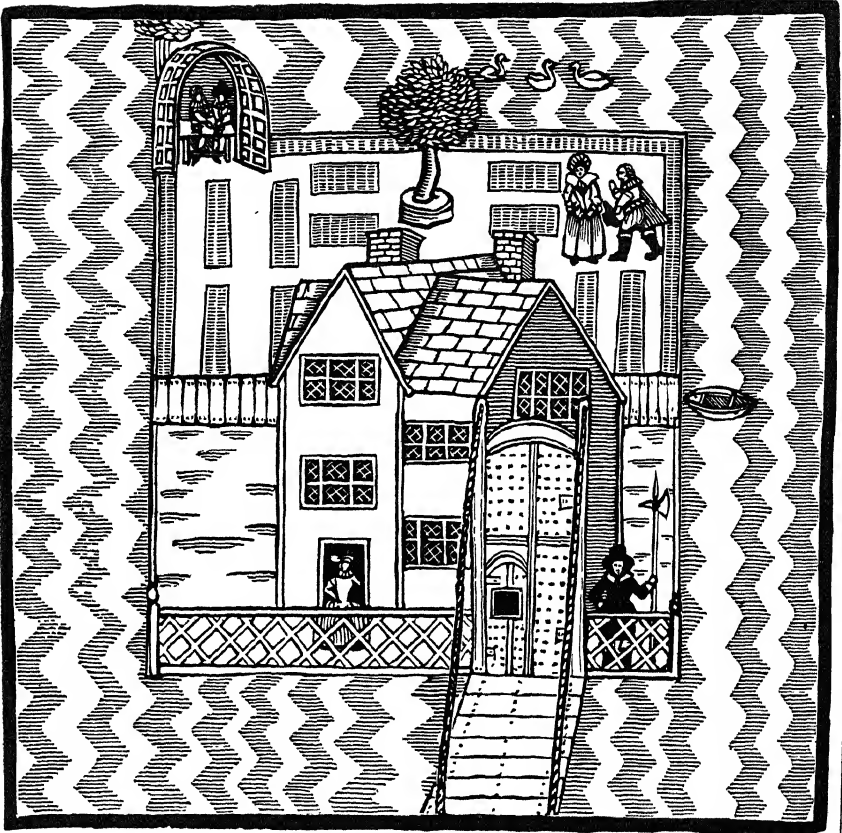
"Holland's Leaguer claimed to be an island out of the ordinary jurisdiction. The portcullis, drawbridge, moat, and wicket for espial, as well as an armed bully or Pandar to quell disagreeable intruders, if by chance they got admittance without responsible introduction, all point to an organized system. There were also the garden-walks for sauntering and 'doing a spell of embroidery, or fine work,' *i. e.* flirtation; the summer-house that was proverbially famous or infamous for intrigues, and the river conveniently near for disposal of awkward visitors who might have met with misadventure.

"Shackerly Marmion's 'excellent comedy,' *Holland's Leaguer*, 1632, was reprinted in 1875, in William Paterson of Edinburgh's choice series, *Dramatists of the Restoration*. The fourth act gives an exposure of the Leaguers' garrison, where riot, disease, and robbery are unchecked. Thus *Trimalchio* says,

'I threw thy *Cerberus* a sleepy morsel,
And paid thy *Charon* for my waftage over,
And I have a golden sprig for my *Proserpina*.

Bawd: Then you are welcome, Sir !'

† i. 270 : A ballett intituled *Tom Tell Truth*, A.D. 1565; and i. 307, 'an interlude, the *Cruell Letter* by Wager,' licenst to Colwell in 1665-6.



“Yet before long the visitors are shouting ‘Murder! Murder!’

‘They have spoiled us
Of our cloaks, our hats, our swords, and our money.
My brother talked of building of a score, [*i. e.* “*Tick it.*”]
And straight they seized our cloaks for the reckoning.’”

“The long-credit system did not suit at that establishment, where the health and lives of visitors were uninsured. The Proprietress had early declared the free list to be entirely suspended :

‘I’ll take no tickets nor no future stipends.
’Tis not false titles, or denominations
Of offices can do it. I must have money.
Tell them so. Draw the bridge.’—(Act iv. sc. 2.)”

The Fraternitie of Vagabondes

BY JOHN AWDELEY

(LICENSED IN 1560-1, IMPRINTED THEN, AND IN 1565)

FROM THE EDITION OF 1575 IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

A Caueat or Warening for Common Cursetors vulgarely called Vagabones

BY THOMAS HARMAN ESQUIRE,

FROM THE 3RD EDITION OF 1567, BELONGING TO HENRY HUTH, ESQ.

COLLATED WITH THE 2ND EDITION OF 1567 IN THE BODLEIAN
LIBRARY, OXFORD, AND WITH THE REPRINT OF THE
4TH EDITION OF 1573.

A Sermon in Praise of Thiebes and Thiebery

BY PARSON HABEN OR HYBERDYNE,

FROM THE LANSDOWNE MS. 98, AND COTTON VESP. A. 25.

THOSE PARTS OF

The Groundworke of Conny-catching (ed. 1592)

THAT DIFFER FROM *HARMAN'S CAUEAT*.

EDITED BY

EDWARD VILES & F. J. FURNIVALL.

LONDON :

PUBLISHED FOR THE EARLY ENGLISH TEXT SOCIETY,
BY N. TRÜBNER & CO., 60, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCLXIX.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Preface	i
AWDELEY'S <i>Fraternitye</i> , not plagiarized from, but published 'a feweaes' before, Harman's <i>Caueat</i> . . .	i
HARMAN'S <i>Caueat</i> : two states of the 2nd edition. The latter, now called the 3rd edition, is reprinted here . . .	v
Pirates from Harman: Bynnyman, and G. Dewes . . .	vi
Short account of Thomas Harman	vii
HARRISON'S quotation of Harman, and his account of English Vagabonds, and the punishments for them . . .	xi
<i>The Groundworke of Conny-catching</i> is a reprint of Harman's <i>Caueat</i> , with an Introduction	xiv
DEKKER'S <i>Belman of London</i> : its borrowings from Harman . . .	xiv
S. ROWLANDS'S <i>Martin Mark-all</i> shows up Dekker, and has new Cant words	xvi
DEKKER'S <i>Lanthorn and Candle-light</i> borrows from Harman: Canting Song from it	xix
<i>The Caterpillers of this Nation anatomized</i>	xxi
<i>A Warning for Housebreakers</i>	xxi
<i>Street Robberies consider'd</i>	xxii
PARSON HABEN'S or HYBERDYNE'S <i>Sermon in Praise of Thieves and Thievery</i>	xxiv
Shares in the present work	xxiv
1. AWDELEY'S <i>Fraternitye of Vagabondes, with the .xxv. Orders of Minnes</i> (p. 12-16)	1-16
2. Harman's <i>Caueat</i> or <i>Warning for Common Chorsctores</i> bulgarly called Vagabondes	17-91
3. Parson Haben's (or Hyberdyne's) <i>Sermon in Praise of Thieves and Thiebery</i>	92-95
4. <i>The Groundwork of Conny-catching</i> : those parts that are not reprinted from Harman's <i>Caueat</i>	96-103
5. Index	104-111

P R E F A C E.

IF the ways and slang of Vagabonds and Beggars interested Martin Luther enough to make him write a preface to the *Liber Vagatorum*¹ in 1528, two of the ungodly may be excused for caring, in 1869, for the old Rogues of their English land, and for putting together three of the earliest tracts about them. Moreover, these tracts are part of the illustrative matter that we want round our great book on Elizabethan England, Harrison's *Description of Britain*, and the chief of them is quoted by the excellent parson who wrote that book.

The first of these three tracts, Awdeley's *Fraternitie of Vagabondes*, has been treated by many hasty bibliographers, who can never have taken the trouble to read the first three leaves of Harman's book, as later than, and a mere pilfering from, Harman's *Caueat*. No such accusation, however, did Harman himself bring against the worthy printer-author (herein like printer-author Crowley, though he was preacher too,) who preceded him. In his Epistle dedicatory to the Countes of Shrewsbury, p. 20, below, Harman, after speaking of 'these wyly wanderers,' vagabonds, says in 1566 or 1567,

There was *a fewe yeares since* a small bréepe setforth of some zelous man to his countrey,—of whom I knowe not,—that made a lytle shewe of there names and vsage, and gaue a glymsinge lyghte, not sufficient to perswade of their peuishe peltinge and pickinge practyses, but well worthy of prayse.

¹ *Liber Vagatorum: Der Bettler Orden*: First printed about 1514. Its first section gives a special account of the several orders of the 'Fraternity of Vagabonds'; the 2nd, sundry *notabilia* relating to them; the 3rd consists of a 'Rotwelsche Vocabulary,' or 'Canting Dictionary.' See a long notice in the *Wiemarisches Jahrbuch*, vol. 10; 1856. *Hotten's Slang Dictionary*: Bibliography.

This description of the 'small bréepe,' and the 'lytle shewe' of the 'names and vsage,' exactly suits Awdeley's tract; and the 'fewe yeares since' also suits the date of what may be safely assumed to be the first edition of the *Fraternity*, by John Awdeley or John Sampson, or Sampson Awdeley,—for by all these names, says Mr Payne Collier, was our one man known:—

It may be disputed whether this printer's name were really Sampson, or Awdeley: he was made free of the Stationers' Company as Sampson, and so he is most frequently termed towards the commencement of the Register; but he certainly wrote and printed his name Awdeley or Awdelay; now and then it stands in the Register 'Sampson Awdeley.' It is the more important to settle the point, because . . . he was not only a printer, but a versifier,¹ and ought to have been included by Ritson in his *Bibliographica Poetica*. (Registers of the Stationers' Company, A.D. 1848, vol. i. p. 23.)

These verses of Awdeley's, or Sampson's, no doubt led to his 'small bréepe' being entered in the Stationers' Register as a 'ballett':
 "1560-1. Rd. of John Sampson, for his lycense for pryntinge
 of a ballett called the description of vakaboundes iiij^d.

"[This entry seems to refer to an early edition of a very curious work, printed again by Sampson, alias Awdeley, in 1565, when it bore the following title, 'The fraternitie of vacabondes, as well of rufing vacabones as of beggerly,² as well of women as of men,² and as well of gyrles as of boyes, with their proper names and qualities. Also the xxv. orders of knaves, otherwise called a quartten of knawes. Confirmed this yere by Cocke Lorel.' The edition without date mentioned by Dibdin (iv. 564) may have been that of the entry. Another impression by Awdeley, dated 1575 [which we reprint] is reviewed in the *British Bibliographer*, ii. 12, where it is asserted (as is very probable, though we are without distinct evidence of the fact) that the printer was the compiler of the book, and he certainly introduces it by three six-line stanzas. If this work came out originally in 1561, according to the entry, there is no doubt that it was the precursor of a very singular series of tracts on the same subject, which will be noticed in their proper places.]"—J. P. Collier, *Registers*, i. 42.

As above said, I take Harman's 'fewe yeares'—in 1566 or 7—to point to the 1561 edition of Awdeley, and not the 1565 ed. And as to Awdeley's authorship,—what can be more express than his own words,

¹ See the back of his title-page, p. 2, below.

² *as well* and *and as well* not in the title of the 1575 edition.

p. 2, below, that what the Vagabond caught at a Session confest as to 'both names and states of most and least of this their Vacabondes brotherhood,' *that*,—"at the request of a worshipful man, I ['The Printer,' that is, John Awdeley] have set it forth as well as I can.'

But if a doubt on Awdeley's priority to Harman exists in any reader's mind, let him consider this second reference by Harman to Awdeley (p. 60, below), not noticed by the bibliographers: "Foras-much as these two names, a Iarkeman and a Patrico, bée in *the old briefe of vacabonds*, and set forth as two kyndes of euil doers, you shall vnderstande that a Iarkeman hath his name of a *Iarke*, which is a seale in their Language, as one should make writings and set seales for lycences and pasporte," and then turn to Awdeley's *Fraternity of Vacabondes*, and there see, at page 5, below :

¶ A IACK MAN.

A Iackeman is he that can write and reade, and sometime speake latin. He vseth to make counterfaite licences which they call Gybes, and sets to Seales, in their language called *Iarkes*. (See also 'A Whipiacke,' p. 4.)

Let the reader then compare Harman's own description of a *Patrico*, p. 60, with that in 'the old *Briefe of Vacabonds*,' Awdeley, p. 6 :

Awdeley.

Harman.

¶ A PATRIARKE Co.

there is a PATRICO . . .

A Patriarke Co doth make marriages, & that is vntill death depart the married folke.

whiche in their language is a priest, that should make marriages tyll death dyd depart.

And surely no doubt on the point will remain in his mind, though, if needed, a few more confirmations could be got, as

Awdeley (p. 4).

Harman (p. 44).

¶ A PALLIARD.

¶ A Pallyard.

A Palliard is he that goeth in a patched cloke, and hys Doxy goeth in like apparell.

These Palliardes.. go with patched clokes, and haue their Morts with them.

We may conclude, then, certainly, that Awdeley did not plagiarize Harman; and probably, that he first published his *Fraternity* in 1561. The tract is a mere sketch, as compared with Harman's *Caueat*, though in its descriptions (p. 6—11) of 'A Curtesy Man,'

'A Cheatour or Fingerer,' and 'A Ring-Faller' (one of whom tried his tricks on me in Gower-street about ten days ago), it gives as full a picture as Harman does of the general run of his characters. The edition of 1575 being the only one accessible to us, our trusty Oxford copier, Mr George Parker, has read the proofs with the copy in the Bodleian.

Let no one bring a charge of plagiarizing Awdeley, against Harman, for the latter, as has been shown, referred fairly to Awdeley's '*small breefe*' or '*old briefe of vacabonds*,' and wrote his own "*bolde Beggars booke*" (p. 91) from his own long experience with them.

Harman's *Caueat* is too well-known and widely valued a book to need description or eulogy here. It is *the* standard work on its subject,—'these rowsey, ragged, rabblement of rakehelles' (p. 19)—and has been largely plundered by divers literary cadgers. No copy of the first edition seems to be known to bibliographers. It was published in 1566 or 1567,—probably the latter year,¹—and must (I conclude) have contained less than the second, as in that's 'Harman to the Reader,' p. 28, below, he says 'well good reader, I meane not to be tedyous vnto the, but haue added fyue or sixe more tales, because some of them weare doune whyle my booke was fyrste in the presse.' He speaks again of his first edition at p. 44, below, 'I had the best geldinge stolen oute of my pasture, that I had amongst others, whyle this boke was *first a printynge*;' and also at p. 51, below, 'Apon Allholl'enday in the morning last anno domini 1566, or my booke was halfe printed, I meane *the first impression*.' All Hallows' or All Saints' Day is November 1.

The edition called the second², also bearing date in 1567, is known to us in two states, the latter of which I have called the third edition. The first state of the second edition is shown by the Bodleian copy, which is 'Augmented and inlarged by the fyrst author here of,' and has, besides smaller differences specified in the footnotes in our pages, this great difference, that the arrangement of 'The Names of

¹ Compare the anecdote, p. 66, 68, 'the *last* sommer, Anno Domini, 1566.'

² 'now at this seconde Impression,' p. 27; 'Whyle this second Impression was in printinge,' p. 87.

the Vpright Men, Roges, and Pallyards' is not alphabetical, by the first letter of the Christian names, as in the second state of the second edition (which I call the third edition), but higgledy-piggledy, or, at least, without attention to the succession of initials either of Christian or Sur-names, thus, though in three columns :

¶ VPRIGHT MEN.

Richard Brymmysh.	Robert Gerse.
John Myllar.	Gryffen.
Wel arayd Richard.	Richard Barton.
John Walchman.	John Braye.
Wylliam Chamborne.	Thomas Cutter.
Bryan Medcalfe.	Dowzabell skylfull in fence.

[&c.]

¶ ROGES.

Harry Walles with the little mouth.	Lytle Robyn.
John Waren.	Lytle Dycke.
Richard Brewton.	Richard Iones.
Thomas Paske.	Lambart Rose.
George Belbarby.	Harry Mason.
Humfrey Warde.	Thomas Smithe with the skal skyn.

[&c.]

¶ PALLYARDS.

Nycholas Newton carieth a fayned	Edward Heyward, hath his Morte
lycence.	following hym Whiche fayneth
Bashforde.	y ^e crank.
Robart Lackley.	Preston.
Wylliam Thomas.	Robart Canloke.

[&c.]

This alone settles the priority of the Bodley edition, as no printer, having an index alphabetical, would go and muddle it all again, even for a lark. Moreover, the other collations confirm this priority. The colophon of the Bodley edition is dated A. D. 1567, 'the eight of January;' and therefore A. D. 1567-8.

The second state of the second edition—which state I call the third edition—is shown by the copy which Mr Henry Huth has, with his never-failing generosity, lent us to copy and print from. It omits 'the eight of January,' from the colophon, and has 'Anno Domini 1567' only. Like the 2nd edition (or 2 A), this 3rd edition (or 2 B) has the statement on p. 87, below : 'Whyle this second Im-

pression was in printinge, it fortuneth that Nycholas Blunte, who called hym selfe Nycholan Gennyns, a counterefet Cranke, that is spoken of in this booke, was fonde begging in the whyte fryers on Newe yeares day last past, Anno domini .1567, and commytted vnto a offeseer, who caried hym vnto the depetye of the ward, which commytted hym vnto the counter;' and this brings both the 2nd and 3rd editions (or 2 A and 2 B) to the year 1568, modern style. The 4th edition, so far as I know, was published in 1573, and was reprinted by Machell Stace (says Bohn's Lowndes) in 1814. From that reprint Mr W. M. Wood has made a collation of words, not letters, for us with the 3rd edition. The chief difference of the 4th edition is its extension of the story of the 'dyssembling Cranke,' Nycholas Genings, and 'the Printar of this booke' Wylliam Gryffith (p. 53-6, below), which extension is given in the footnotes to pages 56 and 57 of our edition. We were obliged to reprint this from Stace's reprint of 1814, as our searchers could not find a copy of the 4th edition of 1573 in either the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the Cambridge University Library.

Thus much about our present edition. I now hark back to the first, and the piracies of it or the later editions, mentioned in Mr J. P. Collier's *Registers of the Stationers' Company*, i. 155-6, 166.

"1566-7 Rd. of William Greffeth, for his lycense for printinge of a boke intituled a Caviat for commen Corsetors, vulgarly called Vagabons, by Thomas Harman iiij^d.

"[No edition of Harman's 'Caveat or Warning for common Cursetors,' of the date of 1566, is known, although it is erroneously mentioned in the introductory matter to the reprint in 1814, from H. Middleton's impression of 1573. It was the forerunner of various later works of the same kind, some of which were plundered from it without acknowledgment, and attributed to the celebrated Robert Greene. Copies of two editions in 1567, by Griffith, are extant, and, in all probability, it was the first time it appeared in print: Griffith entered it at Stationers' Hall, as above, in 1566, in order that he might publish it in 1567. Harman's work was preceded by several ballads relating to vagabonds, the earliest of which is entered on p. 42 [Awdeley, p. ii. above]. On a subsequent page (166) is inserted a curious entry regarding 'the boke of Rogges,' or Rogues.]

"1566-7. For Takyng of Fynes as foloweth. Rd. of Henry

Bynnyman, for his fyne for undermy[n]dinge and procurynge, as moche as in hym ded lye, a Cyppe from wylliam greffeth, called the boke of Rogges iij^s.

"[This was certainly Harman's 'Caveat or Warning for Common Cursetors'; and here we see Bynneman fined for endeavouring to *undermine* Griffith by procuring the copy of the work, in order that Bynneman might print and publish it instead of Griffith, his rival in business. The next item may show that Gerard Dewes had also printed the book, no doubt without license, but the memorandum was crossed out in the register.]

"Also, there doth remayne in the handes of Mr Tottle and Mr Gonneld, then wardens, the somme of iij^{li}. vij^s. viij^d., wherto was Recevyd of garrad dewes for pryntinge of the boke of Rogges in a^o 1567 iij^{li}. vj^s. viij^d."

"[All tends to prove the desire of stationers to obtain some share of the profits of a work, which, as we have already shown, was so well received, that Griffith published two editions of it in 1567.]"

The fact is, the book was so interesting that it made its readers thieves, as 'Jack Sheppard' has done in later days. The very wood-cutter cheated Harman of the hind legs of the horse on his title, priggged two of his prauncer's props (p. 42).

To know the keen inquiring Social Reformer, Thomas Harman, the reader must go to his book. He lived in the country (p. 34, foot), in [Crayford] Kent (p. 30, p. 35), near a heath (p. 35), near Lady Elizabeth Shrewsbury's parish (p. 19), not far from London (p. 30, p. 35); 'he lodged at the White Friars within the cloister' (p. 51), seemingly while he was having his book printed (p. 53), and had his servant there with him (*ib.*); 'he knew London well' (p. 54, &c.); and in Kent 'beinge placed as a poore gentleman,' he had in 1567, 'kepte a house these twenty yeares, where vnto pouerty dayely hath and doth repayre,' and where, being kept at home 'through sickenes, he talked dayly with many of these wyly wanderars, as well men and wemmen, as boyes and gyrles,' whose tricks he has so pleasantly set down for us. He did not, though, confine his intercourse with vagabonds to talking, for he says of some, p. 48,

¶ Some tyme they counterfet the seale of the Admiraltie. I haue diuers tymes taken a waye from them their lycences, of both sortes,

wyth suche money as they haue gathered, and haue confiscated the same to the pouerty nigh adioyninge to me. p. 51-6.

Our author also practically exposed these tricks, as witness his hunting out the Cranke, Nycholas Genings, and his securing the vagabond's 13s. and 4d. for the poor of Newington parish, p. 51-6; his making the deaf and dumb beggar hear and speak, p. 58-9 (and securing his money too for the poor). But he fed deserving beggars, see p. 66, p. 20.

Though Harman tells us 'Eloquence haue I none, I neuer was acquaynted with the Muses, I neuer tasted of Helycon' (p. 27-8), yet he could write verses—though awfully bad ones: see them at pages 50 and 89-91, below, perhaps too at p. 26¹;—he knew Latin—see his comment on Cursetors and Vagabone, p. 27; his *una voce*, p. 43; perhaps his 'Argus eyes,' p. 54; his *omnia venalia Rome*, p. 60; his *homo*, p. 73; he quotes St Augustine (and the Bible), p. 24; &c.;—he studied the old Statutes of the Realm (p. 27); he liked proverbs (see the Index); he was once 'in commission of the peace,' as he says, and judged malefactors, p. 60, though he evidently was not a Justice when he wrote his book; he was a 'gentleman,' says Harrison (see p. xii. below); 'a Iustice of Peace in Kent,'² in Queene Marie's daies,' says Samuel Rowlands;³ he bore arms (of heraldry), and had them duly stamped on his pewter dishes (p. 35); he had at least one old 'tenant who customably a greate tyme went twice in the weeke to London, (over Blacke Heathe) eyther wyth fruite or with pescoddes' (p. 30); he hospitably asked his visitors to dinner (p. 45); he had horses in his pasture,⁴ the best gelding of which the Pryggers of Prauncers priggged (p. 44); he had an unchaste cow that went to bull every month (p. 67, if his ownership is not chaff here); he had in his 'well-house on the backe side of

¹ Mr J. P. Collier (*Bibliographical Catalogue*, i. 365) has little doubt that the verses at the back of the title-page of Harman's *Caveat* were part of "a ballad intituled a description of the nature of a birchen broom" entered at Stationers' Hall to William Griffith, the first printer of the *Caveat*.

² Cp. Kente, p. 37, 43, 48, 61, 63, 66, 68, 77, &c. Moreover, the way in which he, like a Norfolk or Suffolk man, speaks of *shires*, points to a liver in a non-*shire*.

³ In *Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell*, 1610, quoted below, at p. xvii.

⁴ Compare his 'ride to Dartforde to speake with a priest there,' p. 57.

his house, a great cawdron of copper' which the beggars stole (p. 34-5); he couldn't keep his linen on his hedges or in his rooms, or his pigs and poultry from the thieves (p. 21); he hated the 'rascal rabblement' of them (p. 21), and 'the wicked parsons that keepe typlinge Houses in all shires, where they haue succour and reliefe'; and, like a wise and practical man, he set himself to find out and expose all their 'vndecant, dolefull [guileful] dealing, and execrable exercyses' (p. 21) to the end that they might be stopt, and sin and wickedness might not so much abound, and thus 'this Famous Empyre be in more welth, and better florysh, to the inestymable joye and comfort' of his great Queen, Elizabeth, and the 'vnspeakable . . . reliefe and quietnes of minde, of all her faythfull Commons and Subiectes.' The right end, and the right way to it. We've some like you still, Thomas Harman, in our Victorian time. May their number grow!

Thus much about Harman we learn from his book and his literary contemporaries and successors. If we now turn to the historian of his county, Hasted, we find further interesting details about our author: 1, that he lived in Crayford parish, next to Erith, the Countess of Shrewsbury's parish; 2, that he inherited the estates of Ellam, and Maystreet, and the manor of Mayton or Maxton; 3, that he was the grandson of Henry Harman, Clerk of the Crown, who had for his arms 'Argent, a chevron between 3 scalps sable,' which were no doubt those stamp'd on our Thomas's pewter dishes; 4, that he had a 'descendant,'—a son, I presume—who inherited his lands, and three daughters, one of whom, Bridget, married Henry Binneman—? not the printer, about 1565-85 A.D., p. vi-vii, above.

Hasted in his description of the parish of Crayford, speaking of Ellam, a place in the parish, says:—

"In the 16th year of K. Henry VII. John Ellam alienated it (the seat of Ellam) to Henry Harman, who was then Clerk of the Crown,¹ and

¹ "John Harman, Esquyer, one of the gentilmens hushers of the Chambré of our soverayn Lady the Quene, and the excellent Lady Dame Dorothee Gwydott, widow, late of the town of Southampton, married Dec. 21, 1557." (Extract from the register of the parish of Stratford Bow, given in p. 499, vol. iii. of Lysons's *Environs of London*.)

who likewise purchased an estate called Maystreet here, of Cowley and Bulbeck, of Bulbeck-street in this parish, in the 20th year of King Edward IV.¹ On his decease, William Harman, his son, possessed both these estates.² On his decease they descended to Thomas Harman, esq., his son; who, among others, procured his lands to be disgavelled, by the act of the 2 & 3 Edw. VI.³ He married Millicent, one of the daughters of Nicholas Leigh, of Addington, in the county of Surry, esq.⁴ His descendant, William Harman, sold both these places in the reign of K. James I. to Robert Draper, esq.—*History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 209.

The manor of Maxton, in the parish of Hougham “passed to Hobday, and thence to Harman, of Crayford; from which name it was sold by Thomas Harman to Sir James Hales. . . . William Harman held the manor of Mayton, alias Maxton, with its appurtenances, of the Lord Cheney, as of his manor of Chilham, by Knight's service. Thomas Harman was his son and heir: Rot. Esch. 2 Edw. VI.”—*Hasted's History of Kent*, vi. p. 47.

“It is laid down as a rule, that nothing but an act of parliament can change the nature of gavelkind lands; and this has occasioned several [acts], for the purpose of disgavelling the possessions of divers gentlemen in this county. . . . One out of several statutes made for this purpose is the 3rd of Edw. VI.”—*Hasted's History of Kent*, vol. i. p. cxliii.

And in the list of names given,—taken from Robinson's *Gavelkind*—twelfth from the bottom stands that of THOMAS HARMAN.

Of Thomas Harman's aunt, Mary, Mrs William Lovelace, we find: “John Lovelace, esq., and William Lovelace, his brother, possessed this manor and seat (Bayford-Castle) between them; the latter of whom resided at Bayford, where he died in the 2nd year of K. Edward VI., leaving issue by Mary his wife, daughter of William Harman, of Crayford, seven sons. . . .”—*Hasted's History of Kent*, vol. ii. p. 612.

The rectory of the parish of Deal was bestowed by the Archbishop on Roger Harman in 1544 (*Hasted*, vol. iv. p. 171).

Harman-street is the name of a farm in the parish of Ash (*Hasted*, vol. iii. p. 691).

¹ Philipott, p. 108. Henry Harman bore for his arms—Argent, a chevron between 3 scalps sable.

² Of whose daughters, Mary married John, eldest son of Wm. Lovelace, of Hever in Kingsdown, in this county; and Elizabeth married John Lennard, Prothonotary, and afterwards *Custos Breviarum* of the Common Pleas. See Chevening.

³ See Robinson's *Gavelkind*, p. 300.

⁴ She was of consanguinity to Abp. Chicheley. *Stemm. Chich.* No. 106. Thomas Harman had three daughters: Anne, who married Wm. Draper, of Erith, and lies buried there; Mary, who married Thomas Harrys; and Bridget, who was the wife of Henry Binnehan. *Ibid.*

The excellent parson, William Harrison, in his 'Description of England,' prefixed to Holinshed's Chronicles (edit. 1586), quotes Harman fairly enough in his chapter "Of prouision made for the poore," Book II, chap. 10.¹ And as he gives a statement of the sharp punishment enacted for idle rogues and vagabonds by the Statutes of Elizabeth, I take a long extract from his said chapter. After speaking of those who are made 'beggars through other mens occasion,' and denouncing the grasping landlords 'who make them so, and wipe manie out of their occupiengs,' Harrison goes on to those who are beggars 'through their owne default' (p. 183, last line of col. 1, ed. 1586):

"Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two sorts, and continue their estates either by casuall or meere voluntarie meanes: those that are such by casuall means ² are in the beginning ² inslie to be referred either to the first or second sort of poore ² afore mentioned²; but, degenerating into the thriflesse sort, they doo what they can to continue their miserie; and, with such impediments as they haue, to stride and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honest exercise. Certes, I call these casuall meanes, not in respect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the same, from whence they will not be deliuered, such³ is their owne vngratious lewdnesse and froward disposition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward causes, as by making of corosines, and applieng the same to the more fleshie parts of their bodies; and also laieng of ratsbane, sperewort, crowfoot, and such like vnto their whole members, thereby to raise pitifull⁴ and odious sores, and mooue ² the harts of² the goers by such places where they lie, to ⁵yerne at⁵ their miserie, and therevpon² bestow large almesse vpon them.⁶ How artificiallie they beg, what forcible speech, and how they select and choose out words of valencemie, whereby they doo in maner coniuere or aduise the goer by to pitie their cases, I passe over to remember, as iudging the name of God and Christ to be more conuersant in the mouths of none, and yet the presence of the heuenlie maiestie further off from no men than from this vngratious companie. Which maketh me to thinke, that punishment is farre meete for them than liberalitie or almesse, and sith Christ willeth vs cheeflie to haue a regard to himselfe and his poore members.

"Vnto this nest is another sort to be referred, more sturdie than the rest, which, hauing sound and perfect lims, doo yet, notwithstanding

¹ In the first edition of Holinshed (1577) this chapter is the 5th in Book III. of Harrison's *Description*.

²⁻² Not in ed. 1577.

³ *thorow* in ed. 1577.

⁴ *pitious* in ed. 1577.

⁵⁻⁵ *Lament* in ed. 1577.

⁶ The remainder of this paragraph is not in ed. 1577.

sometime counterfeit the possession of all sorts of diseases. Dinerse times in their apparell also¹ they will be like seruing men or laborers : oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and seeke for ships which they neuer lost.² But, in fine, they are all theeues and caterpillers in the commonwealth, and, by the word of God not permitted to eat, sith they doo but like the sweat from the true laborers' browes, *and* beereue the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to mainteine their excesse, consuming the charitie of well-disposed people bestowed vpon them, after a most wicked³ *and* detestable maner.

"It is not yet full threescore⁴ yeares since this trade began : but how it hath prospered since that time, it is easie to iudge ; for they are now supposed, of one sex and another, to amount vnto aboute 10,000 persons, as I haue heard reported. Moreover, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuised a language among themselves, which they name *Canting* (but other pedlers French)—a speach compact thirtie yeares since of English, and a great number of od words of their owne deuising, without all order or reason : and yet such is it as none but themselves are able to vnderstand. The first deuiser thereof was hanged by the necke,—a iust reward, no doubt, for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession. A gentleman, also, of late hath taken great paines to search out the secret practises of this vngratious rabble. And among other things he setteth downe and describeth⁵ three *and* twentie⁵ sorts of them, whose names it shall not be amisse to remember, wherby ech one may⁶ take occasion to read and know as also by his industrie⁶ what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them.

Thomas
Harman.

"The seuerall disorders and degrees amongst our idle vagabonds : —

- | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Rufflers. | 8. Fraters. |
| 2. Vpightmen. | 9. Abrams. |
| 3. Hookers or Anglers. | 10. Freshwater mariners, or Whip- |
| 4. Roges. | 11. Dummerers, [acks. |
| 5. Wild Roges. | 12. Drunken tinkers. |
| 6. Priggers of Prancers. | 13. Swadders, or Pedlers. |
| 7. Palliards. | 14. Iarkemen, or Patricoes. |

Of Women kinde—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Demanders for gliumar, or fire. | 6. Dokes. |
| 2. Baudie Baskets. | 7. Delles. |
| 3. Mortes. | 8. Kinching Mortes. |
| 4. Autem mortes. | 9. Kinching cooes. ⁷ |
| 5. Walking mortes. | |

¹ Not in ed. 1577.

² Compare *Harman*, p. 48.

³ The 1577 ed. inserts *horrible*.

⁴ The 1577 ed. reads *fifty*.

⁵⁻⁵ The 1577 ed. reads 22, which is evidently an error.

⁶⁻⁶ For these words the 1577 ed. reads *gather*.

⁷ The above list is taken from the titles of the chapters in *Harman's Catech*.

"The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restraine them from their gadding : wherefore the end must needs be martiall law, to be exercised vpon them as vpon theeues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enimies to the common-wealth *and* welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yoong¹ children, ²burning, breaking and disfiguring their lims to make them pitifull in the sight of the people,² I need not to rehearse ; but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or sessions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses vpon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be greuouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment receiued for the same. And this iudgement is to be executed vpon him, except some honest person wortht five pounds in the queene's books in goods, or twentie shillings in lands, or some rich housholder to be allowed by the iustices, will be bound in recognisance to reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to haue forsaken his said seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare and set to seruice : from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a felon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute dooth appeare. Among roges and idle persons finallie, we find to be comprised all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeited licences, coosiners, and such as gad about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, practisers of physiognomie, and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes, fencers, plaiers,³ minstrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretended⁴ schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fees, and others, so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From⁵ among which companie our bearewards are not excepted, and iust cause : for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, or for want of power to master their sauage beasts, bene occasion of the death and deuoration of manie children in sundrie countries by which they haue passed, whose parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is *and* haue bene manie sharpe lawes made for bearewards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges.⁵ Each one also that harboroth or aideth them with meat or monie, is taxed and compelled to fine with the queene's maiestie for euerie time that he dooth so succour them, as it

¹ Not in the 1577 ed.

²⁻² These words are substituted for *which they disfigure to begg mithal* in the 1577 ed.

³ The 1577 ed. inserts *bearwards*.

⁴ Not in 1577 ed.

⁵⁻⁵ These three sentences are not in 1577 ed.

shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation exceed not twentie shillings, as I haue beene informed. And thus much of the poore, *and* such prouision as is appointed for them within the realme of England."

Among the users of Harman's book, the chief and coolest was the author of *The groundworke of Conny-catching*, 1592, who wrote a few introductory pages, and then quietly reprinted almost all Harman's book with an 'I leaue you now vnto those which by Maister Harman are discouered' (p. 103, below). By this time Harman was no doubt dead.—Who will search for his Will in the Wills Office?—Though Samuel Rowlands was alive, he did not show up this early appropriator of Harman's work as he did a later one. As a kind of Supplement to the *Caueat*, I have added, as the 4th tract in the present volume, such parts of the *Groundworke of Conny-catching* as are not reprinted from Harman. The *Groundworke* has been attributed to Robert Greene, but on no evidence (I believe) except Greene's having written a book in three Parts on Conny-catching, 1591-2, and 'A Disputation betweene a Hee Conny-catcher and a Shee Conny-catcher, whether a Theafe or a Whore is most hvyrtfull in Cousonage to the Common-wealth,' 1592.¹ Hearne's copy of the *Groundworke* is bound up in the 2nd vol. of Greene's Works, among George III.'s books in the British Museum, as if it really was Greene's.

Another pilferer from Harman was Thomas Dekker, in his *Belman of London*, 1608, of which three editions were published in the same year (*Hazlitt*). But Samuel Rowlands found him out and showed him up. From the fifth edition of the *Belman*, the earliest that our copier, Mr W. M. Wood, could find in the British Museum, he has drawn up the following account of the book :

The Belman of London. Bringing to Light the most notorious Villanies that are now practised in the Kingdome. Profitable for Gentlemen, Lawyers, Merchants, Citizens, Farmers, Masters of Housholds, and all sorts of Servants to mark, and delightfulfull for all Men to Reade.

Lege, Perlege, Relege.

The fift Impression, with new additions. Printed at London by Miles Flesher. 1640.

¹ *Hazlitt's Hand Book*, p. 241.

On the back of the title-page, after the table of contents, the eleven following 'secret villanies' are described, severally, as

"Cheating Law	Bernard's Lawe.
Vincent's Law.	The black Art.
Curbing Law.	Prigging Law.
Lifting Law.	High Law.
Sacking Law.	Frigging Law.
Five Iumpes at Leape-frog."	

After a short description of the four ages of the world, there is an account of a feast, at which were present all kinds of vagabonds. Dekker was conveyed, by 'an old nimble-tong'd beldam, who seemed to haue the command of the place,' to an upper loft, 'where, vnseene, I might, through a wooden Latice that had prospect of the dining roome, both see and heare all that was to be done or spoken.'

'The whole assembly being thus gathered together, one, amongst the rest, who tooke vpon him a Seniority ouer the rest, charged euery man to answer to his name, to see if the Iury were full:—the Bill by which hee meant to call them beeing a double Iug of ale (that had the spirit of *Aquavite* in it, it smelt so strong), and that hee held in his hand. Another, standing by, with a toast, nutmeg, and ginger, ready to cry *Vous avez* as they were cald, and all that were in the roome hauing single pots by the eares, which, like Pistols, were charged to goe off so soone as euer they heard their names. This Ceremony beeing set abroach, an Oyes was made. But he that was Rector Chory (the Captain of the Tatterdemalions) spying one to march vnder his Colours, that had neuer before serued in those lowsie warres, paused awhile (after hee had taken his first draught, to tast the dexterity of the liquor), and then began, Iustice-like, to examine this yonger brother vpon interrogatories.'

This yonger brother is afterwards 'stalled to the rogue;' and the 'Rector Chory¹' instructs him in his duties, and tells him the names and degrees of the fraternity of vagabonds. Then comes the feast, after which, 'one who tooke vpon him to be speaker to the whole house,' began, as was the custom of their meeting, 'to make an oration in praise of Beggery, and of those that professe the trade,' which done, all the company departed, leaving the 'old beldam' and Dekker the only occupants of the room.

'The spirit of her owne mault walkt in her brain-pan, so that, what with the sweetnes of gaines which shee had gotten by her Marchant

¹ Leader of the Choir, Captain of the Company.

Venturers, and what with the fumes of drinke, which set her tongue in going, I found her apt for talke; and, taking hold of this opportunity, after some intreaty to discouer to mee what these vpright men, rufflers and the rest were, with their seuerall qualities and manners of life, Thus shee began.'

And what she tells Dekker is taken, all of it, from Harman's book.

Afterwards come accounts of the five 'Laws' and five jumps at leap-frog mentioned on the back of the title-page, and which is quoted above, p. xv.

Lastly 'A short Discourse of Canting,' which is, entirely, taken from Harman, pages 84—87, below.

As I have said before, Dekker was shown up for his pilferings from Harman by Samuel Rowlands, who must, says Mr Collier in his Bibliographical Catalogue, have published his *Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell*, in or before 1609,—though no edition is known to us before 1610,—because Dekker in an address 'To my owne Nation' in his *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, which was published in 1609, refers to Rowlands as a 'Beadle of Bridewell.' 'You shall know him,' (says Dekker, speaking of a rival author, [that is, Samuel Rowlands] whom he calls 'a Usurper') 'by his Habiliments, for (by the furniture he weares) hee will bee taken for a *Beadle of Bridewell*.' That this 'Usurper' was Rowlands, we know by the latter's saying in *Martin Mark-all*, leaf E, i back, 'although he (the Bel-man, that is, Dekker) is bold to call me an *vsurper*; for so he doth in his last round.'

Well, from this treatise of Rowlands', Mr Wood has made the following extracts relating to Dekker and Harman, together with Rowlands's own list of slang words not in Dekker or Harman, and 'the errour in his [Dekker's] words, and true englishing of the same:'

Martin Mark-all, Beadle of Bridewell; his defence and Answer to the Belman of London, Discovering the long-concealed Originall and Regiment of Rogues, when they first began to take head, and how they have succeeded one the other successively vnto the sixe and twentieth yeare of King Henry the eight, gathered out of the Chronicle of Crackeropez, and (as they terme it) the Legend of Lossels. By S[amuel] R[owlands].

Orderunt peccare boni virtutis amore,
Orderunt peccare mali formidine pœnæ.

London

Printed for Iohn Budge and Richard Bonian. 1610.

'Martin Mark-all, his Apologie to the Bel-man of London. There hath been of late dayes great paines taken on the part of the good old Bel-man of London, in discouering, as hee thinks, a new-found Nation and People. Let it be so for this time : hereupon much adoe was made in setting forth their liues, order of liuing, method of speech, and vsuall meetings, with diuers other things thereunto appertaining. These volumes and pâpers, now spread euerie where, so that euerie lacke-boy now can say as well as the proudest of that fraternitie, "will you wapp for a wyn, or tranie for a make?" The gentle Company of Cursitours began now to stirre, and looke about them ; and hauing gathered together a Conuocation of Canting Caterpillars, as wel in the North parts at the Diuels arse apeake,¹ as in the South, they diligently enquired, and straight search was made, whether any had revolted from that faithles fellowship. Herupon euerie one gaue his verdict: some supposed that it might be some one that, hauing ventured to farre beyond wit and good taking heede, was fallen into the hands of the Magistrate, and carried to the trayning Cheates, where, in shew of a penitent heart, and remorse of his good time ill spent, turned the cocke, and let out all : others thought it might be some spie-knaue that, hauing little to doe, tooke vpon him the habite and forme of an Hermite ; and so, by dayly commercing and discoursing, learned in time the mysterie and knowlege of this ignoble profession : and others, because it smelt of a study, deemed it to be some of their owne companie, that had been at some free-schoole, and belike, because hee would be handsome against a good time, tooke pen and inke, and wrote of that subiect ; thus, *Tot homines, tot sententiæ*, so many men, so many mindes. And all because the spightfull Poet would not set too his name. At last vp starts an old Cacademically Academicke with his frize bonnet, and giues them al to know, that this inuetiue was set forth, made, and printed Fortie yeeres agoe. And being then called, 'A caueat for Cursitors,' is now newly printed, and termed, 'The Bel-man of London,' made at first by one Master Harman, a Iustice of Peace in Kent, in Queene Marie's daies,—he being then about ten yeeres of age.' Sign. A. 2.

'They (the vagabonds) haue a language among themselues, composed of *omnium gatherum* ; a glimering whereof, one of late daies hath endeououred to manifest, as farre as his Authour is pleased to be an in-

¹ Where at this day the Rogues of the North part, once euerie three yeeres, assemble in the night, because they will not be seene and espied ; being a place, to those that know it, verie fit for that purpos,—it being hollow, and made spacious vnder ground ; at first, by estimation, halfe a mile in compasse ; but it hath such turnings and roundings in it, that a man may easily be lost if hee enter not with a guide.

telligencer. The substance whereof he leaueth for those that will dilate thereof; enough for him to haue the praise, other the paines, notwithstanding *Harman's* ghost continually clogging his conscience with *Sic Vos non Vobis*.—Sign. C. 3 back.¹

‘Because the Bel-man entreateth any that is more rich in cauting, to lend him better or more with variety, he will repay his loue double, I haue thought good, not only to shew his errour in some places in setting downe olde wordes vsed fortie yeeres agoe, before he was borne, for wordes that are vsed in these dayes (although he is bold to call me an vsurper (for so he doth in his last round), and not able to maintayne the title, but haue enlarged his Dictionary (or *Master Harman's*) with such wordes as I thinke hee neuer heard of (and yet in vse too); but not out of vaine glorie, as his ambition is, but, indeede, as an experienced souldier that hath deerely paid for it: and therefore it shall be honour good enough for him (if not too good) to come vp with the Reare (I doe but shoote your owne arrow back againe), and not to haue the leading of the Van as he meanes to doe, although small credite in the end will redound to eyther. You shall know the wordes not set in cyther his Dictionaries by this marke §: and for shewing the errour in his words, and true englishing of the same and other, this marke ¶ shall serue

§ Abram, madde

§ He maunds Abram, he begs as a madde man

¶ Bung, is now vsed for a pocket, heretofore for a purse

§ Budge a beake, runne away

§ A Bite, secreta mulierum

§ Crackmans, the hedge

§ To Castell, to see or looke

§ A Roome Cuttle, a sword

§ A Cuttle bung, a knife to cut a purse

§ Chepemans, Cheape-side market

¶ Chates, the Gallowes: here he mistakes both the simple word, because he so found it printed, not knowing the true originall thereof, and also in the compound; as for *Chates*, it should be *Cheates*, which word is vsed generally for things, as *Tip me that Cheate*, Giue me that thing: so that if you will make a word for the Gallous, you must put thereto this word *treynning*, which signifies

¹ Of the above passages, Dekker speaks in the following manner:—“There is an Usurper, that of late hath taken vpon him the name of the Belman; but being not able to maintaine that title, hee doth now call himselfe the Bel-mans brother; his ambition is (rather out of vaine-glory then the true courage of an experienced Souldier) to haue the leading of the Van; but it shall be honor good enough for him (if not too good) to come vp with the Rere. You shall know him by his Habiliments, for (by the furniture he weares) he will be taken for a *Beadle of Bridewell*. It is thought he is rather a Newter then a friend to the cause: and therefore the Bel-man doth here openly protest that hee comes into the field as no fellow in armes with him.”—*O per se O* (1612 edit.), sign. A. 2.

hanging ; and so *treyning cheate* is as much to say, hanging things, or the Gallous, and not *Chates*.

- § A flicke, a Theefe
- § Fambler, a paire of Gloues
- § Greenemans, the fields
- § Gilkes for the gigger, false keyes for the doore or picklockes
- § Gracemans, Gracious streete market
- § Iockam, a man's yard
- § Ian, a purse
- § Iere, a turd
- § Lugges, cares
- § Loges, a passe or warrant
- § A Feager of Loges, one that beggeth with false passes or counterfeit writings
- § Numans, Newgate Market
- ¶ Nigling, company keeping with a woman : this word is not vsed now, but *wapping*, and thereof comes the name *wapping mots*, whoores.
- § To plant, to hide
- ¶ Smellar, a garden ; not smelling cheate, for that 's a Nosegay
- § Spreader, butter
- § Whittington, Newgate.

“ And thus haue I runne ouer the Canter's Dictionary ; to speake more at large would aske more time then I haue allotted me ; yet in this short time that I haue, I meane to sing song for song with the Belman, ere I wholly leaue him.” [Here follow three Canting Songs.] Sign. E 1, back—E 4.

“ And thus hath the Belman, through his pitifull ambition, caused me to write that I would not : And whereas he disclaims the name of Brotherhood, I here vtterly renounce him & his fellowship, as not desirous to be resolued of anything he professeth on this subiect, knowing my selfe to be as fully instructed herein as euer he was.”—Sign. F.

In the second Part of his *Belman of London*, namely, his *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, 1609, Dekker printed a Dictionary of Canting, which is only a reprint of Harman's (p. 82-4, below). A few extracts from this *Lanthorne* are subjoined :

Canting.

“ This word *canting* seemes to bee deriued from the latine *verbe canto*, which signifies in English, to sing, or to make a sound with words,—that is to say, to speake. And very aptly may *canting* take his deriuation, *a cantando*, from singing, because, amongst these beggerly consorts that can play vpon no better instruments, the language of *canting* is a kind of musicke ; and he that in such assemblies can *cant*

best, is counted the best Musitian."—*Dekker's Lanthorne and Candle-light*, B. 4. back.

Specimen of "Canting rithmes."

"Enough—with bowsy Coue maund Nace,
Tour the Patring Coue in the Darkeman Case,
Docked the Dell, for a Coper meke
His wach shall feng a Prounces Nab-chete,
Cyarum, by Salmon, and thou shalt pek my Iere
In thy Gan, for my watch it is nace gere,
For the bene bowse my watch hath a win, &c."

Dekker's Lanthorne, &c., C. l. back.

A specimen of "Canting prose," with translation, is given on the same page.

Dekker's dictionary of Canting, given in *Lanthorne and Candle-light*, is the same as that of Harman.

"A Canting Song.

The Ruffin cly the nab of the Harman beck,
If we mawn'd Pannam, lap or Ruff-peck,
Or poplars of yarum : he cuts, bing to the Ruffmans,
Or els he sweares by the light-mans,
To put our stamps in the Harmans,
The ruffian cly the ghost of the Harman beck
If we heaue a booth we cly the Ierke.
If we niggle, or mill a bowsing Ken
Or nip a bounge that has but a win
Or dup the giger of a Gentry cofe's ken,
To the quier cuffing we bing,
And then to the quier Ken, to scowre the Cramp ring,
And then to the Trin'de on the chates, in the lightmans
The Bube *and* Ruffian cly the Harman beck *and* harmans.

Thus Englished.

The Diuell take the Constable's head,
If we beg Bacon, Butter-milke, or bread,
Or Pottage, to the hedge he bids vs hie
Or sweares (by this light) i' th' stocks we shall lie.
The Deuill haunt the Constable's ghoast
If we rob but a Booth, we are whip'd at a poast.
If an ale-house we rob, or be tane with a whore,
Or cut a purse that has inst a penny, and no more,
Or come but stealing in at a Gentleman's dore
To the Iustice straight we goe,
And then to the Iayle to be shakled : And so

To be hang'd on the gallows i' th' day time : the pox
And the Deuill take the Constable and his stocks."

Ibid. C. 3. back.

Richard Head (says Mr Hotten), in his *English Rogue, described in the Life of Meriton Latroon, a Witty Extravagant*, 4 vols. 12mo., 1671-80, gave "a glossary of Cant words 'used by the Gipsies'; but it was only a reprint of what Decker had given sixty years before," and therefore merely taken from Harman too. 'The Bibliography of Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Language' has been given so fully at the end of Mr Hotten's Slang Dictionary, that I excuse myself from pursuing the subject farther. I only add here Mr Wood's extracts from four of the treatises on this subject not noticed by Mr Hotten in the 1864 edition of his Dictionary, but contained (with others) in a most curious volume in the British Museum, labelled *Practice of Robbers*,—Press Mark 518. h. 2.,—as also some of the slang words in these little books not given by Harman¹:

1. *The Catterpillers of this Nation anatomized, in a brief yet notable Discovery of House-breakers, Pick-pockets, &c. Together with the Life of a penitent High-way-man, discovering the Mystery of that Infernal Society. To which is added, the Manner of Hectoring and trapanning, as it is acted in and about the City of London. London, Printed for M. H. at the Princes Armes, in Chancery-lane. 1659.*

Ken = miller, house-breaker

lowre, or mint = wealth or money

Gigers jacked = locked doors

Tilers, or Cloyers, equivalent to shoplifters

Joseph, a cloak

Bung-nibber, or Cutpurse = a pickpocket.

2. *A Warning for Housekeepers; or, A discovery of all sorts of thieves and Robbers which go under these titles, viz.—The Gilter, the Mill, the Glasier, Budg and Snudg, File-lifter, Tongue-padder, The private Theif. With Directions how to prevent them, Also an exact description of every one of their Practices. Written by one who was a Prisoner in Newgate. Printed for T. Newton, 1676.*

Glasiers, thieves who enter houses, thro' windows, first remouing a pane of glass (p. 4).

¹ We quote from four out of the five tracts contained in the volume. The title of the tract we do not quote is '*Hanging not Punishment enough*,' etc., London, 1701.

The following is a Budg and Snudg song :—

“The Budge it is a delicate trade,
 And a delicate trade of fame ;
 For when that we have bit the bloe,
 We carry away the game :
 But if the cully nap us,
 And the lures from us take,
 O then they rub us to the whitt,
 And it is hardly worth a make.
 But when that we come to the whitt
 Our Darbies to behold,
 And for to take our penitency,
 And boose the water cold.
 But when that we come out agen,
 As we walk along the street,
 We bite the Culley of his cole,
 But we are rubbed unto the whitt.
 And when that we come to the whitt,
 For garnish they do cry,
 Mary, faugh, you son of a wh——
 Ye shall have it by and by.
 But when that we come to Tyburn,
 For going upon the budge,
 There stands Jack Catch, that son of a w——
 That owes us all a grudge
 And when that he hath noosed us
 And our friends tips him no cole
 O then he throws us in the cart
 And tumbles us into the hole.”—(pp. 5, 6.)

On the last page of this short tract (which consists of eight pages) we are promised :

“In the next Part you shall have a fuller description.”

3. *Street Robberies consider'd ; The reason of their being so frequent, with probable means to prevent 'em : To which is added three short Treatises—1. A Warning for Travellers ; 2. Observations on House-breakers ; 3. A Caveat for Shopkeepers. London, J. Roberts. [no date] Written by a converted Thief.*

Shepherd is mentioned in this book as being a clever prison breaker (p. 6). There is a long list of slang words in this tract. The following are only a few of them :

Abram, Naked

Chive, a Knife

Betty, a Picklock

Clapper dudgeon, a beggar born

Bubble-Buff, Bailiff

Collar the Cole, Lay hold on the
 money

Bube, Pox

Cull, a silly fellow	Nimming, stealing
Dads, an old man	Oss Chives, Bone-handled knives
Darbies, Iron	Otter, a sailor
Diddle, Geneva	Peter, Portmantua
Earnest, share	Plant the Whids, take care what you say
Elf, little	Popps, Pistols
Fencer, receiver of stolen goods	Rubbs, hard shifts
Fib, to beat	Rumbo Ken, Pawn-brokers
Fog, smoke	Rum Mort, fine Woman
Gage, Exciseman	Smable, taken
Gilt, a Picklock	Smeer, a painter
Grub, Provender	Snafflers, Highwaymen
Hic, booby	Snic, to cut
Hog, a shilling	Tattle, watch
Hum, strong	Tic, trust
Jem, Ring	Tip, give
Jet, Lawyer	Tit, a horse
Kick, Sixpence	Tom Pat, a parson
Kin, a thief	Tout, take heed
Kit, Dancing-master	Tripe, the belly
Lap, Spoon-meat	Web, cloth
Latch, let in	Wobble, to boil
Leake, Welshman	Yam, to eat
Leap, all safe	Yelp, a crier
Mauks, a whore	Yest, a day ago
Mill, to beat	Zad, crooked
Mish, a smock	Znees, Frost
Mundungus, sad stuff	Zouch, an ungenteele man
Nan, a maid of the house	&c., a Bookseller
Nap, an arrest	

"The King of the Night, as the Constables please to term themselves, should be a little more active in their employment; but all their business is to get to a watch house and guzzle, till their time of going home comes." (p. 60.)

"A small bell to Window Shutters would be of admirable use to prevent Housebreakers." (p. 70.)

4. *A true discovery of the Conduct of Receivers and Thief-Takers, in and about the City of London, &c., &c.* London, 1718.

This pamphlet is "design'd as preparatory to a larger Treatise, wherein shall be propos'd Methods to extirpate and suppress for the future such villanous Practices." It is by "Charles Hitchin, one of the Marshals of the City of London."

I now take leave of Harman, with a warm commendation of him to the reader.

The third piece in the present volume is a larky Sermon in praise of Thieves and Thievery, the title of which (p. 93, below) happened to catch my eye when I was turning over the Cotton Catalogue, and which was printed here, as well from its suiting the subject, as from a pleasant recollection of a gallop some 30 years ago in a four-horse coach across Harford-Bridge-Flat, where Parson Haben (or Hyberdyne), who is said to have preached the Sermon, was no doubt robbed. My respected friend Goody-goody declares the sermon to be 'dreadfully irreverent;' but one needn't mind him. An earlier copy than the Cotton one turned up among the Lansdowne MSS, and as it differed a good deal from the Cotton text, it has been printed opposite to that.

Of the fourth piece in this little volume, *The Groundworke of Conny-catching*, less its reprint from Harman, I have spoken above, at p. xiv. There was no good in printing the whole of it, as we should then have had Harman twice over.

The growth of the present Text was on this wise: Mr Viles suggested a reprint of Stace's reprint of Harman in 1573, after it had been read with the original, and collated with the earlier editions. The first edition I could not find, but ascertained, with some trouble, and through Mr H. C. Hazlitt, where the second and third editions were, and borrowed the 3rd of its ever-generous owner, Mr Henry Huth. Then Mr Hazlitt told me of Awdeley, which he thought was borrowed from Harman. However, Harman's own words soon settled that point; and Awdeley had to precede Harman. Then the real bagger from Harman, the *Groundworke*, had to be added, after the Parson's Sermon. Mr Viles read the proofs and revises of Harman with the original: Mr Wood and I have made the Index; and I, because Mr Viles is more desperately busy than myself, have written the Preface.

The extracts from Mr J. P. Collier must be taken for what they are worth. I have not had time to verify them; but assume them to be correct, and not ingeniously or unreasonably altered from their originals, like Mr Collier's print of Henslowe's Memorial, of which

Dr Ingleby complains,¹ and like his notorious Alleyn letter. If some one only would follow Mr Collier through all his work—pending his hoped-for Retractations,—and assure us that the two pieces above-named, and the Perkins Folio, are the only things we need reject, such some-one would render a great service to all literary antiquarians, and enable them to do justice to the wonderful diligence, knowledge, and acumen, of the veteran pioneer in their path. Certainly, in most of the small finds which we workers at this Text thought we had made, we afterwards found we had been anticipated by Mr Collier's *Registers of the Stationers' Company*, or *Bibliographical Catalogue*, and that the facts were there rightly stated.

¹ To obviate the possibility of mistake in the lection of this curious document, Mr E. W. Ashbee has, at my request, and by permission of the Governors of Dulwich College (where the paper is preserved), furnished me with an exact fac-simile of it, worked off on somewhat similar paper. By means of this fac-simile my readers may readily assure themselves that in no part of the memorial is Lodge called a "player;" indeed he is not called "Thos. Lodge," and it is only an inference, an unavoidable conclusion, that the Lodge here spoken of is Thomas Lodge, the dramatist. Mr Collier, however, professes to find that he is there called "Thos. Lodge," and that it [the Memorial] contains this remarkable grammatical inversion;

"and haveinge some knowledge and acquaintaunce of him as a player, requested me to be his baile,"

which is evidently intended to mean, *as I had some knowledge and acquaintance of Lodge as a player, he requested me to be his baile*. But in this place the original paper reads thus,

"and haveinge of me some knowledge and acquaintaunce requested me to be his bayle,"

meaning, of course, *Lodge, having some knowledge and acquaintance of me, requested me to be his bail*.

The interpolation of the five words needed to corroborate Mr Collier's explanation of the misquoted passage from Gosson, and the omission of two other words inconsistent with that interpolation, may be thought to exhibit some little ingenuity; it was, however, a feat which could have cost him no great pains. But the labour of recasting the orthography of the memorial must have been considerable; while it is difficult to imagine a rational motive to account for such labour being incurred. To expand the abbreviations and modernize the orthography might have been expedient, as it would have been easy. But, in the name of reason, what is the gain of writing *where* and *there* for "where" and "there;" *cleere*, *yeelde*, and *meerly* for "clere," "yealde," and "merely;" *verie*, *anie*, *laie*, *waie*, *paie*, *yssue*, and *pryvyly*, for "very," "any," "lay," "way," "pay," "issue," and "privylie;" *sondrie*, *begon*, and *doen* for "sundrie," "began," and "don;" and *thintent*, *thaction*, and *thacceptaunce* for "the intent," "the action," and "the acceptance"?—p. 14 of Dr C. M. Ingleby's *Was Thomas Lodge an Actor? An Exposition touching the Social Status of the Playwright in the time of Queen Elizabeth*. Printed for the Author by R. Barrett and Sons, 13 Mark Lane, 1868. 2s. 6d.

That there is pure metal in Mr Collier's work, and a good deal of it, few will doubt; but the dross needs refining out. I hope that the first step in the process may be the printing of the whole of the Stationers' Registers from their start to 1700 at least, by the Camden Society,—within whose range this work well lies,—or by the new Harleian or some other Society. It ought not to be left to the 'Early English Text' to do some 20 years hence.

F. J. FURNIVALL.

29 Nov., 1869.

P.S. For a curious Ballad describing beggars' tricks in the 17th century, say about 1650, see the Roxburghe Collection, i. 42-3, and the Ballad Society's reprint, now in the press for 1869, i. 137-41, '*The cunning Northerne Beggar*': 1. he shams lame; 2. he pretends to be a poor soldier; 3. a sailor; 4. cripple; 5. diseased; 6. festered all over, and face daubed with blood; 7. blind; 8. has had his house burnt.

NOTES.

p. vii. ix, p. 19, 20. *Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, and her parish.* The manor of Erith was granted to Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, by Henry VIII. in the 36th year of his reign, A.D. 1544-5. The Countess died in 1567, and was buried in the parish church of Erith. "The manor of Eryth becoming part of the royal revenue, continued in the crown till K. Henry VIII. in his 36th year, granted it in fee to Elizabeth, relict of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, by the description of the *manor, of Eryth, alias Lysnes*, with all its members and appurts., and also all that wood, called Somersden, lying in Eryth, containing 30 acres; and a wood, called Ludwood, there, containing 50 acres; and a wood, called Fridayes-hole, by estimation, 20 acres, to hold of the King *in capite* by knight's service.¹ She was the second wife of George, Earl of Shrews-

¹ Rot. Esch. ejus an, pt. 6.

bury, Knight of the Garter,¹ who died July 26, anno 33 K. Henry VIII.,² by whom she had issue one son, John, who died young; and Anne, married to Peter Compton, son and heir of Sir Wm. Compton, Knt., who died in the 35th year of K. Henry VIII., under age, as will be mentioned hereafter. Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, in Easter Term, in the 4th year of Q. Elizabeth, levied a fine of this manor, with the passage over the Thames; and dying in the tenth year of that reign, anno 1567,³ lies buried under a sumptuous tomb, in this church. Before her death this manor, &c., seem to have been settled on her only daughter Anne, then wife of Wm. Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, and widow of Peter Compton, as before related, who was in possession of it, with the passage over the Thames, anno 9 Q. Elizabeth."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 196.

p. ix. In Lambarde's *Perambulation of Kent* (edit. 1826), p. 66, he mentions "Thomas Harman" as being one of the "Kentish writers."

Lambarde, in the same volume, p. 60, also mentions "Abacuk Harman" as being the name of one "of suche of the nobilitie and gentrie, as the Heralds recorded in their visitation in 1574."

There is nothing about Harman in Mr Sandys's book on Gavelkind, &c., *Consuetudines Cantie*. To future inquirers perhaps the following book may be of use:

"*Bibliotheca Cantiana*: A Bibliographical Account of what has been published on the History, Topography, Antiquities, Customs, and Family History of the County of Kent." By John Russell Smith.

p. 1, 12. *The .xxv. Orders of Knaues*.—Mr Collier gives an entry in the Stationers' Registers in 1585-6: "Edward White. Rd. of him, for printinge xxij^{ti} ballades at iiij^d a peece—vij^s iiij^d, and xliij. more at ij^d a peece ij^s iiij^d ix^s viij^d." And No. 23 is "The xxv^{tie} orders of knaves."—*Stat. Reg.* ii. 207.

p. 22. *The last Duke of Buckingham was beheaded*.—Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham, one of Henry VIII's and Wolsey's victims, was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 17, 1521, for 'imagining' the king's death. ('The murninge of Edward Duke of Buckyngham' was one of certain 'ballettes' licensed to Mr John Wallye and Mrs Toye in 1557-8, says Mr J. P. Collier, *Stat. Reg.* i. 4.) His father (Henry Stafford) before him suffered the same fate in 1483, having been betrayed by his servant Bannister after his unsuccessful rising in Brecon.—*Percy Folio Ballads*, ii. 253.

¹ This lady was one of the daughters and co-heirs of Sir Richard Walden, of this parish, Knt., and the Lady Margaret his wife, who both lie buried in this church [of Erith]. He was, as I take it, made Knight of the Bath in the 17th year of K. Henry VII., his estate being then certified to be 40l. per annum, being the son of Richard Walden, esq. Sir Richard and Elizabeth his wife both lie buried here. *MSS. Dering*.

² Dugd. Bar. vol. i. p. 332.

³ Harman's dedication of his book to her was no doubt written in 1566, and his 2nd edition, in both states, published before the Countess's death.

p. 23. *Egyptians*. The Statute 22 Hen. VIII. c. 10 is *An Acte concerning Egypsyans*. After enumerating the frauds committed by the "outlandyshe people callynge themselves Egyptians," the first section provides that they shall be punished by Imprisonment and loss of goods, and be deprived of the benefit of 8 Hen. VI. c. 29. "de medietate linguæ." The second section is a proclamation for the departure from the realm of all such Egyptians. The third provides that stolen goods shall be restored to their owners; and the fourth, that one moiety of the goods seized from the Egyptians shall be given to the seizer.

p. 48, l. 5. *The Lord Sturtons man; and when he was executed*. Charles Stourton, 7th Baron, 1548—1557:—"Which Charles, with the help of four of his own servants in his own house, committed a shameful murther upon one Hargill, and his son, with whom he had been long at variance, and buried their Carcasses 50 foot deep in the earth, thinking thereby to prevent the discovery; but it coming afterwards to light, he had sentence of death passed upon him, which he suffer'd at Salisbury, the 6th of March, Anno 1557, 4 Phil. & Mary, by an Halter of Silk, in respect of his quality."—*The Peerage of England*, vol. ii. p. 24 (Lond., 1710).

p. 77. *Saint Quinten's*. Saint Quinten was invoked against coughs, says Brand, ed. Ellis, 1841, i. 196.

p. 77. *The Three Cranes in the Vintry*. "Then the Three Cranes' lane, so called, not only of a sign of three cranes at a tavern door, but rather of three strong cranes of timber placed on the Vintry wharf by the Thames side, to crane up wines there, as is afore showed. This lane was of old time, to wit, the 9th of Richard II., called The Painted Tavern lane, of the tavern being painted."—Stow's *Survey of London*, ed. by Thoms, p. 90.

"The Three Cranes was formerly a favourite London sign. With the usual jocularity of our forefathers, an opportunity for punning could not be passed; so, instead of the three cranes, which in the vintry used to lift the barrels of wine, three birds were represented. The Three Cranes in Thames Street, or in the vicinity, was a famous tavern as early as the reign of James I. It was one of the taverns frequented by the wits in Ben Jonson's time. In one of his plays he says:—

'A pox o' these pretenders! to wit, your *Three Cranes*, Mitre and Mermaid men! not a corn of true salt, not a grain of right mustard among them all!—*Bartholomew Fair*, act i. sc. 1.

"On the 23rd of January, 166½, Pepys suffered a strong mortification of the flesh in having to dine at this tavern with some poor relations. The sufferings of the snobbish secretary must have been intense:—

'By invitation to my uncle Fenner's, and where I found his new wife, a pitiful, old, ugly, ill-bred woman in a hatt, a mid-wife. Here were many of his, and as many of her, relations, sorry, mean people; and after choosing our gloves, we all went over to the Three Cranes Taverne;

and though the best room of the house, in such a narrow dogghole we were crammed, and I believe we were near 40, that it made me loath my company and victuals, and a very poor dinner it was too.'

"Opposite this tavern people generally left their boats to shoot the bridge, walking round to Billingsgate, where they would reenter them."
—Hotten's *History of Signboards*, p. 204.

p. 77. *Seynt Iulians in Thystellworth parish*. 'Thistleworth, see Isleworth,' says Walker's *Gazetteer*, ed. 1801. That there might well have been a St Julian's Inn there we learn from the following extract:

"St. Julian, the patron of travellers, wandering minstrels, boatmen,¹ &c., was a very common inn sign, because he was supposed to provide good lodgings for such persons. Hence two St Julian's crosses, in saltier, are in chief of the innholders' arms, and the old motto was:—
'When I was harbourless, ye lodged me.' This benevolent attention to travellers procured him the epithet of 'the good herbergeor,' and in France '*bon herbet*.' His legend in a MS., Bodleian, 1596, fol. 4, alludes to this:—

'Therefore yet to this day, thei that over lond wende,
They biddeth Seint Julian, anon, that gode herborw he hem sende;
And Seint Julianes Pater Noster ofte seggeth also
For his faders soule, and his moderes, that he hem bring therto.'

And in '*Le dit des Heureux*,' an old French fabliau:—

'Tu as dit la patenotre
Saint Julian à cest matin,
Soit en Roumans, soit en Latin;
Or tu seras bien ostilé.'

In mediæval French, *L'hôtel Saint Julien* was synonymous with good cheer.

'—— Sommes tuit vostre.
Par Saint Pierre le bon Apostre,
L'ostel aurez Saint Julien,'

says Mabile to her feigned uncle in the fabliau of '*Boivin de Provins*;' and a similar idea appears in 'Cocke Lorell's bote,' where the crew, after the entertainment with the 'relygyous women' from the Stews' Bank, at Colman's Hatch,

'Blessyd theyr shyppe when they had done,
And dranke about a *Saint Iulian's* tonne.'

Hotten's *History of Signboards*," p. 283.

"Isleworth in Queen Elizabeth's time was commonly in conversation,

¹ Of pilgrims, and of whoremongers, say Brand and Sir H. Ellis (referring to the *Hist. des Troubadours*, tom. i. p. 11,) in *Brand's Antiquities*, ed. 1841, i. 202. Chaucer makes him the patron of hospitality, saying of the Frank-eleyn, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, "Seynt Iulian he was in his contre." Mr Hazlitt, in his new edition of Brand, i. 303, notes that as early as the *Ancren Riwle*, ab. 1220 A.D., we have 'Surely they (the pilgrims) find St. Julian's inn, which wayfaring men diligently seek.'

and sometimes in records, called Thistleworth."—Lysons' *Environs of London*, vol. iii. p. 79.

p. 77. *Rothered*: ? Rotherhithe.

p. 77. *The Kynges Barne*, betwene Detforde and Rothered, can hardly be the great hall of Eltham palace. Lysons (*Environs of London*, iv. p. 399) in 1796, says the hall was then used as a barn; and in vol. vi. of the *Archæologia*, p. 367, it is called "King John's Barn."

p. 77. *Ketbroke*. Kidbrooke is marked in large letters on the east of Blackheath on the modern Ordnance-map; and on the road from Blackheath to Eltham are the villages or hamlets of Upper Kidbrooke and Lower Kidbrooke.

"Kedbrooke lies adjoining to Charlton, on the south side of the London Road, a small distance from Blackheath. It was antiently written Cicebroc, and was once a parish of itself, though now (1778 A.D.) it is esteemed as an appendage to that of Charlton."—Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i. p. 40.

p. 100. *Sturbridge Fair*. Stourbridge, or Sturbich, the name of a common field, extending between Chesterton and Cambridge, near the little brook Sture, for about half a mile square, is noted for its fair, which is kept annually on September 19th, and continues a fortnight. It is surpassed by few fairs in Great Britain, or even in Europe, for traffic, though of late it is much lessened. The booths are placed in rows like streets, by the name[s] of which they are called, as Cheapside, &c., and are filled with all sorts of trades. The Duddery, an area of 80 or 100 yards square, resembles Blackwell Hall. Large commissions are negotiated here for all parts of England in *cheese*, woollen goods, wool, leather, hops, upholsterers' and ironmongers' ware, &c. &c. Sometimes 50 hackney coaches from London, ply morning and night, to and from Cambridge, as well as all the towns round, and the very barns and stables are turned into inns for the accommodation of the poorer people. After the wholesale business is over, the country gentry generally flock in, laying out their money in stage-plays, taverns, music-houses, toys, puppet-shows, &c., and the whole concludes with a day for the sale of horses. This fair is under the jurisdiction of the University of Cambridge.—*Walker's Gazetteer*, ed. 1801. See Index to Brand's *Antiquities*.

THE
Fraternitye of Vacabondes.

As wel of ruflyng Vacabondes, as of beggerly, of
women as of men, of Gyrles as of Boyes,
with
their proper names and qualities.

With a description of the crafty company of
Cousoners and Shifters.

¶ Wherunto also is adioyned
the .xxv. Orders of Knaues,
otherwyse called
a Quartern of Knaues.

Confirmed for euer by Cocke Lorell.

(*)

¶ **The Vpightman speaketh.**

¶ Our Brotherhood¹ of Vacabondes,
If you would know where dwell :
In graues end Barge which syldome standes,
The talke wyll shew ryght well.

¶ **Cocke Lorell aunswereth.**

¶ Some orders of my Knaues also
In that Barge shall ye fynde :
For no where shall ye walke I trow,
But ye shall see their kynde.

¶ Imprinted at London by Iohn Awdeley, dwellyng in little
Britayne streete without Aldersgate.

1575.

¹ *Orig.* Brothethood.

[leaf 1b.]

¶ *The Printer to the Reader.*

THIS brotherhood of Vacabondes,
 To shew that there be such in deede :
 Both Iustices and men of Landes,
 Wyll testifye it if it neede.
 For at a Sessions as they sat,
 By chaunce a Vacabond was got.

¶ Who promysde if they would him spare,
 And keepe his name from knowledge then :
 He would as straunge a thing declare,
 As euer they knew synce they were men.
 But if my fellowes do know (sayd he)
 That thus I dyd, they would kyll me.

¶ They graunting him this his request,
 He dyd declare as here is read,
 Both names and states of most and least,
 Of this their Vacabondes brotherhood.
 Which at the request of a worshipful man
 I haue set it forth as well as I can.

F I N I S.

[leaf 2]

¶ *The*

Fraternitye of Vacabondes

both ruffling and beggerly,

Men and women, Boyes and Gyrls,

wyth

their proper names and qualities.

Whereunto are adioyned

the company of Cousoners and Shifters.

¶ AN ABRAHAM MAN.

AN Abraham man is he that walketh bare armed, and bare legged, and fayneth hym selfe mad, and caryeth a packe of wool, or a stycke with baken on it, or such lyke toy, and nameth himselfe poore Tom.

¶ A RUFFELER.

A Ruffeler goeth wyth a weapon to seeke seruice, saying he hath bene a Seruitor in the wars, and beggeth for his reliefe. But his chiefest trade is to robbe poore wayfaring men and market women.

¶ A PRYGMAN.

A Prygman goeth with a stycke in hys hand like an idle person. His propertye is to steale cloathes of the hedge, which they call storing of the Rogeman : or els filch Poultry, carying them to the Alehouse, whych they call the Bowsyng In, & ther syt playing at cardes and dice, tyl that is spent which they haue so fylched.

¶ A WHIPIACKE.

A Whypiacke is one, that by coulour of a counterfaite Lisence (which they call a Gybe, and the seales they cal Iarckes) doth vse to beg lyke a Maryner, But hys chiefest trade is to rob Bowthes in a Faire, or to pilfer ware from staules, which they cal heauing of the Bowth.

¶ A FRATER.

A Frater goeth wyth a like Lisence to beg for some Spittlehouse or Hospital. Their pray is commonly vpon [leaf 2 b] poore women as they go and come to the Markets.

¶ A QUIRE BIRD.

A Quire bird is one that came lately out of prison, & goeth to seeke seruice. He is commonly a stealer of Horses, which they terme a Priggar of Paulfreys.

¶ AN VPRIGHT MAN.

An Vpright man is one that goeth wyth the trunchion of a staffe, which staffe they cal a Filchman. This man is of so much authority, that meeting with any of his profession, he may cal them to accompt, & commaund a share or snap vnto him selfe, of al that they haue gained by their trade in one moneth. And if he doo them wrong, they haue no remedy agaynst hym, no though he beate them, as he vseth commonly to do. He may also commaund any of their women, which they cal Doxies, to serue his turne. He hath ye chiefe place at any market walke, & other assembles, & is not of any to be controled.

¶ A CURTALL.

A Curtall is much like to the Vpright man, but hys authority is not fully so great. He vseth commonly to go with a short cloke, like to grey Friers, & his woman with him in like liuery, which he calleth his Altham if she be hys wyfe, & if she be his harlot, she is called hys Doxy.

¶ A PALLIARD.

A Palliard is he that goeth in a patched cloke, and hys Doxy goeth in like apparell.

¶ AN IRISHE TOYLE.

An Irishe toyle is he that carieth his ware in hys wallet, as laces, pins, poyntes, and such like. He vseth to shew no wares vntill he haue his almes. And if the good man and wyfe be not in the way, he procureth of the ch[i]ldren or seruants a fleece of wool, or the worth of xij.d. of some other thing, for a peniworth of his wares.

[leaf 8.]

¶ A IACK MAN.

A Iackeman is he that can write and reade, and sometime speake latin. He vseth to make counterfaite licences which they call Gybes, and sets to Seales, in their language called Iarkes.

¶ A SWYGMAN.

A Swygman goeth with a Pedlers pack.

¶ A WASHMAN.

A Washman is called a Palliard, but not of the right making. He vseth to lye in the hye way with lame or sore legs or armes to beg. These men ye right Pilliards wil often times spoile, but they dare not complayn. They be bitten with Spickworts, & sometime with rats bane.

¶ A TINKARD.

A Tinkard leaueth his bag a sweating at the Alehouse, which they terme their Bowsing In, and in the meane season goeth abrode a begging.

¶ A WYLDE ROGE.

A wilde Roge is he that hath no abiding place but by his coulour of going abrode to beg, is commonly to seeke some kinsman of his, and all that be of hys corporation be properly called Roges.

¶ A KITCHEN CO.

A Kitchin Co is called an ydle runagate Boy.

¶ A KITCHEN MORTES.

A Kitchin Mortes is a Gyrle, she is brought at her full age to the Vpryght man to be broken, and so she is called a Doxy, vntil she come to ye honor of an Altham.

¶ DOXIES.

Note especially all which go abroade working laces and shirt stringes, they name them Doxies.

¶ A PATRIARKE CO.

A Patriarke Co doth make mariages, & that is vntill [leaf 36.] death depart the married folke, which is after this sort: When they come to a dead Horse or any dead Catell, then they shake hands and so depart every one of them a seuerall way

¶ THE COMPANY OF COUSONERS AND SHIFTERS.

¶ A CURTESY MAN.

A Curtesy man is one that walketh about the back lanes in London in the day time, and sometime in the broade streetes in the night season, and when he meeteth some handsome yong man clely apareled, or some other honest Citizen, he maketh humble salutations and low curtesy, and sheweth him that he hath a worde or two to speake with his mastership. This child can behaue him selfe manerly, for he wyll desire him that he talketh withall, to take the vpper hand, and shew him much reuerence, and at last like his familer acquaintance will put on his cap, and walke syde by syde, and talke on this fashion: Oh syr, you seeme to be a man, and one that fauoureth men, and therefore I am the more bolder to breake my mind vnto your good maistership. Thus it is syr, ther is a certaine of vs (though I say it both taule and handsome men of theyr hands) which haue comé lately from the wars, and as God knoweth haue nothing to take to, being both maisterles and moniles, & knowing no way wherby to yerne one peny. And furtlier, wher as we haue bene welthely brought vp, and we also haue beene had in good estimation, we are a shamed now to declare our misery, and to fall a crauing as common Beggars, and as for to steale and robbe, (God is our record) it striketh vs to [leaf 4.] the hart, to thinke of such a mischief, that euer any handsome man should fall into such a

daunger for thys worldly trash. Which if we had to suffice our want and necessity, we should neuer seeke thus shamefastly to craue on such good pityfull men as you seeme to be, neither yet so daungerously to hasarde our liues for so vyle a thing. Therefore good syr, as you seeme to be a handsome man your selfe, and also such a one as pitieth the miserable case of handsome men, as now your eyes and countenance sheweth to haue some pity vppon this my miserable complainte: So in Gods cause I require your maistershypp, & in the behalfe of my poore afflicted fellowes, which though here in sight they cry not with me to you, yet wheresouer they bee, I am sure they cry vnto God to moue the heartes of some good men to shew forth their liberality in this behalfe. All which & I with them craue now the same request at your good masterships hand. With these or such like words he frameth his talke. Now if the party (which he thus talketh withall) profereth hym a peny or .ii.d. he taketh it, but verye scornfully, and at last speaketh on this sorte: Well syr, your good will is not to be refused. But yet you shall vnderstand (good syr) that this is nothing for them, for whom I do thus shamefastly entreate. Alas syr, it is not a groate or .xii.d. I speake for, being such a company of Seruiters as wee haue bene: yet neuertheles God forbid I should not receiue your gentle offer at this time, hoping hereafter through your good motions to some such lyke good gentleman as you be, that I, or some of my fellowes in my place, shall finde the more liberality. These kind of ydle Vacabondes wyll go commonly well appareled, without [leaf 4b.] any weapon, and in place where they meete together, as at their hosteryes or other places, they wyll beare the port of ryght good gentlemen, & some are the more trusted, but commonly thei pay them wth stealing a paire of sheetes, or Couerlet, & so take their farewell earely in the morning, before the mayster or dame be sturring.

¶ A CHEATOUR OR FINGERER.

These commonly be such kinde of idle Vacabondes as scarcely a man shall discerne, they go so gorgeously, sometime with waiting men, and sometime without. Their trade is to walke in such places, where as gentelmen & other worshipfull Citizens do resorte, as at

Poules, or at Christes Hospital, & somtime at ye Royal exchange. These haue very many acquaintaunces, yea, and for the most part will acquaint them selues with euery man, and fayne a society, in one place or other. But chiefly they wil seeke their acquaintaunce of such (which they haue learned by diligent enquiring where they resort) as haue receyued some porcioun of money of their friends, as yong Gentlemen which are sent to London to study the lawes, or els some yong Marchant man or other kynde of Occupier, whose friendes hath geuen them a stock of mony¹ to occupy withall. When they haue thus found out such a pray, they will find the meanes by theyr familiarity, as very curteously to bid him to breakefast at one place or other, where they are best acquainted, and closely amonge themselves wil appoint one of their Fraternity, which they call a Fyngerer, an olde beaten childe, not onely in such deceites, but also such a one as by his age is painted out with gray heares, wrinkled face, crooked back, and most commonly lame, as it might seeme with age, [leaf 5] yea and such a one as to shew a simplicity, shal weare a homely cloke and hat scarce worth .vi. d. This nimble fingred knight (being appointed to this place) commeth in as one not knowen of these Cheatours, but as vnwares shal sit down at the end of the bord where they syt, & call for his peny pot of wine, or a pinte of Ale, as the place serueth. Thus sitting as it were alone, mumblyng on a crust, or some such thing, these other yonckers wil finde some kind of mery talke with him, some times questioning wher he dwelleth, & sometimes enquiring what trade he vseth, which commonly he telleth them he vseth husbandry: & talking thus merely, at last they aske him, how sayest thou, Father, wylt thou play for thy breakfast with one of vs, that we may haue some pastime as we syt? Thys olde Karle makyng it straunge at the first saith: My maysters, ich am an old man, and halfe blinde, and can skyl of very few games, yet for that you seeme to be such good Gentelmen, as to profer to play for that of which you had no part, but onely I my selfe, and therefore of right ich am worthy to pay for it, I shal with al my hart fulfyl your request. And so falleth to play, somtime at Cardes, & sometime at dice. Which through his counterfait simplicity

¹ *Orig. money*

in the play somtimes ouer counteth himself, or playeth somtimes against his wyl, so as he would not, & then counterfaiteth to be angry, and falleth to swearing, & so leeing that, profereth to play for a shillyng or two. The other therat hauing good sport, seming to mocke him, falleth againe to play, and so by their legerdemane, & counterfaiting, winneth ech of them a shilling or twain, & at last whispereth the yong man in the eare to play with hym also, that ech one might haue a fling at him. [leaf 5b.] This yong man for company falleth againe to play also with the sayd Fyngerer, and winneth as the other did which when he had loste a noble or .vi. s. maketh as though he had lost al his mony, and falleth a intreating for parte thereof againe to bring him home, which the other knowing his mind and intent, stoutely denieth and iesteth, & scoffeth at him. This Fingerer seeming then to be in a rage, desireth them as they are true gentlemen, to tarry till he fetcheth more store of money, or els to point some place where they may meete. They seeming greedy hereof, promiseth faithfully and clappeth handes so to meete. They thus ticklyng the young man in the eare, willeth him to make as much money as he can, and they wil make as much as they can, and consent as though they wil play booty against him. But in the ende they so vse the matter, that both the young man leeseth his part, and, as it seemeth to him, they leeing theirs also, and so maketh as though they would fal together by the eares with this fingerer, which by one wyle or other at last conueyeth him selfe away, & they as it were raging lyke mad bedlams, one runneth one way, an other an other way, leauing the loser indeede all alone. Thus these Cheatours at their accustomed hosteries meete closely together, and there receiue ech one his part of this their vile spoyle. Of this fraternity there be that be called helpers, which commonly haunt tauernes or alehouses, and commeth in as men not acquainted with none in the companye, but spyng them at any game, wil byd them God spede and God be at their game, and will so place him selfe that he will shew his fellow by sygnes and tokens, without speech commonly, but sometime with far fetched [leaf 6] wordes, what cardes he hath in his hand, and how he may play against him. And those betwene them both getteth money out of the others purse.

¶ A RING FALLER.

A Ryng faller is he that getteth fayre copper rings, some made like signets, & some after other fashions, very faire gylded, & walketh vp and down the streetes, til he spieth some man of the country, or some other simple body whom he thinketh he may deceaue, and so goeth a lyttle before him or them, and letteth fall one of these ringes, which when the party that commeth after spieth and taketh it vp, he hauing an eye backward, crieth halfe part, the party that taketh it vp, thinking it to be of great value, profereth him some money for his part, which he not fully denieth, but willetth him to come into some alehouse or tauerne, and there they will common vpon the matter. Which when they come in, and are set in some solitary place (as commonly they call for such a place) there he desir-eth the party that found the ring to shew it him. When he seeth it, he falleth a entreating the party that found it, and desireth him to take money for his part, and telleth him that if euer he may do him any frendship hereafter he shal commaund him, for he maketh as though he were very desirous to haue it. The symple man seeing him so importune vpon it, thinketh the ring to bee of great valure, and so is the more lother to part from it. At last this ring faller asketh him what he will geue him for his part, for, saith he, seeing you wyl not let me haue the ring, alowe me my part, and take you the ring. The other asketh what he counteth the ring to be worth, he answereth, v. or vi. pound. No, saith he, it is not so much worth. [leaf 6b.] Well (saith this Ringfaller) let me haue it, and I wyll alow you .xl. s. for your part. The other party standyng in a doubt, and looking on the ryng, asketh if he wyll geue the money out of hand. The other answereth, he hath not so much ready mony about him, but he wil go fetch so much for him, if he wil go with him. The other that found the ring, thinking he meaneth truly, beginneth to profer him .xx. s. for his part, sometymes more, or les, which he verye scornfullye refuseth at the first, and styl entreateth that he might haue the ring, which maketh the other more fonder of it, and desireth him to take the money for his part, & so profereth him money. This ring faller seing y^e mony, maketh it very straunge, and first questioneth with him wher he dwelleth, and asketh him

what is his name, & telleth him that he semeth to be an honest man, and therefore he wil do somewhat for friendships sake, hoping to haue as friendly a pleasure at his hand hereafter, and so profereth hym for .x. s. more he should haue the ryng. At last, with entreatye on both partes, he geueth the Ring faller the money, and so departeth, thinkyng he hath gotten a very great Iewell. These kynde of deceuyng Vacabondes haue other practises with their rings, as sometimes to come to buy wares of mens Prentesies, and sometimes of their Maisters, and when he hath agreed of the price, he sayth he hath not so much money about him, but pulleth of one of these rings of from his fyngers, and profereth to leaue it in pawne, tyl his Maister or his friendes hath sene it, so promising to bring the money, the seller thinking he meaneth truly, letteth him go, and neuer seeth him after, tyll perhaps at Tyburne or at such lyke place. Ther is another kinde of *neaf* 7 these Ring choppers, which commonly cary about them a faire gold ring in deede, and these haue other counterfait rings made so lyke this gold ring, as ye shal not perceiue the contrary, tyl it be brought to y^e touchstone. This child wyl come to borow mony of the right gold ring, the party mistrusting the Ring not to be good, goeth to the Goldsmith with the partye that hath the ryng, and tryeth it whether it be good golde, and also wayeth it to know how much it is worth. The Goldsmith tryeth it to be good gold, and also to haue hys ful weight like gold, and warenteth the party which shall lend the money that the ring is worth so much money according to the waight, this yoncker comming home with the party which shall lend the money, and hauing the gold ring againe, putteth vp the gold ring, and pulleth out a counterfaite ring very like the same, & so deliuereth it to the party which lendeth the money, they thinking it to be the same which they tryed, and so deliuereth the money or sometimes wares, and thus vily be deceiued.

■

¶ THE

.XXV. Orders of Knaues,

otherwise called

a quarterne of Knaues,

confirmed for euer by Cocke Lorell.

I TROLL AND TROLL BY.

Troll and Trol by, is he that setteth naught by no man, nor no man by him. This is he that would beare rule in a place, and hath none authority nor thanke, & at last is thrust out of the doore like a knaue.

2 TROLL WITH.

Troll with is he *that* no man shall know the seruauant from y^e Maister. This knaue with his cap on his head [earre] lyke Capon hardy, wyll syt downe by his Maister, or els go cheeke by cheeke with him in the streete.

3 TROLL HAZARD OF TRACE.

Troll hazard of trace is he that goeth behynde his Maister as far as he may see hym. Such knaues commonly vse to buy Spiccakes, Apples, or other trifles, and doo eate them as they go in the streetes lyke vacabond Boyes.

4 TROLL HAZARD OF TRITRACE.

Troll hazard of tritrace, is he that goeth gaping after his Master, looking to and fro tyl he haue lost him. This knaue goeth gasyng about lyke a foole at euery toy, and then seeketh in euery house lyke a Maisterles dog, and when his Maister nedeth him, he is to seeke.

5 CHAFE LITTER.

Chafe Litter is he that wyl plucke vp the Fether-bed or Matrice, and pysse in the bedstraw, and wyl neuer ryse vncalled. This knaue berayeth many tymes in the corners of his Maisters chamber, or other places inconuenient, and maketh cleane hys shooes with the couerlet or curtaines.

6 OBLOQUIUM.

Obloquium is hee that wyl take a tale out of his Maisters mouth and tell it him selfe. He of right may be called a malapart knaue.

7 RINCE PYTCHER.

Rince Pytcher is he that will drinke out his thrift at the ale or wine, and be oft times dronke. This is a licoryce knaue that will swill his Maisters drink, and brybe his meate that is kept for him.

8 JEFFREY GODS FO.

Jeffery Gods Fo is he, that wil sweare & maintaine [leaf s] othes. This is such a lying knaue that none wil beleue him, for the more he sweareth, ye les he is to be beleued.

9 NICHOL HARTLES.

Nichol Hartles is he, that when he should do ought for his Maister hys hart faileth him. This is a Trewand knaue that faineth himselfe sicke when he should woorke.

10 SIMON SOONE AGON.

Simon soone agon is he, that when his Mayster hath any thing to do, he wil hide him out of the way. This is a loytring knaue that wil hide him in a corner and sleepe or els run away.

11 GRENE WINCHARD.

Greene Winchard is he, that when his hose is broken and hange out at his shoes, he will put them into his shooes againe with a stick, but he wyll not amend them. This is a slouthfull knaue, that had leauer go lyke a begger then cleanly.

12 PROCTOUR.

Proctour is he, that will tary long, and bring a lye, when his Maister sendeth him on his errand. This is a stibber gibber Knaue, that doth fayne tales.

13 COMMITOUR OF TIDINGES.

Commitour of Tidings is he, that is ready to bring his Maister Nouels and tidinges, whether they be true or false. This is a tale bearer knaue, that wyll report words spoken in his Maisters presence.

14 GYLE HATHER

Gyle Hather is he, that wyll stand by his Maister when he is at dinner, and byd him beware that he eate no raw meate, because he would eate it himselfe. This is a pickthanke knaue, that would make his Maister [near s^e] beleue that the Cowe is woode.

15 BAWDE PHISICKE.

Bawde Phisicke, is he that is a Cocke, when his Maysters meate is euyll dressed, and he challenging him therefore, he wyl say he wyll eate the rawest morsel thereof him selfe. This is a sausye knaue, that wyl contrary his Mayster alway.

16 MOUNCH PRESENT.

Mouch present is he that is a great gentleman, for when his Mayster sendeth him with a present, he wil take a tast thereof by the waye. This is a bold knaue, that sometyme will eate the best and leaue the worst for his Mayster.

17 COLE PROPHET.

Cole Prophet is he, that when his Maister sendeth him on his errand, he wyl tel his answer therof to his Maister or he depart from hym. This tittiuell knaue commonly maketh the worst of the best betwene hys Maister and his friende.

18 CORY FAUELL.

Cory fauell is he, that wyl lye in his bed, and cory the bed bordes in which hee lyeth in steede of his horse. This slouthfull knaue wyll buskill and scratch when he is called in the morning, for any hast.

19 DYNG THRIFT.

Dyng thrift is he, that wil make his Maisters horse eate pies and rybs of beefe, and drinke ale and wyne. Such false knaues oft tymes, wil sell their Maisters meate to their owne profit.

20 ESEN DROPPERS.

Esen Droppers bene they, that stand vnder mens wales or windowes, or in any other place, to heare the [seaf] secretes of a mans house. These misdeming knaues wyl stand in corners to heare if they be euill spoken of, or waite a shrewd turne.

21 CHOPLOGYKE.

Choplogyke, is he that when his mayster rebuketh him of hys fault he wyll geue hym .xx. wordes for one, els byd the deuils Pater noster in silence. This proude prating knaue wyll maintaine his naughtines when he is rebuked for them.

22 VNTHRIFTE.

Vnthrift, is he that wil not put his wearing clothes to washing, nor black his owne shoes, nor amend his his (*sic*) own wearing clothes. This rechles knaue wyl alway be lousy : and say that hee hath no more shift of clothes, and slaunder his Maister.

23 VNGRACIOUS.

Vngracious, is he *that* by his own will, will heare no maner of service, without he be compelled therunto by his rulers. This Knaue

will sit at the alehouse drinking or playing at dice, or at other games at service tyme.

24 NUNQUAM.

Nunquam, is he that when his Maister sendeth him on his errand he wil not come againe of an hour or two where he might haue done it in halfe an houre or lesse. This knaue will go about his owne errand or pastime and saith he cannot speede at the first.

25 INGRATUS.

Ingratus, is he that when one doth all that he can for him, he will scant geue him a good report for his labour. This knaue is so ingrate or vnkind, *that* he considreth not his frend from his fo, & wil requit euil for good & being put most in trust, wil sonest deceiue his maister.

FINIS.

[leaf 9 b.]

Imprinted at London by
Iohn Awdely dwelling
in little Britaine streete
without Aldersgate.

(. . .)



A Caueat on Warening,

FOR COMMEN CVRSE-

TORS VVLGARELY CALLED

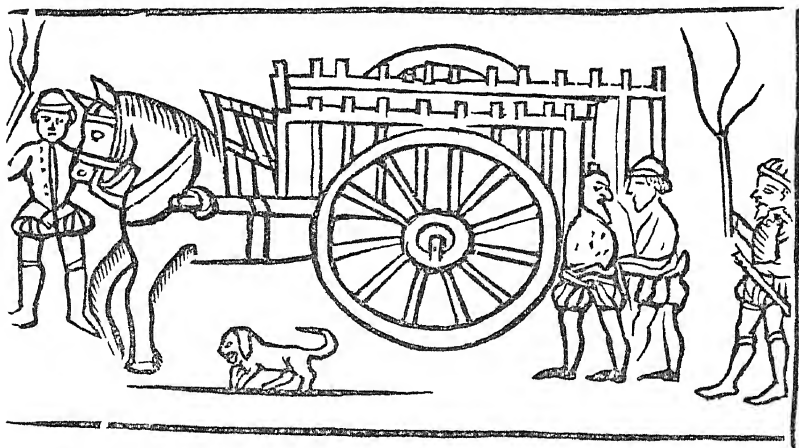
Vagabones, set forth by Thomas Harman,

Esquiere, for the vtilite and proffyt of his naturall

Cuntry. Augmented and enlarged by the fyrst author here of.

Anno Domini. M.D.LXVII.

¶ Viewed, examined, and allowed, according vnto the
Queenes Maiestyes Iniunctions.



¶ Imprinted at London, in Fleetstreete, at the signe of the
Falcon, by Wylliam Gryffith, and are to be sold at his shoppe in
Saynt Dunstones Churchye garde, in the West.

Anno Domini. 1567.

[The Bodley edition of 1567 omits 'or Warening' in line 1, and 'Anno Domini. 1567.' at foot; and substitutes 'Newly Augmented and Imprinted' for 'Augmented . . . here of', line 6.]

[leaf 2]

¶ To the ryght honorable and my singular good Lady, Elizabeth Countes of Shrewsbury, Thomas Harman wisheth all ioye and perfite felicitie, here and in the worlde to come.

AS of Auncient and longe tyme there hath bene, and is now at this present, many good, godly, profitable lawes and actes made and setforthe in this most noble and floryshynge realme, for the reliefe, succour, comforte, and sustentacion of the poore, nedy, impotent, and myserable creatures beinge and inhabiting in all parts of the same; So is there (ryght honorable and myne especyall good Lady) most holsom estatutes, ordinances, and necessary lawes, made, setforth, and publisshed, for the extreme punishement of all vagarantes and sturdy vacabons, as passeth throughe and by all parts of this famous yle, most idelly and wyckedly: and I wel, by good experience, vnderstandinge and consideringe your most tender, pytyfull, gentle, and noble nature,—not onely hauinge a vygelant and mercifull eye to your poore, indygente, and feable parishnores; yea, not onely in the parishe where your honour moste happely doth dwell, but also in others inuyroninge or nighe adioyning to the same; As also abundantly powringe out dayely your ardent and bountifull charytie vppon all such as commeth for reliefe vnto your luckly gates,—

I thought it good, necessary, and my bounden dutye, to acquaynte your goodnes with the abhominable, wycked, and detestable behauior of all these rowsey, ragged rabblement of rakehelles, that—vnder the pretence of great misery, dyseases, and other innumerable calamities

whiche they fayne—through great hipocrisie do wyn and gayne great almes in all places where they wyly wander, to the vtter deludinge of the good geuers, deceauinge and impouerishing of all such poore householders, both sicke and sore, as nether can or maye walke abroad for reliefe and comforte (where, in dede, most mercy is to be shewed). And for that I (most honorable Lady), beinge placed as a poore gentleman, haue kepte a house these twenty yeares, where vnto pouerty dayely hath and doth repayre, not without some reliefe, as my poore callinge and habyltie maye and doth extende : I haue of late yeares gathered a great suspition that all should not be well, and, as the prouerbe saythe, “sume thinge lurke and laye hyd that dyd not playnely apeare;” for I, hauinge more occation, throughe sickenes, to tary and remayne at home then I haue bene acustomed, do, by my there abyding, talke ¹and confere dayly with many of these wyly wanderars of both sortes, as well men and wemmen, as boyes and gyrls, by whom I haue [leaf 2, back] gathered and vnderstande their depe dissimulation and detestable dealynge, beinge maruelous suttile and craftye in there kynde, for not one amongst twenty wyll discouer, eyther declare there seclorous secretes : yet with fayre flatteringe wordes, money, and good chere, I haue attained to the typ by such as the meanest of them hath wandred these xiii. yeares, and most xvi. and some twenty and vpward,² and not withoute faythfull promesse made vnto them neuer to discouer their names or any thinge they shewed me ; for they would all saye, yf the vpright men should vnderstand thereof, they should not be only greuously beaten, but put in daunger of their lyues, by the sayd vpright men. There was a fewe yeares since a small bréefe setforth of some zelous man to his countrey, of whom I knowe not, that made a lytle shewe of there names and vsage, and gaue a glymsinge lyghte, not sufficient to perswade of their peuishe peltinge and pickinge³ practyses, but well worthy of prayse. But (good madame), with nolesse trauell then good wyll, I haue repayred and rygged the Shyp of knowledge, and haue hoysed vp the sayles of good fortune, that

¹ leaf 2 b. Bodley edition (B).

² The severe Act against vagrants, Ed. VI., c. 3, was passed in 1548, only 19 years before the date of this 2nd edition.

³ The 1573 edition reads *pynking*

she maye safely passe aboute and through all partes of this noble realme, and there make porte sale of her wysshed wares, to the confusion of their drowsey demener and vnlawfull language, pylfring pycking, wily wanderinge, and lykinge lechery, of all these rablement of rascals that raunges about al *the* costes of the same, So *that* their vndecent, dolefull dealing and execrable exercyses. may apere to all as it were in a glasse, that therby the Iusticers and Shréeues may in their circutes be more vygelant to punishe these malefactores, and the Counstables, Bayliffes, and bosholders,¹ settinge asyde all feare, slouth, *and* pytie, may be more circumspect in executing the charg geuen them by the aforesayd Iusticers. Then wyll no more this rascall rablement raunge about the countrey. Then greater reliefe may be shewed to *the* pouerty of eche parishe. Then shall we kepe our Horses in our pastures vnstolen. Then our lynnen clothes shall and maye lye safelye one our hedges vntouched. Then shall we not haue our clothes and lynnen hoked out at our wyndowes as well by day as by night. Then shall we not haue our houses broken vp in the night, as of late one of my nyghtbors had and two great buckes of clothes stolen out, and most of the same fyne Lynnen. Then shall we safely kepe our pigges and poultrei from pylfring. Then shall we surely passe by ²*the* hygh waies leading to markets *and* fayres vnharmed. Then shall our Shopes and bothes be vnpycked *and* spoyled. Then shall these vncomly companies be dispersed and set to labour for their lyuinge, or hastily hang for ^[leaf 3] their demerites. Then shall it incourrage a great number of gentle men and others, seing this securitie, to set vp houses and kepe hospitalytie in the countrey, to the comfort of their nighboures, releife of the poore, and to the amendement of the common welth. Then shall not sinne and wickednes so much abound among vs. Then wil gods wrath be much *the* more pacified towards vs. Then shall we not tast of so many and sondry plagas, as now dayely raigneth ouer vs. And then shall this Famous Empyre be in more welth *and* better florysh, to the inestymable ioye *and* comfort of the Quenes most excelent maiestye, whom god of his

¹ So printed in both 1567 editions. 1573 reads *householders*; but *Bors-holders* is doubtless meant.

² leaf 3. B.

infinity goodnes, to his great glory, long and many yeares make most prosperously to raygne ouer vs, to the great Felycitye of all the Peres and Nobles, and to the vnspeakable ioye, releife, and quietnes of minde, of all her faythfull Commons *and* Subiectes. Now, me thinketh, I se how these peuysh, peruerse, and pestilent people begyn to freat, fume, sweare, and stare at this my booke, their lyfe being layd open and aparantly paynted out, that their confusion and end draweth one a pase. Where as in dede, if it be well waiel, it is set forth for their synguler profyt and *commoditie*, for the sure safegard of their lyues here in this world, that they shorten not the same before¹ their time, and that by their true labour and good lyfe, in the world to com they may saue their Soules, that Christ, the second person in [the] Trinytie, hath so derely bought *wit* his most precious blood: so that hereby I shall do them more good then they could haue deuised for them selues. For behold, their lyfe being so manyfest wycked and so aparantlye knowen, The honorable wyl abhore them, The worshipfull wyll reiecte them, The yemen wyll sharply tawnte them, The Husband men vtterly defye them, The laboring men bluntly chyde them, The women with a loud exclamation² wonder at them, And all Children with clappinge handes crye out at them. I manye times musing with my selfe at these mischeuous misliuers, merueled when they toke their oryginall *and* beginning; how long they haue exercised their execrable wandring about. I thought it méete to confer with a very old man that I was well acquaynted with, whose wyt *and* memory is meruelous for his yeares, beinge about the age of fourescore, what he knewe when he was yonge of these lousey leuterars. And he shewed me, that when he was yonge he wayted vpon a man of much worshyp in Kent, who died immediatly after the last Duke of Buckingham was beheaded: at his buryall there was such a number of beggers, besides poore housholders dwelling there abouts, that vnneth they mighte lye or stande aboute the House: then was there [leaf 3, back] prepared for them a great and a large barne, and a great fat oxe sod out in Furmenty for them, with bread *and* drinke abundantly to furnesh out the premisses; and euery person had two pence, for such was the

¹ Printed "*before*"² *reclamation*. B.

dole. When Night approached, *the* pore housholders repaired home to their houses : the other wayfaring bold beggers remained alnight in *the* barne ; and the same barne being serched with light in the night by this old man (and then yonge), with¹ others, they tolde seuen score persons of men, euery of them hauing his woman, except it were two wemen that lay alone to gether for some especyall cause. Thus hauing their makes to make mery withall, the buriall was turned to bousing *and* belly chere, morning to myrth, fasting to feasting, prayer to pastyme *and* pressing of papes, and lamenting to Lechery. So that it may apere this vncomly company hath had a long continuance, but then nothinge geuen so much to pylferinge, pyckinge, and spoyling ; and, as far as I can learne or vnderstand by the examination of a number of them, their languag—which they terme peddelars Frenche or Canting—began but within these xxx. yeeres,² lytle aboue ; and that the first inuenter therof was hanged, all saue the head ; for that is the fynall end of them all, or els to dye of some filthy and horyble diseases : but much harme is don in the meane space by their continuance, as some x., xii., and xvi. yeares before they be consumed, and the number of them doth dayly renew. I hope their synne is now at the hyghest ; and that as short and as spedy a redresse wylbe for these, as hath bene of late yeres for *the* wretched, wily, wandering vagabonds calling and naming them selues Egiptians, depely dissembling and long hyding *and* couering their depe, decetfull practises,—feding the rude common people, wholly addicted and geuen to nouelties, toyes, and new inuentions,—delyting them with the strangenes of the attyre of their heades, and practising paulmistris to such as would know their fortunes : And, to be short, all theues and hores (as I may well wryt),—as some haue had true experience, a number can well wytne, and a great sorte hath well felte it. And now (thankes bée to god), throughe wholesome lawes, and the due execution thereof, all be dispersed, banished,³ *and* the memory of them cleane extynguished ; that when they bée once named here after, our Chyldren wyl muche meruell what kynd of people they were : and so, I trust, shal shortly happen of these.

¹ The 1573 edition reads *and*

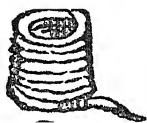
² The 1573 edition here inserts the word *or*

³ *vanished. B.*

For what thinge doth chiefly cause these rowsey rakehelles thus to continue and dayly increase? Surely a number of wicked parsons that kéepe typlinge Houses in all shires, where they haue succour and reliefe; and what so euer they bring, they are sure to receaue money for [leaf 4] the same, for they sell good penyworthes. The byers haue *the* greatest gayne; yea, yf they haue nether money nor ware, they wylbe trusted; their credite is much. I haue taken a note of a good many of them, *and* wil send their names and dwelling-places to such Iusticers as dwelleth nere or next vnto them, that they by their good wisdomes may displace the same, and auctoryse such as haue honesty. I wyl not blot my boke with their names, because they be resident. But as for this fletinge Fellowship, I haue truly setforth the most part of them that be doers at this present, with their names that they be knowene by. Also, I haue placed in the end therof their leud language, calling the same pedlers French or Canting. And now shal I end my prologue, makinge true declaration (right honorable Lady) as they shal fall in order of their vntymelye tryfeling time, leud lyfe, and pernicious practises, trusting that the same shall neyther trouble or abash your most tender, tymerous, and pytifull Nature, to thinke the smal mede should growe vnto you for such Almes so geuen. For god, our marcifull and most louing father, well knoweth your hartes and good intent,—the gener neuer wanteth his reward, according to the sayinge of Saynt Augustyn: as there is (neyther shalbe) any synne vnpunished, euen so shall there not be eny good dede vrewarded. But how comfortably speaketh Christ our Sauour vnto vs in his gospel (“geue ye, and it shalbe geuen you againe”): behold farther, good Madam, that for a cup of colde water, Christ hath promised a good reward. Now saynt Austen properly declareth why Christ speaketh of colde water, because the poorest man that is shall not excuse him selfe from that cherytable warke, least he would, parauenture, saye that he hath neyther wood, pot, nor pan to warme any water with. So, farther, what god speaketh in the mouth of his prophet, Esaye, “breake thy bread to him that is a hongred;” he sayth not geue him a hole lufe, for parauenture the poore man hath it not to geue, then let him geue a peece. This much is sayd because the poore that hath it should not

be excused : now how much more then the riche? Thus you se, good
madam, for your treasure here dispersed, where nede and lacke
is, it shalbe heaped vp aboundantly for you in heauen,
where neither rust or moth shall corrupt or destroy
the same. Vnto which tryumphant place, after
many good, happy, and fortunat yeres pros-
perouslye here dispended. you maye for
euer and euer there most ioyfully
remayne. A men.

¶¶ *FINIS.*

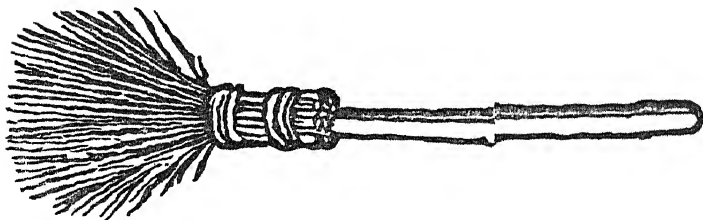


Thre thingsto benoted
A staff, a béesom, and

all in their kynde
wyth, that wyll wynde



¶ A béesome of byrche, for babes very feete,¹
A longe lastinge lybbet for loubbers as méete
A wyth to wynde vp, that these wyll not kéepe
Bynde all up in one, and vse it to swéepe



[This page is printed at the back of the title page in Bodley edition.]

¹ *fyt.* B.

¶ THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

[leaf 5]

AL though, good Reader, I wright in plain termes—and not so playnly as truly—concerning the matter, meaning honestly to all men, and wyshe them as much good as to myne owne harte; yet, as there hathe bene, so there is now, and hereafter wylbe, curyous heds to finde fautes: wherefore I thought it necessary, now at this seconde Impression, to acquaynt *the* with a great faulte, as some takethe it, but none¹ as I meane it, callinge these Vagabonds Cursetors in the intytelynge of my booke, as runneres or rangers aboute the countrey, deriued of this Laten word (*Curro*): neither do I wryght it Cooresetores, with a duple² oo; or Cowresetors, with a w, which hath an other singnification: is there no deuersite betwen a gardein and a garden, maynteynaunce *and* maintenance, Streytes and stretes? those that haue vnderstanding knowe there is a great dyfference: who is so ignorant by these dayes as knoweth not the meaning of a vagabone? and yf an ydell leuterar should be so called of eny man, would not he think it bothe odyous and reprochefull? wyll he not shonne the name? ye, and where as he maye and dare, *with* bent browes, wyll reueng that name of Ingnomy: yet this playne name vagabone is deryued, as others be, of Laten wordes, and now vse makes it commen to al men; but let vs loke back four .C. yeres sithens, *and* let vs se whether this playn word vagabon was vsed or no. I beleue not, and why? because I rede of no such name in the old estatutes of this realme, vnles it be in the margente of the booke, or in the Table, which in the collection and pryntinge was set in; but these were then the *commen* names of these leud leuterars, Faytores, Robardesmen, Drawlatches, *and* valyant beggares. Yf I should haue vsed suche wordes, or the same order of wryting, as this realme vsed in Kynge Henry the thyrd or Edward *the* fyrstes tyme, oh, what a grose, barberous fellow [leaf 5, back] haue we here! his wryting is both homely and darke, that wee had nede to haue an interpretar: yet then it was verye well, and in short season a great change we see: well, this delycat age shall haue his tyme on the

¹ The 1573 ed. reads *not*.² This word is omitted in the 1573 ed.

other syde. Eloquence haue I none; I neuer was acquaynted with the muses; I neuer tasted of Helycon. But accordinge to my playne order, I haue setforth this worke, symplye and truelye, with such vsual words and termes as is among vs wel known and frequented. So that as *the* prouerbe saythe, “all though truth be blamed, it shal neuer be shamed.” well, good reader, I meane not to be tedyous vnto the, but haue added fyue or sixe more tales, because some of them weare donn whyle my booke was fyrste in the presse; and as I truste I haue deserued no rebuke for my good wyll, euen so I desyre no prayse for my payne, cost, and trauell. But faithfullye for the proffyt and benyfyte of my countrey I haue don it, that the whole body of the Realme may se and vnderstand their loud lyfe and pernitious practisses, that all maye spedelye helpe to amende that is amysse. Amen saye all with me.

Finis

.

¶ A RUFFLER. Ca. 1.¹

[leaf 6]

THE Rufflar, because he is first in degre of this odious order : And is so called in a statute made for the punishment of Vacabonds, In the xxvij. yeare of Kyng Henry the eight, late of most famous memory : Hée shall be first placed, as the worthiest of this vnruely rablement. And he is so called when he goeth first abroad ; eyther he hath serued in the warres, or els he hath bene a seruinge man ; and, weary of well doing, shakinge of all payne, doth chuse him this ydle lyfe, and wretchedly wanders aboute the most shyres of this realme. And with stout audacyte, ² demaundeth where he thinketh hée maye be bolde, and circumspecte ynough, as he sethe cause to aske charitie, rufully and lamentably, that it would make a flyntey hart to relent, and pytie his miserable estate, howe he hath bene maymed and broused in the warres ; *and*, paraurenture, some wyll shew you some outward wounde, whiche he gotte at some dronken fraye, eyther haltinge of some preuye wounde festred with a fylthy firy flankard. For be well assured that the hardist souldiers be eyther slayne or maymed, eyther and³ they escape all hassardes, and retourne home agayne, if they bée without reliefe of their friends, they wyl surely desperatly robbe and steale, and ⁴ eyther shortlye be hanged or miserably dye in pryson ; for they be so much ashamed and disdayne to beg or aske charity, that rather they wyll as desperatlye fight for to lyue and mayntayne them selues, as manfully and valyantly they ventred them selues in the Prynces quarell. Now these Rufflars, the out castes of seruing men, when begginge or crauinge fayles, then they pycke and pylfer, from other inferiour beggeres that they méete by the waye, as Roages, Pallyardes, Mortes, and Dokes. Yea, if they méete with a woman alone ridinge to the market, eyther olde man or boye, that hée well knoweth wyll not resiste, such they filche and spoyle. These rufflars, after a yeare or two at the farthest, become vpryght men, vlesse they be preuented by twind hempe.

¹ The chapters are not noted in the Bodley ed.² The 1573 ed. here inserts the word *he*³ 1573 reads *if*⁴ 1573 has *or*

{ I had of late yeares an old man to my tennant, who custom-
ably a greate tyme went twice in the weeke to London, eyther
wyth fruite or with pescodes, when tyme serued therefore. And as
he was comminge homewarde on blacke heathe, at the end thereof
next to shotars hyl, he ouer tooke two rufflars, the one manerly wayt-
ing on the other, as one had ben the maister, *and* the other the man
or seruant, [deaf 6, back] caryinge his maisteres cloke. this olde man was
verye glad that hee might haue their company ouer the hyl, because
that day he had made a good market; for hée had seuen shyll-
linges in his purse, and a nolde angell, which this poore man had
thought had not bene in his purse, for hée wyllled his wyfe ouer
night to take out the same angell, and laye it vp vntyll his comminge
home agayne. And he verely thought that his wyfe had so don,
whiche in dede for got to do it. Thus after salutations had, this
maister rufflar entered into communication with this simple olde
man, who, ridinge softlye beside them, commoned of many matters.
Thus fedinge this old man with pleasaunt talke, vntyll they weare
one the toppe of the hyll, where these rufflars might well beholde
the coaste about them cleare, Quiclye stepes vnto this poore man,
and taketh holde of his horse brydell, and leadeth him in to the
wode, and demaundeth of him what and how much money he had
in his purse. "Now, by my troth," quoth this old man; "you are
a merrye gentle man. I knowe you meane not to take a waye anye
thinge from me, but rather to geue me some if I shoulde aske it of
you." By and by, this seruant thiefe casteth the cloke that he caried
on his arme about this poore mans face, that he should not marke or
vew them, with sharpe words to delyuer quicly that he had, and to
confesse truly what was in his purse. This poore man, then all
abashed, yelded, and confessed that he had but iust seuen shylllinges
in his purse; and the trouthe is he knew of no more. This old
angell was falen out of a lytle purse into the botome of a great purse.
Now, this seuen shyllings in whyte money they quickly founde,
thinkinge in dede that there had bene no more; yet farther groping
and searchinge, found this old angell. And with great admiration,
this gentleman thyefe begane to blesse hym, sayinge, "good lord,
what a worlde is this! howe maye" (quoth hée) "a man beleue

or truste in the same? se you not" (quoth he) "this old knaue tolde me that he had but seuen shyllings, and here is more by an angell: what an old knaue and a false knaue haue we here!" quoth this rufflar; "oure lorde haue mercy on vs, wyll this worlde neuer be better?"—and there with went their waye. And lefte the olde man in the wood, doinge him no more harme. But sorowfully sighinge, this olde man, returning home, declared his misaduenture, with all the words and circumstaunces aboue shewed. Wherat, for the tyme was great laughing, and this poore man for his losses among his louing neighbours well considered in the end.

¶ A VPRIGHT MAN. Ca. 2.

[leaf 71] **A** Vpright¹ man, the second in secte of this vnsemely sorte, must be next placed, of these rainginge rablement of rascales; some be seruing men, artificers, and laboryng men traded vp in husbandry. These not mindinge to get their lyuinge with the swete of their face, but casting of all payne, wyll wander, after their wycked maner, through the most shyres of this realm,—

{ As Sommerset shyre, Wylshire, Barke shyre, Oxforde shyre,
 { Harfordeshyre, Myddilsex, Essex, Suffolke, Northfolke, Sussex, Surrye, and Kent, as the cheyfe and best shyres of reliefe. Yea, not with out punishment by stockes, whyppinges, and imprisonment, in most of these places aboue sayde. Yet, not with standinge they haue so good lykinge in their lewed, lecherous loyteringe, that full quiclye all their punishmentes is² for gotten. And repentaunce is neuer thought vpon vntyll they clyme thrée tres with a ladder. These vnrewly rascales, in their roylinge, disperse them selues into seuerall companyes, as occation serueth, sometyme more and somtyme lesse. As, if they repayre to a poore husbandmans house, héc wyll go a lone, or one with him, and stoutely demaund his charytie, eyther shewing how he hath serued in the warres, and their maymed, eyther that he sekethe seruice, and saythe that he woulde be glad to take payne for hys lyuinge, althoughe he meaneth nothinge lesse.

¹ Printed "*vpreght*." *vpwright* in Bodley ed.

² 1573, *be*

Yf he be offered any meate or drynke, he vtterlye refuseth scornefully, and wyll nought but money; and yf he espye yong pyges or pultry, he well noteth the place, and they the next night, or shortly after, hée wyll be sure to haue some of them, whyche they brynge to their stawlinge kens, which is their typplyng houses, as well knowen to them, according to the olde prouerbe, “as the begger knowes his dishe.” For you must vnderstand, euery Typplyng ale house wyll neyther receiue them or their wares, but some certayne houses in euery shyre, especially for that purpose, where they shalbe better welcome to them then honeste men. For by such haue they most gayne, and shalbe conuayde eyther into some loft out of the waye, or other secret corner not comen to any other; and thether repayre, at accustomed tymes, their harlots, whiche they terme Mortes and Dokes,—not with emty hands; for they be as skilfull in picking, riffling, *and* filching as the vpright men, and nothing inferior to them in all kind of wyckednes, as in other places hereafter they shalbe touched. At these foresayde peltinge, peuish places and vmannerly metinges, O! how the pottes walke about! their talking tounes talke at large. They bowle and bouse one to another, and for the tyme bousing belly chere. And after there ruysting recreation, [leaf 7, back] yf there be not rome ynough in the house, they haue cleane strawe in some barne or backehouse nere adioyning, where they couch comly to gether, and ¹ it were dogge and byche; and he that is hardyste maye haue his choyse, vnlesse for a lytle good maner; some wyll take there owne that they haue made promyse vnto, vntyll they be out of sight, and then, according to the old adage, “out of minde.” Yet these vpright men stand so much vpon their reputation, as they wyl in no case haue their wemen walke with them, but seperat them selues for a tyme, a moneth or more. And mete at fayres, or great markets, where they mete to pylfer and steale from staules, shoppes, or bothes. At these fayres the vpright men vse commonly to lye *and* lingar in hye wayes by lanes, some prety way or distaunce from the place, by which wayes they be assured that compeny passeth styll two and fro. And ther they² wyll demaund, with cap in hand and comly curtesy, the deuotion and charity of the people. They

¹ 1573, *as*² *the. B.*

haue ben much lately whipped at fayrs. Yf they aske at a stout yemans or farmars house his charity, they wyll goe strong as thre or foure in a company. Where for feare more then good wyll, they often haue reliefe. they syldome or neuer passe by a Iustices house, but haue by wayes, vnlesse he dwell alone, and but weakely manned; thether wyll they also go strong, after a slye, suttile sorte, as with their armes bounde vp with kercher or lyste, hauinge wrapte about the same filthy clothes, either their legges in such maner be-wrapped halting down right. Not vnprouided of good codg[e]ls, which they cary to sustayne them, and, as they fayne, to kéepe gogges¹ from them, when they come to such good gentlemens houses. Yf any searche be made or they suspected for pylfing clothes of hedgges, or breaking of houses, which they commonly do when the owners bée eyther at the market, church, or other wayes occupied aboute their busines,—eyther robbe some sely man or woman by the hye waye, as many tymes they do,—Then they hygh them into wodes, great thicketts, and other ruffe corners, where they lye lurkinge thre or foure dayes to gether, and haue meate and drinke brought them by theyre Mortes, and Dokes; and whyle they thus lye hydden in couert, in the night they be not idle,—nether, as *the* common saying is, “well occupied;” for then, as the wyly foxe, crepinge out of his den, seketh his praye for pultery, so do these for lynnyn and any thinge els worth money, that lyeth about or near a house. As somtyme a whole bucke of clothes caryed awaye at a tyme. When they haue a greater booty then they maye cary awaye quickly to their stawling kendes, as is aboue sayd, They wyll hyde the same for a thre dayes in some thicke couert, and [deaf s] in the night time carye the same, lyke good water Spanlles, to their foresayd houses. To whom they wyll discouer where or in what places they had the same, where the markes shalbe pycked out cleane, *and* conuayed craftely fare of, to sell. If the man or woman of the house want money them selues. ² If these vpright men haue nether money nor wares, at these houses they shalbe trusted for their vitales, and it amount to twentye or thirty shyllings. Yea, if it fortune any of these vpright men to be taken, either suspected, or charged with felony or petye

¹ *dogges*. B.² 1573 inserts *and*

brybrye, don at such a tyme or such a place, he wyll saye he was in his hostes house. And if the man or wyfe of that house be examined by an officer, they boldelye vouche, that the[y] lodged him suche a tyme, whereby the truth cannot appeare. And if they chaunce to be retained into seruice, through their lamentable words, with any welthy man, They wyll tary but a smale tyme, either robbing his maister or som of his fellowes. And some of them vseth this polocy, that although they trauayle into al these shyres, aboue said, yet wyl they haue good credite, espiciallye in one shyre, where at diuers good farmars houses they be wel knowen, where they worke a moneth in a place or more, and wyll for that time behaue them selues very honestly *and* paynfully ; And maye at any tyme, for their good vsage, haue worke of them ; and to these at a ded lyft, or last refuge, they maye safely repayre vnto and be welcom, When in other places, for a knacke of knauery that they haue playd, thei dare not tary. These vyright men wil sildom or neuer want ; for what is gotten by anye Mort, or Doxe, if it please him, hee doth comaunde the same. And if he mete any begger, whether he be sturdiye or impotent, he wyll demaund of him, whether euer he was stalled to the roge or no. If he saye he was, he wyll know of whom, and his name *that* stalled hym. And if he be not learnedly able to shewe him the whole circumstaunce thereof, he wyll spoyle him of his money, either of his best garment, if it be worth any money, and haue him to the bowsing ken, Which is to some typpling house next adioyninge ; and laith their to gage the best thing that he hath for twenty pence or two shyllinges : this man obeyeth for feare of beating. Then doth this vyright man call for a gage of bowse, whiche is a quarte pot of drinke, and powres the same vpon his peld pate, adding these words :—" I. G. P. do stalle thee W. T. to the Roge, and that from hence forth it shall be lawefull for the to Cant"—that is, to aske or begge—"for thy liuing in al places." Here you see *that* the vyright man is of great auctorite. For all sortes of beggers are obedient to his hests, and surmounteth all others in pylfing and stealing. ¶ I lately had standinge in my [leaf 8, back] well house, which standeth on the backside of my house, a great cawdron of copper, beinge then full of water, hauinge in the same halfe a dosen

of pewter dyshes, well marked, and stamped with the connizance of my armes, whiche being well noted when they were taken out, were set a side, the water powred out, and my caudren taken awaye, being of such bygnes that one man, vnlesse he were of great strength, was not able far to cary the same. Not withstandinge, the same was one night within this two yeares conuayed more then half a myle from my house, into a commen or leth, And ther bestowed in a great firbushe. I then immediatly the next day sent one of my men to London, and there gaue warning in Sothwarke, kent strete, and Barmesey stréete, to all the Tynckars there dwelling,—That if any such Caudron came thether to be sold, the bringar therof should be stayed, and promised twenty shyllings for a reward. I gaue also intelligence to the water men that kept the ferres, that no such vessel should be ether conuayd to London or into essex, promysing the lyke reward, to haue vnderstanding therof. This my doing was well vnderstand in many places about, and that the feare of espyinge so troubled the conscience of the stealer, that my caudoren laye vntouched in the thicke firbushe more then halfe a yeare after, which, by a great chaunce, was found by hunteres for conneys; for one chaunced to runne into the same bushe where my caudren was, and being perceaued, one thrust his staffe into the same bushe, and hyt my caudren a great blowe, the sound whereof dyd cause the man to thinke and hope that there was some great treasure hidden, wherby he thought to be the better whyle he lyued. And in farther searching he found my caudren; so had I the same agayne vnloked for.

¶ A HOKER, OR ANGGLEAR. Cap. 3.

THese hokers, or Angglers, be peryllous and most wicked knaues, and be deryued or procede forth from the vpright men; they commenly go in frese ierkyns and gally slopes, poynted benethe the kne; these when they practise there pylfinge, it is all by night; for, as they walke a day times from house to house, to demaund charite, they vigilantly marke where or in what place they maye attayne to there praye, casting there eyes vp to euery wyndow, well noting what they se their, whether apparell or linnen, hanginge nere vnto the sayde wyndowes, and that wyll they

be sure to haue *the* next night folowing ; for they customably carry with them a staffe of v. or vi. foote long, in which, within one ynch of *the* tope therof, ys a lytle hole bored through, ^[leaf 9] in which hole they putte an yron hoke, and with the same they wyll pluck vnto them quickly any thing *that* they may reche ther with, which hoke in the day tyme they couertly cary about them, and is neuer sene or taken out till they come to the place where they worke there fete : such haue I sene at my house, and haue oft talked with them and haue handled ther staues, not then vnderstanding to what vse or intent they serued, although I hadde and perceiued, by there talke and behauour, great lykelyhode of euyll suspicion in them : they wyl ether leane vppon there staffe, to hyde the hole thereof, when they talke with you, or holde their hande vpon the hole ; and what stuffe, either wollen or linnen, they thus hoke out, they neuer carye the same forth with to their staulyng kens, but hides the same a iij. daies in some secret corner, *and* after conuayes the same to their houses abouesaid, where their host or hostys geueth them money for the same, but halfe the value that it is worth, or els their doxes shall a farre of sell the same at the like houses. I was credibly informed that a hoker came to a farmers house in the ded of the night, and putting back a drawe window of a low chamber, the bed standing hard by the sayd wyndow, in which laye three parsones (a man and two bygge boyes), this hoker with his staffe plucked of their garments which lay vpon them to kepe them warme, with the couerlet and shete, and lefte them lying a slepe naked sauing there shortes, and had a way all clene, and neuer could vnderstande where it became. I verely suppose that when they wer wel waked with cold, they suerly thought that Robin goodfelow (accordinge to the old saying) had bene with them that night.

¶ A ROGE. Cap. 4.

A Roge is neither so stoute or hardy as the vpright man. Many of them will go fuyntly and looke piteously when they see, either méete any person, hauing a kercher, as white as my shooes, tyed about their head, with a short staffe in their hand, haltinge, although they nede not, requiring almes of such as they

méete, or to what house they shal com. But you may easely perceiue by their colour *that* thei cary both health and hipocrisie about them, wherby they get gaine, when others want that cannot fayne and dissemble. Others therebee that walke sturdely about *the* countrey, *and* faineth to seke a brother or kinsman of his, dwelling within som part of *the* shire;—ether that he hath a letter to deliuer to som honest housholder, dwelling out of an other Shyre, and will shewe you the same fayre sealed, with the superscription to [leaf 2, back] the partye he speaketh of, because you shall not thinke him to runne idelly about the countrey;—either haue they this shyfte, they wyll cary a cirtificate or pasport about them from som Iusticer of the peace, with his hand and seale vnto the same, howe hée hath bene whipped and punished for a vacabonde according to the lawes of this realme, and that he muste returne to .T., where he was borne or last dwelt, by a certayne daye lymited in the same, whiche shalbe a good longe daye. And all this fayned, bycause without feare they woulde wyckedly wander, and wyll renue the same where or when it pleaseth them; for they haue of their affinity that can wryte and read. These also wyll picke and steale as the vpright men, and hath their women and metinges at places apoynted, and nothinge to them inferiour in all kynde of knauery. There bée of these Roges Curtales, wearinge shorte clokes, that wyll chaunge their apparell, as occation serueth. And their end is eyther hanginge, whiche they call trininge in their language, or die miserably of the pockes.

¶ There was not long sithens two Roges that alwaies did associate them selues together, *and* would neuer separat them selues, vnles it were for some especiall causes, for they were sworn brothers, *and* were both of one age, and much like of favour: these two, traueling into east kent, resorted vnto an ale house there,¹ being weried with traueling, saluting with short curtisey, when they came into the house, such as thei sawe sitting there, in whiche company was the parson of the parish; and callinge for a pot of the best ale, sat downe at the tables ende: the lykor liked them so well, that they had pot vpon pot, and sometyme, for a lytle good maner, would drinke and offer the cup to such as they best fancied; and to be short, they sat

¹ 1573 omits.

out al the company, for eche man departed home aboute their busines. When they had well refreshed them selues, then these rowsey roges requested the good man of the house wyth his wyfe to sit downe and drinke with them, of whome they inquired what priest the same was, and where he dwelt: then they fayninge that they had an vncke a priest, and that he should dwel in these partes, which by all presumptions it should be he, and that they came of purpose to speake with hym, but because they had not sene hym sithens they were sixe yeares olde, they durst not be bold to take acquaintance of him vntyl they were farther instructed of the truth, and began to inquier of his name, and how longe he had dwelt there, and how farre his house was of from *the* place they were in: the good wyfe of the house, thynkinge them honest men without disceit, because they so farre enquired of their kinsman, was but of a good zelous natural intent, shewed them cherefully that hee *(near to)* was an honest man *and* welbeloued in the parish, and of good welth, *and* had ben there resident xv. years at the least; “but,” saith she, “are you both brothers?” “yea, surely,” said they, “we haue bene both in one belly, *and* were twinnes.” “Mercy, god!” *quoth* this folish woman; “it may wel be, for ye be not much vnlike,”—and wente vnto her hall windowe, callinge these yong men vnto her, and loking out therat,¹ pointed with her finger *and* shewed them the house standing alone, no house nere the same by almoste a quarter of a myle; “that,” sayd² she, “is your vnckles house.” “Nay,” saith one of them, “he is not onely my vncke, but also my godfather.” “It may well be,” *quoth* she, “nature wyll bind him to be the better vnto you.” “Well,” *quoth* they, “we be weary, and meane not to trouble our vncke to-night; but to-morowe, god willinge, we wyll see him and do our duty: but, I pray you, doth our vncke occupy husbandry? what company hath he in his house.” “Alas!” saith she, “but one old woman *and* a boy, he hath no occupying at al: tushe,” *quoth* this good wyfe, “you be mad men; go to him this night, for hee hath better lodging for you then I haue, *and* yet I speake folishly against my³ own profit, for by your taring⁴ here I should guine *the* more by you.” “Now, by my troth,” *quoth* one of them, “we thanke

¹ 1573 omits.² *saith*. B.³ 1573, *myne*⁴ *turyng*. B.

you, good hostes, for your holsome counsell, and we meane to do as you wyl vs : we wyl pause a whyle, and by that tyme it wylbe almost night ; *and* I praye you geue vs a reckeninge,”—so, manerly paying for that they toke, bad their hoste and hostes farewell with takinge leaue of the cup, marched merelye out of the dores towardses this parsones house, vewed the same well rounde about, and passed by two bowshotes of into a younge wodde, where they laye consultinge what they shoulde do vntyll midnight. Quoth one of them, of sharper wyt and subtyller then the other, to hys fellowe, “thou seest that this house is stone walled about, and that we cannot well breake in, in any parte thereof ; thou seest also that the windowes be thicke of mullions, that ther is no kreping in betwene : wherefore we must of necessytie vse some policye when strength wil not serue. I haue a horse locke here about me,” saith he ; “and this I hope shall serue oure turne.” So when it was aboute xii. of the clocke, they came to the house and lurked nere vnto his chamber wyndowe : the dog of the house barked a good, that with they¹ noise, this priest waketh out of his sléepe, and began to cough and hem : then one of these roges stepes forth nerer the window *and* maketh a ruful *and* pityful noise, requiring for Christ sake² some reliefe, that was both hongry and thirstye, and was like to ly with out the dores all nighte and starue for colde, vnles he were releued by him with some small pece of money. “Where dwellest thou ?” quoth this parson. “Alas ! sir,” saithe this roge, “I haue smal ^[leaf 10, back] dwelling, and haue com out of my way ; and I should now,” saith he, “go to any towne nowe at this time of night, they woulde set me in the stockes and punishe me.” “Well,” quoth this pitifull parson, “away from my house, either lye in some of my out houses vntyll the morning, and holde, here is a couple of pence for thée.” “A god rewarde you,” quoth this roge ; “and in heauen may you finde it.” The parson openeth his wyndowe, and thrusteth out his arme to geue his almes to this Roge that came whining to receiue it, and quickly taketh holde of his hand, and calleth his fellowe to him, whiche was redye at hande with the horse locke, and clappeth the same about the wrest of his arme, that the mullions standing so close together for strength, that for his

¹ So printed. Bodley ed. has *the*

² *sakes*. B.

life he could not plucke in his arme againe, and made him beleue, vnles he would at the least geue them .iii. li., they woulde smite of his arme from the body. So that this poore parson, in feare to lose his hand, called vp his olde woman that lay in the loft ouer him, and wylled her to take out all the money he had, which was iiij. markes, which he saide was all the money in his house, for he had lent vi. li. to one of his neighbours not iiij daies before. "Wel," quoth they, "master parson, if you haue no more, vpon this condicion we wil take of the locke, that you will drinke .xij. pence for our sakes to-morow at the alehouse wher we found you, and thank the good wife for the good chere she made vs." He promised faithfully that he would so do; so they toke of the locke, and went their way so farre ere it was daye, that the parson coulde neuer haue any vnderstanding more of them. Now this parson, sorowfully slumbering that night betwene feare and hope, thought it was but folly to make two sorrowes of one; he vsed contentacion for his remedy, not forgetting in the morning to performe his promise, but went betims to his neighbour that kept tiplinge, and asked angerly where the same two men were that dranke with her yester daye. "Which two men?" quoth this good wife. "The straungers that came in when I was at your house wyth my neighbors yesterday." "What! your neuwes?" quoth she. "My neuwes?" quoth this parson; "I trowe thou art mad." "Nay, by god!" quoth this good¹ wife, "as sober as you; for they tolde me faithfully that you were their vncle: but, in fayth, are you not so in dede? for, by my trouth, they are strau[n]gers to me. I neuer saw them before." "O, out vpon them!" quoth the parson; "they be false theues, and this night thei compelled me to geue them al the money in my house." "Benedicite!" quoth this good wife, "and haue they so in dede? as I shall aunswere before god, one of them told me besides that you were godfather to him, and that he trusted to haue your blessinge before he departed." "What! did he?" quoth this parson; "a halter blesse him for [tear 11] me!" "Me thinketh, by the masse, by your countenance you loked so wildly when you came in," quoth this good wife, "that something was amis." "I vse not to gest,"

¹ Omitted in 1573.

quoth this parson, "when I speake so earnestly." "Why, all your sorrowes goe with it," quoth this good wife, "and sitte downe here, and I will fil a freshe pot of ale shall make you mery agayne." "Yea," saith this parson, "fill in, *and* geue me some meat; for they made me sweare and promise them faithfully that I shoulde drinke xii. pence with you this day." "What! dyd they?" quoth she; "now, by the mary masse, they be mery knaues. I warraunt you they meane to bye no land with your money; but how could they come into you in the night, your dores being shut fast? your house is very stronge." Then this prason¹ shewed her all the hole circumstance, how he gaue them his almes oute at the wyndowe, they² made such lamentable crye that it pytied him at the hart; for he sawe but one when he put oute his hand at the windowe. "Be ruled by me," quoth this good wyfe. "Wherin?" quoth this parson. "By my troth, neuer speake more of it: when they shal vnderstand of it in the parish, they wyll but laugh you to skorne." ³"Why, then," quoth this parson, "the deuyll goe with it,"—and their an end.³

¶ A WYLDE ROGE. Cap. 5.

A Wilde Roge is he that is borne a Roge: he is a more subtil and more geuen by nature to all kinde of knauery then the other, as beastely begotten in barne or bushes, and from his infancye traded vp in trechery; yea, and before ripenes of yeaeres doth permyt, wallowinge in lewde lechery, but that is counted amongst them no sin. For this is their custome, that when they mete in barne at night, euery one getteth a make⁴ to lye wythall, *and* their chaunce to be twentye in a companye, as their is sometyme more and sometyme lesse: for to one man that goeth abroad, there are at the least two women, which neuer make it straunge when they be called, although she neuer knewe him before. Then when the day doth appeare, he rouses him vp, and shakes his eares, and awaye wanderinge where he may gette oughte to the hurte of others. Yet before he skyppeth oute of hys couche and departeth from his darling, if he like her well, he will apoint her where to mete shortlye

¹ so printed.²⁻³ Why end. B. omits.² *the* B.⁴ 1573 reads *mate*

after, with a warninge to worke warely for some chetes, that their meting might be the merier.

¶ Not long sithens, a wild roge chaunced to mete a pore neighbour of mine, who for honesty *and* good natur surmounteth many. This poore man, riding homeward from London, where he had made his market, this [leaf 11, back] roge demaunded a peny for gods sake, to kepe him a true man. This simple man, beholding him wel, and sawe he was of taule personage with a good quarter staffe in his hand, it much pitied him, as he sayd, to se him want; for he was well able to serue his prince in the wars. Thus, being moued with pytie, and¹ loked in his pursse to finde out a peny; and in loking for the same, he plucked oute viii. shyllinges in whyte money, and raked therin to finde a single peny; and at the last findinge one, doth offer the same to this wyld roge: but he, seinge so much mony in this simple mans hand, being striken to the hart with a couetous desire, bid him forth wyth delyuer al that he had, or els he woulde with his staffe beat out his braynes. For it was not a peny would now quench his thirst,² seing so much as he dyd²: thus, swallowinge his spittell gredely downe, spoyled this poore man of al *the* money that he had, and lept ouer the hedge into a thicke wode, and went his waye as merely as this good simple man came home sorowfully. I once rebuking a wyld roge because he went idelly about, he shewed me that he was a begger by enheritance—his Grandfather was a begger, his father was one, and he must nedes be one by good reason.

¶ A PRYGGER OF PRAUNCERS. Cap. 6.

A Prigger of Prauncers be horse stealers; for to prigge signifieth in their language to steale, *and* a Prauncer is a horse: so beinge put together, the matter is³ playne. These go commonly in Iorkins of leatherr, or of white frese, *and* carry litle wands in their hands, and will walke through grounds and pastures, to search and se horses meete for their purpose. And if thei chaunce to be met and asked by the owners of the grounde what they make there, they fayne strayghte that they haue loste their waye, and de-

¹ omitted in 1573.

²⁻² seing dyd. B. omits.

³ 1573, *was*

syre to be enstructed the beste waye to such a place. These will also repayre to gentlemens houses and aske their charitye, and wyll offer their seruice. And if you aske them what they can do, they wyll saye that they can kepe two or thre Geldinges, and waite vppon a Gentleman. These haue also their women, that walkinge from them in other places, marke where and what they see abroade, and sheweth these Priggars therof when they meete, which is with in a weeke or two. And loke, where they steale any thinge, they conuay the same at the least thre score miles of or more.

¶ There was a Gentleman, a verye friende of myne, rydyng from London homewarde into Kente, hauinge with in threé myles of his house busynesse, alyghted of his horse, and his man also, in a pretye [leaf 12] vyllage, where diueres houses were, and looked aboute hym where he myghte haue a conuenient person to walke his horse, because hee would speake with a Farmer that dwelt on the backe side of the sayde village, lytle aboute a quarter of a myle from the place where he lighted, and had his man to waight vpon him, as it was mete for his callinge: espying a Prygger there standing, thinking the same to dwell there, charging this prity prigginge person to walke his horse well, and that they might not stande styll for takyng of colde, and at his returne (which he saide should not be longe) he would geue hym a peny to drinke, and so wente aboute his busines. This peltynge Priggar, proude of his praye, walkethe his horse¹ vp and downe tyll he sawe the Gentleman out of sighte, and leapes him into the saddell, and awaye he goeth a mayne. This Gentleman returninge, and findinge not his horses, sent his man to the one end of the vyllage, and he went himselfe vnto the other ende, and enquired as he went for his horses that were walked, and began some what to suspecte, because neither he nor his man could see nor find him. Then this Gentleman deligentely enquired of thre or foure towne dwellers there whether any such person, declaring his stature,² age, apparell, with so many linaments of his body as he could call to remembraunce. And, "vna voce," all sayde that no such man dwelt in their streate, neither in the parish, that they knowe of; but some did wel remember that such a one they saw there lyrkinge and hug-

¹ horses. B.² Printed statute

geringe two houres before the Gentleman came thether, and a straunger to them. "I had thoughte," quoth this Gentleman, "he had here dwelled,"—and marched home manerly in his botes: farre from the place he dwelt not. I suppose at his comming home he sente suche wayes as he suspected or thought méete to searche for this Prigger, but hetherto he neuer harde any tydinges agayne of his palfreys.—I had the best geldinge stolen oute of my pasture that I had amongst others whyle this boke was first a printinge.

¶ A PALLYARD. Cap. 7.

THese Palliardes be called also Clapperdogens: these go with patched clokes, *and* haue their Morts with them, which they cal wiues; and if he goe to one house, to aske his almes, his wife shall goe to a nother: for what they get (as bread, chéese, malte, and woll) they sell the same for redy money; for so they get more and if they went together. Although they be thus¹ deuided in the daie, yet they mete iompe at night. Yf they chaunce to come to some gentylmans house standinge [leaf 12, back] a lone, and be demaunded whether they be man and wyfe, *and* if he perceaue that any doubteth thereof, he sheweth them a Testimonial with the ministers name, and others of the same parishe (nauinge a parishe in some shere fare distant from the place where he sheweth the same). This writing he carieth to salue that sore. Ther be many Irishe men that goe about with counzterfeate licenses; and if they perceiue you wil straitly examen them, they will immediatly saye they can speake no English.

¶ Farther, vnderstand for trouth that the worst and wickedst of all this beastly generation are scarse comparable to these prating Pallyardes. All for *the* most parte of these wil either lay to their legs an herb called Sperewort, cyther Arsnicke, which is called Ratesbane. The nature of this Spereworte wyl rayse a great blister in a night vpon the soundest part of his body; and if the same be taken away, it wyl dry vp againe and no harme. But this Arsnicke will so poyson the same legge or sore, that it will cuer after be incurable: this do they for gaine and to be pitied. The most of these that walke about be Walchmen.

¹ Printed *this*

¶ A FRATER. Cap. 8.

SOME of these Fraters will cary blacke boxes at their gyrdel, wher in they haue a brieue of the Queenes maiesties letters patentes, geuen to suche¹ poore spittlehouse for the reliefe of the poore there, whiche brieue is a coppie of the letters patentes, *and* viterly fained, if it be in paper or in² parchement without the great seale. Also, if the same brief be in printe,³ it is also of auctoritie. For the Printers wil see *and* wel vnderstand, before it come in presse, that the same is lawfull. Also, I am credibly informed that the chiefe Proctors of manye of these houses, that seldome trauel abroad them selues, but haue their factors to gather for them, which looke very slenderly to the impotent and miserable creatures committed to their charge, *and* die for want of cherishing; whereas they *and* their wiues are wel crammed *and* clothed, *and* will haue of the best. And the founders of euery such house, or the chiefe of the parishe wher they be, woulde better see vnto these Proctors, that they might do their duty, they should be wel spoken of here, and in the world to come abundantly therefore rewarded. I had of late an honest man, and of good wealth, repayred to my house to common wyth me aboute certeyne affaires. I inuited the same to dinner, and dinner beinge done, I demaunded of hym some newes of these⁴ parties were hee dwelte. "Thankes be to God, syr," (saith he); "all is well *and* good now." "Now!" (quoth I) "this same 'nowe' [leaf 13] declareth *that* some things of late hath not bene wel." "Yes, syr," (quoth he) "tho⁵ matter is not great. I had thought I should haue bene wel beaten within this seuenth night." "How so?" (quoth I). "Mary, syr," sayd he, "I am Counstable for fault of a better, and was commaunded by the Iusticer to watch. The watch being set, I toke an honest man, one of my neighbors, with me, and went vp to the ende of the towne as far as the spittle house, at which house I heard a great noyse, and, drawing nere, stode close vnder the wall, and this was at one of the clocke after midnight.

¹ B. inserts *a*² B. omits *in*³ Probably the reason why "in print" came to be considered synonymous with "correct." See 2 Gent. of Verona, act ii. sc. 1, 175.⁴ those. B.⁵ B. omits *the*

Where he harde swearinge, pratinge, and wagers laying, and the pot apase walkinge, and xl. pence gaged vpon a matche of wrastling, pitching of the barre, and casting of the sledge. And out they goe, in a fustian fume, into the backe syde, where was a great Axiltrye,¹ and there fell to pitching of the barre, being thre to thre. The Moone dyd shine bright, the Counstable with his neighbour e myght see and beholde all that was done. And howe the wyfe of the house was rostinge of a Pyg, whyle her gestes were in their matche. At the laste they coulede not agree vpon a caste, and fell at wordes, and from wordes to blowes. The Counstable with his² fellowe runnes vnto them, to parte them, and in the partinge lyckes a drye blowe or two. Then the noyse increased; the Counstable woulde haue had them to³ the stockes. The wyfe of the house runnes out with her goodman to intreat the Counstable for her gestes, and leaues the Pyg at the fyre alone. In commeth two or thre of the next neighbour e, beinge waked wyth this noise, and into the house they come, and fynde none therein, but the Pygge well rosted, and carieth the same awaye wyth them, spyte and all, with suche breade and drinke also as stode vpon the table. When the goodman and the goodwyfe of the house hadde intreated and pacified the Counstable, shewing e vnto him that they were Proctors and Factores all of Spyttell houses, and that they taryed there but to breake theyr fast, and woulde ryde awaye immediatlye after, for they had furre to goe, and therefore mente to ryde so earlye. And comminge into their house agayne, fyndinge the Pygge wyth bread and drinke all gonne, made a greate exclamation, for they knewe not who had the same.

¶ The Counstable returning and hearing e the lamentable wordes of the good wyfe, howe she had lost both meate and drinke, and sawe it was so in deede, hee laughed in his sleue, and commaunded her to dresse no more at vnlawfull houres for any gestes. For hee thought it better bestowed vppon those smell feastes his poore neigh-

¹ Castynge of axtre & eke of ston,
Sofere hem pere to vse non;
Bal, and barres, and suche play,
Out of chychezorde put a-way.—

Myrc, p. 11, l. 334-7 (E. E. T. Soc. 1868)

² Printed *hts*

³ *to do. B.*

boures then vppon suche sturdye Lubbares. The nexte mornynge betymes the [leaf 13, back] spitte and pottes were sette at the Spittle house doore for the owner. Thus were these Factours begyled of theyr breakefast, and one of them hadde well beaten an other; "And, by my trouth," (quoth thys Counstable) "I was gladd when I was well ryd of them." "Why," quoth I, "coude the[y] caste the barre and sledge well?" "I wyll tell you, syr," (quoth hée) "you knowe there hath bene manye games this Sommer. I thinke verely, that if some of these Lubbars had bene there, and practysed amongst others, I beleue they woulde haue carryed awaye the beste games. For they were so stronge and sturdye, that I was not able to stande in their handes." "Well" (quoth I) "at these games you speake of, both legges and armes bée tryed." "Yea," quoth this offycer, "they bée wycked men. I haue séene some of them sithens wyth cloutes bounde aboute theyr legges, and haltynge wyth their staffe in their handes. Wherefore some of theym, by GOD, bee nought all."

¶ A ABRAHAM MAN. Cap. 9.

THese Abraham men be those that fayne themselves to haue beene mad, and haue bene kept eyther in Bethelhem or in some other pryson a good tyme, *and* not one amongst twenty that euer came in pryson for any such cause: yet wyll they saye howe pitiously and most extreamely they haue bene beaten, and dealt with all. Some of these be merye and verye pleasant, they wyll daunce and sing; some others be as colde and reasonable to talke wyth all. These begge money; eyther when they come at Farmours howses they wyll demaunde Baken, eyther chéese, or wooll, or any thinge that is worthe money. And if they espye small company within, they wyll with fierce countenance demaund some what. Where for feare the maydes wyll geue theym largely to be ryd of theym.

{ ¶ If they maye conueniently come by any cheate, they wyl
 { picke and steale, as the v[p]right man or Roge, poultreys or lynnens. And all wemen that wander bée at their commaundemente. Of all that euer I saw of this kynde, one nameinge him selfe Stradlynge is the craftiest and moste dyssemblyngest Knaue.

Hée is able wyth hys tounge and vsage to deceaue and abuse the wysest man that is. And surely for the proporeion of his body, with euery member there vnto appertayninge, it cannot be a mended. But as the prouerbe is "God hath done his part." Thys Stradlyng sayth he was the Lord Sturtons man; and when he was executed, for very pensiuenes of mynde, [leaf 14] he fell out of his wytte, and so continued a yeaere after and more; and that with the very gréefe and feare, he was taken wyth a marucilous palsey, that both head and handes wyll shake when he talketh, with anye and that a pase or fast, where by he is much pytied, and getteth greatly. And if I had not demaunded of others, bothe men and women, that commonly walketh as he doth, and knowen by them his déepe dissimylation, I neuer hadde vnderstand the same. And thus I end wyth these kynde of vacabondes.

¶ A FRESHE WATER MARINER OR WHIPLACKE. Cap. 10.

THESE Freshwater Mariners, their shipes were drowned in the playne of Salisbury. These kynde of Caterpillers counterfet great losses on the sea; these bée some Western men, and most bée Irishe men. These wyll runne about the countrey wyth a counterfet lycence, fayninge either shypwracke, or spoyled by Pyrates, neare the coaste of Cornwall or Deuonshyre, and set a lande at some hauentowne there, hauynge a large and formall wrytinge, as is aboue sayd, with the names and seales of suche men of worshyppe, at the leaste foure or fve, as dwolleth neare or next to the place where they fayne their landinge. And neare to those shieres wyll they not begge, vntyll they come into Wylshyre, Hamshyre, Barkeshyre, Oxfordshyre, Harfordshyre, Middelsex, and so¹ to London, and downe by the ryuer to séeke for their shyppe and goods that they neuer hade: then passe they through Surrey, Sossex, by the sea costes, and so into Kent, demaunding almes to bring them home to their country.

¶ Some tyme they counterfet the scale of the Admiraltie. I haue diuers tymes taken a waye from them their lycences, of both sortes, wyth suche money as they haue gathered, and haue confiscated the same to the pouerty nigh adioyninge to me. And they wyll not

¹ Omitted in 1573.

beelonge with out another. For at anye good towne they wyll renewe the same. Once wyth mucche threatninge and faire promises, I required to knowe of one companye who made their lycence. And they sweare that they bought the same at Portsmouth, of a Mariner there, and it cost them¹ two shillinges ; with such warrantes to be so good and efectuall, that if any of the best men of lawe, or learned, aboute London, should peruse the same, they weare able to fynde no faute there with, but would assuredly allow the same.

¹ *him (sic)*. B.

[leaf 14, back]¹

These two pyctures, lyuely set out,
 One bodye and soule, god send him more grace.
 This mounstrous desembelar, a Cranke all about.
 Vncomly couetinge, of eche to imbrace,
 Money or wares, as he made his race.
 And sometyme a marynar, and a saruinge man,
 Or els an artificer, as he would fayne than.
 Such shyftes he vsed, beinge well trycd,
 A bandoninge labour, tyll he was espyed.
 Conding punishment, for his dissimulation,
 He sewerly receaued with much declination ²

¹ This page is not in Bodley ed.² 1573 reads *exclamation*

[leaf 15]

¶ A COUNTERFET CRANKE. Cap. 11.

THese that do counterfet the Cranke be yong knaues and yonge harlots, that depely dissemble the falling sicknes. For the Cranke in their language is the falling euyl. I haue séene some of these with fayre writings testimoniall, with the names and seales of some men of worshyp in Shropshyre, and in other Shieres farre of, that I haue well knowne, and haue taken the same from them. Many of these do go without writings, and wyll go halfe naked, and looke most pitiously. And if any clothes be geuen them, the[y]¹ immediatly sell the same, for weare it they wyll not, because they would bée the more pitied, and weare fylthy clothes on their heades, and neuer go without a péce of whyte sope about them, which, if they sée cause or present gaine, they wyll priuely conuey the same into their mouth, and so worke the same there, that they wyll fome as it were a Boore, *and* maruelously for a tyme torment them selues; and thus deceiue they the common people, and gayne much. These haue commonly their harlots as the other.

Apon Alhollanday in the morning last Anno domini. 1566, or my² booke was halfe printed, I meane the first impression, there came earely in the morninge a Counterfet Cranke vnder my lodgyng at the whyte Fryares, wythin the cloyster, in a lyttle yard or coorte, where aboutes laye two or thre great Ladyes, beyng without the lyberties of London, where by he hoped for the greater gayne; this Cranke there lamentably lamentinge and pitefully crying to be releued, declared to dyuers their hys paynfull and miserable dysease. I being rysen and not halfe ready, harde his dolfull wordes and rufull mornings, hering him name the falling sicknes, thought assuredlye to my selfe that hée was a depe desemblar; so, comminge out at a sodayne, and beholdinge his vgly and yrksome attyre, hys lothsome and horyble countenance, it made me in a meruelous parplexite what to thinke of hym, whether it were fayned or trouthe,—for after this manner went he: he was naked from the wast vpward, sauyng he had a old Ierken³ of leather patched, and that was lose⁴ about hym, that all his bodey laye out bare; a filthy foule cloth he ware on his head,

¹ they. B.² my my. B.³ gyrrhen (et seqq.). B.⁴ loose. B.

being cut for the purpose, hauing a narowe place to put out his face, with a bauer made to trusse vp his beard, and a stryng that tyed the same downe close aboute his necke; with an olde felt hat which he styll caried in his hande to receaue the charytye and deuotion of the people, for that woulde he hold out from hym; hauyng hys face, from the eyes downe ward, all smerd with freshe bloud, [leaf 15, back] as thoughe he had new falen, and byn tormented wyth his paynefull panges,—his Ierken beinge all be rayde with durte and myre, and hys hatte and hosen also, as thoughe hée hadde wallowed in the myre: sewerly the sighte was monstrous and terrible. I called hym vnto me, and demaunded of hym what he ayld. “A, good maister,” quoth he, “I haue the greuous and paynefull dyseas called the falynge syckenes.” “Why,” quoth I, “howe commeth thy Ierken, hose, and hat so be rayd with durte and myre, and thy skyn also?” “A, good master, I fell downe on the backesyde here in the fowle lane harde by the watersyde; and there I laye all most all night, and haue bled all most all the bloude owte in my bodye.” It raynde that morninge very fast; and whyle I was thus talkinge with hym, a honest poore woman that dwelt thereby brought hym a fayre linnen cloth, and byd hym wpye his face therewyth; and there beinge a tobbe standing full of rayne water, offered to geue hym some in a dishe that he might make hym selfe cleane: hée refuseth¹ the same. “Why dost thou so?” quoth I. “A, syr,” sayth he, “yf I shoulde washe my selfe, I shoulde fall to bléedinge a freshe againe, and then I should not stop my selfe:” these wordes made me the more to suspecte hym.

Then I asked of hym where he was borne, what is name was, how longe he had this dyscase, and what tyme he had ben here about London, and in what place. “Syr,” saythe he, “I was borne at Leycestar, my name is Nycholas Genings,² and I haue had this falling sycknes viij. yeaeres, and I can get no remedy for the same; for I haue it by kinde, my father had it and my friendes before me; and I haue byne these two yeaeres here about London, and a yeaere and a halfe in betholem.” “Why, wast thou out of thy wyttes?” quoth I. “Ye, syr, that I was.”

¹ *refused.* B.

² *Gennins.* B.

“What is the Kepars name of the house?” “Hys name is,” quoth hée, “Iohn Smith.” “Then,” quoth I, “hée must vnderstande of thy dysease; yf thou hadest the same for the tyme thou wast there, he knoweth it well.” “Ye, not onely he, but all the house bée syde,” quoth this Cranke; “for I came thens but within this fortnight.” I had stande so longe reasoning the matter wyth him that I was a cold, and went into my chamber and made me ready, and commaunded my seruant to repayre to bethelē, and bringe me true worde from the keper there whether anye suche man hath byn with him as a prisoner hauinge the dysease aforesayd, and gaue hym a note of his name and the kepars also: my seruant, retorninge to my lodginge, dyd assure me that neither was there euer anye such man there, nether yet anye keper of anye suche name; but hée that was there keper, he sent me hys name in writing, afferming that hee letteth no man depart from hym vnlesse he be fet a waye by ^[that is] hys fréendes, and that none that came from hym beggeth aboute the Citty. Then I sent for the Printar of this booke, and shewed hym of this dyssembling Cranke, and how I had sent to Bethelē to vnderstand the trouthe¹, and what aunswere I receaued againe, requiringe hym that I might haue some seruant of his to wathe him faithfully that daye, that I might vnderstand trustely to what place he woulde repaire at night vnto, and thether I promised to goe my selfe to see their order, and that I woulde haue hym to associate me thether: hée gladly graunted to my request, and sent two boyes, that both diligently and vygelantly accomplit the charge geuen them, and found the same Cranke aboute the Temple, where about the most parte of the daye hée begged, vnlesse it weare about xii. of the clocke he wente on the backesyde of Clementes Ine without Temple barre: there is a lane that goeth into the Feldes; there hee renewed his face againe wyth freshe bloud, which he caried about hym in a bladder, and dawbed on freshe dyrte vpon his Ierken, hat, and hoson.

¶ And so came backe agayne vnto the Temple, and sometyne to the Watersyde, and begged of all that passed bye: the boyes behelde howe some gaue grotes, some syxe pens, some gaue more;

¹ *trough*, B.

for hée looked so ougleie and yrksomlye, that euerye one pytied his miserable case that beehelde hym. To bee shorte, there he passed all the daye tyll night approched; and when it began to bée some what dark, he went to the water syde and toke a Skoller,¹ and was sette ouer the Water into Saincte Georges felde, contrarye to my expectation; for I had thought he woulde haue gonne into Holborne or to Saynt Gylles in the felde; but these boyes, with Argues and Lynces eyes, set sewre watche vppon him, and the one tooke a bote and followed him, and the other went backe to tell his maister.

The boye that so folowed hym by Water, had no money to pay for his Bote hyre, but layde his Penner and his Ynkhorne to gage for a penny; and by that tyme the boye was sette ouer, his Maister, wyth all celeryte, hadde taken a Bote and followed hym apase: now hadde they styll a syght of the Cranke, wych crossed ouer the felddes towardes Newyngton, and thether he went, and by that tyme they came thether it was very darke: the Prynter hadde there no acquaintance, nether any kynde of weapon about hym, nether knewe he² how farre the Cranke woulde goe, because hee then suspected that they dogged hym of purposse; he there stayed hym, and called for the Counstable, whyche came forthe dylygentelye to inquire what the matter was: thys zelous Prynter charged thys offyceer (leaf 16, back) wyth hym as a malefactor and a dessemblinge vagabonde—the Counstable woulde haue layde him all night in the Cage that stode in the streate. “Naye,” saythe this pitifull Prynter, “I praye you haue him into your house; for this is lyke to be a cold nyght, and he is naked: you kepe a vytellinge house; let him be well cherished this night, for he is well hable to paye for the same. I knowe well his gaynes hath byn great to day, and your house is a sufficient pryson for the tyme, and we wil there serche hym. The Counstable agreed there vnto: they had him in, and caused him to washe him selfe: that donne, they demaunded what money he had about hym. Sayth this Cranke, “So God helpe me, I haue but xii. pence,” and plucked oute the same of a lytle pursse. “Why, haue you no more?” quoth they. “No,” sayth this Cranke, “as God shall saue my soule at the day of iudgement.” “We must se more,” quoth they,

¹ 1573 reads *skolloer*

² Omitted in 1573 edit.

and began to stryp hym. Then he plucked out a nother purse, wherin was xl. pens. "Toushe," sayth¹ thys Prynter, "I must see more." Saythe this Cranke, "I pray God I bée dampned both body² and soule yf I haue anye more." "No," sayth thys Prynter, "thou false knaue, here is my boye that dyd watche thée all this daye, and sawe when such men gaue the péeses of sixe pens, grotes, and other money; and yet thou hast shewed vs none but small money." When thys Cranke hard this, and the boye vowinge it to his face, he relented, and plucked out another pursse, where in was eyght shyllings and od money; so had they in the hole *that* he had begged that day xiiij. shillings iii. ³pens halfepeny³. Then they strypt him starke naked, and as many as sawe him sayd they neuer sawe hansommer man, wyth a yellowe flexen beard⁴, and fayre skynned, withoute anye spot or greffe. Then the good wyfe of the house fet her goodmans⁵ olde clocke, *and* caused the same to be cast about him, because the sight shoulde not abash her shamefast maydens, nether loth her squaymysh sight.

{ Thus he set⁶ downe at the Chemnes end, and called for a potte of Béere, and dranke of a quarte at a draft, and called for another, and so the thyrd, that one had bene sufficient for any resonable man, the Drynke was so stronge.⁷ I my selfe, the next morninge, tasted thereof; but let the reader iudge what and howe much he would haue dronke and he had bene out of feare. Then when they had thus wrong water out of a flint in spoyling him of his euyl gotten goods, his passing pens⁸, *and* fletting trashe, The printer with this offecer were in gealy gealowsit⁹, and deuised to search a barne for some roges and vpright men, a quarter of a myle from the house, that stode a lone in the fieldes, and wente out about their busines, leauing this cranke alone with his wyfe and maydens: this crafty Cranke, espying al gon, requested the good wife that [leaf 17] hee might goe out on the backesyde to make water, and to exonerate his paunche: she bad hym drawe the lache of the dore and goe out, neither thinkinge or mistrusting he

¹ sayth (sic). B. ² printed *dodg* ³⁻³ d. ob. B. ⁴ bede. B.

⁵ mans. B. ⁶ 1573 inserts *him*; sette hym. B. ⁷ 1573 inserts *that*

⁸ pence. B. ⁹ The 1573 edition reads *ioly ioylitis*; *gelowsy*. B.

would haue gon away naked ; but, to conclude, when hee was out, he cast awaye the cloke, and, as naked as euer he was borne, he ran away, ¹ that he could ² neuer be hard of ³ againe.¹ Now ³ the next morning betimes, I went vnto Newington, to vnderstand what was done, because I had word or it was day that there my printer was ; and at my comming thother, I hard the hole circunstaunce, as I aboue haue wrytten ; and I, seing the matter so fall out, tooke order with the chiefe of the parish that this xij. shyllings *and* iij. ⁴pens halfpenny⁴ might the next daye be equally distributed, by their good discrecions, to the pouertie of the same parishe,⁵ and so it was done.

¹ The 1573 edition finishes the sentence thus :—"ouer the fields to his own house, as hée afterwards said."

² *woulde*. B.

²⁻³ *again til now*. B.

⁴⁻¹ *d. ob.* B.

⁵ The 1573 edition continues thus :—"wherof this crafty Cranke had part him selfe, for he had both house and wife in the same parishe, as after you shall heare. But this lewde lewterar could not laye his bones to labour, hauing got once the tast of this lewd lasy lyfe, for al this fayr admonition, but deuised other suttel sleights to maintaine his ydell living, and so craftely clothed him selfe in mariners apparel, and associated him self with an other of his companions : they hauing both mariners apparel, went abroad to aske charity of the people, fayning they hadde loste their shippe with all their goods by casualty on the seas, wherewith they gayned much. This crafty Cranke, fearinge to be mistrusted, fell to another kinde of begging, as bad or worse, and apparelled himselfe very well with a fayre black fröese cote, a new payre of whyte hose, a fyne felt hat on his head, a shert of flaunders worke esteemed to be worth xvi. shillings ; and vpon newe yeares day came againe into the whyt Fryers to beg : the printer, hauing occasion to go that ways, not thinking of this Cranke, by chaunce met with him, who asked his charitie for Gods sake. The printer, vewing him well, did mistrust him to be the counterfet Cranke which deceued him vpon Alhollen daye at night, demaunded of whence he was and what was his name, 'Forsoth,' saith he, 'my name is Nicolas Genings, and I came from Leicester to séeke worke, and I am a hat-maker by my occupation, and all my money is spent, and if I coulede get money to paye for my lodging this night, I would seke work to morowe amongst the hatters.' The printer perceiuing his depe dissimulation, putting his hand into his purse, seeming to giue him some money, and with fayre allusions brought him into the stréete, where he charged the constable with him, affirminge him to be the counterfet Cranke that ranne away vpon Alhollen daye last. The constable being very loth to meddle with him, but the printer knowing him and his depe disceit, desyred he mought be brought before the debutie of the ward, which straight was accomplished, which when he came before the debuty, he demaunded of him of whence he was and what was his name ; he answered as before he did vnto the printer : the debutie asked the printer what he woulde laye vnto hys charge ; he answered and aleged him to be a vagabond and depe deceyuer of the people, and the counterfet Crank that ran away vpon Alhollon day last from the constable of Newington and him, and requested him earnestly to send him to ward : the debuty thinking him to be deceiued, but

¶ A DOMMERAR. Cap. 12.

THese Dommerars are leud and most subtyll people: the moste part of these are Walch men, and wyll neuer speake, vnlesse they haue extreame punishment, but wyll gape, and with a maruelous force wyll hold downe their tounge doubled, groning for your charyty, and holding vp their handes full pitiously, so that with their déepe dissimulation they get very much. There are of these many, *and* but one that I vnderstand of hath lost his tounge in dede. Hauing on a time occasion to ride to Dartforde, to speake with a priest there, who maketh all kinde of conserues very well, and vseth stilling of waters; And repayinge to his house, I founde a Dommerar at his doore, and the priest him selfe perusinge his¹ lycence, vnder the seales and hands of certayne worshypfull men, had² thought the same to be good and effectuell. I taking the same writing, and

neuerthelesse laid his commaundement vpon him, so that the printer should beare his charges if he could not iustifie it; he agréed thereunto. And so he and the constable went to cary him to the Counter; and as they were going vnder Ludgate, this crafty Cranke toke his bécles and ran down the hill as fast as he could dryve, the constable and the printer after him as fast as they coule; but the printer of *the twayn* being lighter of fote, ouertoke him at fleete bridge, and with strong hand caried him to the counter, and safely deliuered him. In *the morow* the printer sent his boy that strippd him vpon Alhalon day at night to view him, because he would be sure, which boy knew him very well: this Crank confessed unto the debuty, *that* he had hosted the night before in Kent stréet in Southwarke, at the sign of the Cock, which thing to be true, the printer sente to know, and found him a lyer; but further inquiring, at length found out his habitation, dwelling in maister Hilles rentes, hauinge a pretye house, well staffed, with a sayre ioyne table, and a fayre cubbard garnished with peuter, hauing an old auncient woman to his wyfe. The printer being sure therof, repaired vnto the Counter, and rebuked him for his beastly behaviour, and told him of his false sayning, willed him to confesse it, and aske forgiveness: he perceyued him to know his depe dissimulation, relented, and confessed all his disceit; and so remayning in the counter thrée dayes, was removed to Brydwel, where he was strypt starke naked, and his ougly attyre put vpon him before the maisters thereof, who wondered greatly at his dissimulation: for which offence he stode vpon the pillery in Cheapsyde, both in his ougly and handsome attyre. And after that went in the myll whyle his ougly picture was a drawing; and then was whypped at a cartes tayle through London, and his displayd banner caried before him vnto his own dore, and so backe to Brydewell again, and there remayned for a tyme, and at length let at libertie, on that condicioⁿ he would proue an honest man, and labour truly to get his liuing. And his picture remayneth in Bridewell for a monyment.”

—See, also, *post*, p. 89.

¹ of his. B.

² which priest had. B.

reading it ouer, and noting the scales, founde one of the scales like vnto a seale that I had aboute me, which seale I bought besides Charing crosse, that I was out of doubte it was none of those Gentlemens scales that had sub[s]cribed. And hauing vnderstanding before of their peuishe practises, made me to conceaue that all was forged and nought. I made the more hast home; for well I wist that he would and must of force passe through the parysh where I dwelt; for there was no other waye for hym. And comminge homeward, I found them in the towne, accordinge to my expectation, where they were staid; for there was a Pallyarde associate with the Dommerar and partaker of his gaynes, whyche Pallyarde I sawe not at Dartford. The stayers of them was a gentleman called¹ *Chayne*, and a seruant of my Lord Kéepeys, cald *Wostestowe*, which was [leaf 17, back] the chiefe causer of the staying of them, being a Surgien, and cunning in his science, had séene the lyke practises, and, as he sayde, hadde caused one to speake afore that was dome². It was my chaunce to come at the begynning of the matter. "Syr," (quoth this Surgien) "I am bold here to vtter some part of my cunning. I trust" (quoth he) "you shall se a myracle wrought anon. For I once" (quoth he) "made a dumme man to speake." Quoth I, "you are wel met, and somewhat you haue preuented me; for I had thought to haue done no lesse or they hadde passed this towne. For I well knowe their writing is fayned, and they depe dissembles." The Surgien made hym gape, and we could see but halfe a tounge. I required the Surgien to put hys fynger in his mouth, and to pull out his tounge, and so he dyd, not withstanding he held strongly a prety whyle; at the length he pluckt out the same, to the great admiration of many that stode by. Yet when we sawe his tounge, hee would neither speake nor yet could heare. Quoth I to the Surgien, "knit two of his fyngers to gether, and thrust a stycke betwene them, and rubbe the same vp and downe a lytle whyle, and for my lyfe hee speaketh by and by." "Sir," quoth this Surgien, "I praye you let me practise and³ other waye." I was well contented to see the same. He had him into a house, and tyed a halter aboute the wrestes of his handes, and hoysed him vp ouer a beame, and

¹ *cal-* (*sic*). B.² *dumme*. B.³ So printed. *an*. B.

there dyd let him hang a good while : at *the* length, for very paine he required for Gods sake to let him down. So he that was both deafe and dume coulde in short tyme both heare and speake. Then I tooke that money I could find in his pursse, and distributed the same to the poore people dwelling there, whiche was xv. pence halfe-peny, being all that we coulde finde. That done, and this merry myracle madly made, I sent them with my seruauant to the next Iusticer, where they preached on the Pyllery for want of a Pulpet, and were well whypped, and none dyd bewaile them.

¶ A DRONKEN TINCKAR. Cap. 13.

THese dronken Tynckers, called also Prygges, be beastly people, *and* these yong knaues be *the* wurst. These neuer go *with* out their Doxes, and yf their women haue anye thing about them, as apparell or lynnens, that is worth the selling, they laye the same to gage, or sell it out right, for bene bowse at their bowsing ken. And full sone wyll they bee wearye of them, and haue a newe. When they happen one woorke at any good house, their Doxes lynger alofe, and tarry for them in some corner ; and yf he taryeth longe from her, then she knoweth ^[leaf 18] he hath worke, and walketh neare, and sitteth downe by him. For besydes money, he looketh for meate and drinke for doinge his dame pleasure. For yf she haue thrée or foure holes in a pan, hee wyll make as many more for spedy gaine. And if he se any old kittle, chafer, or pewter dish abroad in the yard where he worketh, hee quickely snappeth the same vp, and in to the boogot it goeth round. Thus they lyue with deceite.

{ ¶ I was crediblye informed, by such as could well tell, that one of these tipling Tinckers *with* his dogge robbed by the high way iiij. Pallyards and two Roges, six persons together, and tooke from them aboue foure pound in ready money, *and* hide him after in a thicke woode a daye or two, and so escaped vntaken. Thus with picking and stealing, mingled with a lytle worke for a coulour, they passe their time.

¶ A SWADDER, OR PEDLER. Cap. 14.

THese Swadders and Pedlers bee not all euyl, but of an indifferent behaiour. These stand in great awe of the vpright men, for they haue often both wares and money of them. But for as much as they séeke gayne vnlawfully against the lawes and statutes of this noble realme, they are well worthy to be registred among the number of vacabonds; and vndoubtedly I haue hadde some of them brought before me, when I was in commission of the peace, as malefactors, for bryberinge and stealinge. And nowe of late it is a greate praectes of the vpright man, when he hath gotten a botye, to bestowe the same vpon a packefull of wares, and so goeth a time for his pleasure, because he would lyue with out suspition.

¶ A IARKE MAN, AND A PATRICO. Cap. 15.

FOR as much as these two names, a Iarkeman and a Patrico, bee in the old brieft of vacabonds, and set forth as two kyndes of euil doers, you shall vnderstande that a Iarkeman hathe his name of a Iarke, which is a scale in their Language, as one should make writinges and set scales for lycences and pasporte¹. And for trouthe there is none that goeth aboute the countrey of them that can eyther wryte so good and fayre a hand, either indite so learnedly, as I haue sene *and* handeled a number of them: but haue the same made in good townes where they come, as what can not be hadde for money, as the prouerbe sayth ("*Omnia vendunt Rome*"), and manye hath confessed the same to me. (part 18, back) Now, also, there is a Patrico, and not a Patriarcho², whiche in their language is a priest that should make mariages tyll death dyd depart; but they haue none such, I am well assured; for I put you out of doubt that not one amo[n]gest a hundreth of them are married, for they take lechery for no sinne, but naturall fellowship and good lyking loue: so that I wyll not blot my boke with these two that be not.

¹ *pasportes*. B.² *Patriarch*. B.

¶ A DEMAUENDER FOR GLYMMAR. Cap. 16.

THese Demaunders for glymmar be for the moste parte wemen ; for glymmar, in their language, is fyre. These goe with fayned¹ lycences and counterfayted wrytings, hauing the hands and scales of suche gentlemen as dwelleth nere to the place where they fayne them selues to haue bene burnt, and their goods consumed with fyre. They wyll most lamentable² demaunde your charitie, and wyll quicklye shed salte teares, they be so tender harted. They wyll neuer begge in that Shiere where their losses (as they say) was. Some of these goe with slates at their backes, which is a shécete to lye in a nightes. The vpright men be very familiare with these kynde of wemen, and one of them helps an other.

¶ A Demaunder for glymmar came vnto a good towne in Kente, to aske the charitie of the people, hauinge a fayned lycens aboute her that declared her misfortune by fyre, donne in Somerset shyre, walkinge with a wallet on her shoulders, where in shée put the deuotion of suche as hadde no money to geue her ; that is to saye, Malte, woll, baken, bread, and choese ; and alwayes, as the same was full, so was it redye money to her, when she emptyed the same, where so euer shee trauelede: thys harlot was, as they terme it, snowte fayre, and had an vpright man or two alwayes attendinge on her watche (whyche is on her parson), and yet so circumspecte, that they woulde neuer beo scène in her company in any good towne, vlesse it were in smale vyllages where typling houses weare, cyther traueling to gether by the hygh wayes ; but *the* troth is, by report, she woulde wekely be worth vi. or seuen shyllinges with her begging and bycherye. This glimmering Morte, repayringe to an Ine in *the* sayde towne where dwelt a wydow of fyftie wynter olde of good welth ; but she had an vnthryfte sonne, whom she vsed as a chamberlaine to attend gestes when they repared to her house : this amorous man, be holdinge with ardante eyes thys³ glymmeringe glauncer, was presentlye pyteouslye persed to the hart, and lewdlye longed to bée clothed vnder her lyuerye ; and bestowinge [leaf 10] a

¹ *faynen.* B.² *lamentably.* B.³ *beholding this.* B.

fewe fonde wordes with her, vnderstode straye that she woulde be easlye perswaded to lykinge lechery, and as a man mased, mused howe to attayne to his purpose, for¹ he hadde no money. Yet consideringe wyth hym selfe that wares woulde bee welcome where money wanted, hee went with a wannion to his mothers chamber, and there sekinge aboute for odde endes, at length founde a lytle whystell of syluer that his mother dyd vse customablye to weare on, and had forgot the same for haste that morninge, and offeres the same closely to this manerly marian, that yf she would mete hym on the backesye of the towne and curteously kys him with out constraynt, she shoulde bee mystres thereof, and it weare much better. "Well," sayth she, "you are a wanton;" and beholdinge the whystell, was farther in loue there with then rauysht wyth his person, and agreed to mete him presently, and to accomplyshe his fonde fancy:—to be short, and not tedyous, a quarter of a myle from the towne, he merely toke measure of her vnder a bawdye bushe; so she gaue hym that she had not, and he receiued that he coulde not; and taking leue of eche other with a curteous kysse, she plesantly passed forth one her iornaye, *and* this vntoward lycorous chamberlayne repayred home warde. But or these two tortylles tooke there leue, the good wyfe myssed her whystell, and sent one of her maydenes in to her chamber for the same, and being long sawght for, none coulde be founde; her mystres hering that, diligent search was made for the same; and that it was taken awaye, began to suspecte her vnblessed babe, and demaunded of her maydens whether none of them sawe her sonne in her chamber that morning, and one of them aunswered that she sawe him not there, but comming from thens: then had she ynough, for well she wyste that he had the same, and sent for him, but he could not be founde. Then she caused her hosteler, in whome she had better affyaunce in for his trouthe,—and yet not one amongst twenty of them but haue well left there honesty, (As I here a great sorte saye)—to come vnto her, whiche attended to knowe her pleasure. "Goe, seke out," saythe she, "my vntowarde sonne, and byd hym come speake with me." "I sawe him go out," saythe he, "halfe an houre

¹ *but*. B.

sithens one the backesyde. I hadde thought you hadde sent him of your arrante." "I sent him not," quoth she ; "goe, loke him out."

¶ This hollowe hosteler toke his staffe in his necke, and trodged out apase that waye he sawe him before go, and had some vnderstanding, by one of the maydens, that his mistres had her whistell stolen *and* suspected her sonne ; and he had not gone farre but that he espyed him comming homeward alone, and, meting him, axed where he had ben. [leaf 19, back] "Where haue I bene?" quoth he, and began to smyle. "Now, by the mas, thou hast bene at some baudy banquet." "Thou hast euen tolde trouth," quoth thys chamberlayne. "Sewerly," quoth this hosteler, "thou haddest the same woman that begged at our house to day, for *the* harmes she had by fyre: where is she?" quoth he. "She is almost a myle by this tyme," quoth this chamberlayne. "Where is my mystres whystell?" quoth this hosteler ; "for I am well assured that thou haddest it, and I feare me thou hast geuen it to that harlot." "Why! is it myssed?" quoth this chamberlayne. "Yea," quoth this hosteler, and shewed him all the hole circumstaunce, what was both sayde and thought on him for the thing. "Well, I wyl tell the," quoth this Chamberlayne. "I wylbe playne with the. I had it in dede, and haue geuen the same to this woman, and I praye the make the best of it, and helpe nowe to excuse the matter, and yet surely and thou wouldest take so much payne for me as to ouer take her, (for she goeth but softly, and is not yet farre of) and take the same from her, and I am euor thyne assured fréende." "Why, then, go with me," quoth this hostler. "Nay, in faythe," quoth this Chamberlayne ; "what is frear then gift? and I hadde prety pastime for the same." "Hadest thou so?" quoth this hosteler ; "nowe, by the masse, and I wyll haue some to, or I wyll lye in the duste or I come agayne." Passing with hast to ouer take this paramoure, within a myle from *the* place where he departed he ouertoke her, hauing an vpright man in her company, a stronge and a sturdye vacabond: some what amased was this hosteler to se one familiarly in her company, for he had well hopped to haue had some delycate dalyance, as his fellowe hadde ; but, seinge the matter so fallout, and being of

good corage, and thinking to him selfe that one true man was better then two false knaues, and being on the high way, thought vpon helpe, if nede had bene, by such as had passed to and fro, Demanded fersely the whistell that she had euyn nowe of his fellowe. "Why, husband," quoth she, "can you suffer this wretche to slaunder your wyfe?" "A vaunt verlet," quoth this vpright man, and letes dryue with all his force at this hosteler, and after halfe¹ a dosen blowes, he strycks his staffe out of his hande, and as this hosteler stept backe to haue taken vp his staffe agayne, his glymmeringe Morte flinges a great stone at him, and strake him one the heade that downe hee fales, wyth the bloud about his eares, and whyle hee laye this amased, the vpright man snatches awaye his pursse, where in hee hadde money of his mystresses as well as of his owne, and there let him lye, and went a waye with spede that they were neuer harde of more. When this drye beaten hosteler was come to him selfe, hee fayntlye wandereth home, and crepethe in to hys couche, and restes [leaf 20] his ydle heade: his mystres harde that hee was come in, and layde him downe on his beade, repayred straight vnto him, and aske hym what he ayled, and what the cause was of his so sudden lying one his bed. "What is the cause?" quoth this hosteler; "your whystell, your whistel,"—speaking the same pyteouslye thre or foure tymes. "Why, fole," quoth his mystrisse, "take no care for that, for I doe not greatly waye it; it was worth but threé shyllinges foure pens." "I would it had bene burnt for foure yeares agon." "I praye the why so," quoth his mystres; "I think thou art mad." "Nay, not yet," quoth this hosteler, "but I haue bene madly handlyd." "Why, what is the matter?" quoth his mystres, and was more desirous to know the case. "And you wyl for geue my fellowe and me, I wyl shewe you, or els I wyl neuer doe it." Shée made hym presently faithfull promisse that shée would. "Then," saythe hee, "sende for your sonne home agayne, whyche is ashamed to loke you in the face." "I agre there to," sayth shée. "Well, then," quoth this hosteler, "youre sonne hathe geuen the same Morte that begged here, for the burninge of her house, a whystell, and you haue geuen her v. shyllinges in money,

¹ Omitted in 1573.

and I haue geuen her ten shyllinges of my owne." "Why, howe so?" quoth she. Then he sadly shewed her of his myshap, with all the circumstaunce that you haue harde before, and howe hys pursse was taken awaye, and xv. shyllinges in the same, where of v. shyllinges was her money and x. shyllinges his owne money. "Is this true?" quoth his mystres. "I, by my trouthe," quoth this hosteler, "and nothing greues me so much, neyther my beating, neither the losse of my money, as doth my euell *and* wreched lucke." "Why, what is the matter?" quoth his mystres. "Your sonne," saythe this hosteler, "had some chere and pastyme for that whystell, for he laye with her, and I haue bene well beaten, and haue had my pursse taken from me, and you knowe your sonne is merrie and pleasaunt, and can kepe no great counsell; and then shall I bemocked *and* loughed to skorne in all places when they shall here howe I haue bene serued." "Nowe, out vpon you knaues both," quoth his mystres, and laughs oute the matter; for she well sawe it would not other wyse preuayle.

¶ A BAWDY BASKET. Cap. 17.

THese Bawdy baskets be also wemen, and go with baskets and Capcases on their armes, where in they haue laces, pynnes, needles, white ynkell, and round sylke gyrdles of al coulours. These wyl bye conneyskins,¹ *and* steale linen clothes of on hedges. And for their trifles they wil procure of mayden seruaunts, when [leaf 20, back] their mystres or dame is oute of the waye, either some good peece of béefe, baken, or chéese, that shalbe worth xij. pens, for ii. pens of their toyes. And as they walke by the waye, they often gaine some money wyth their instrument, by such as they sodaynely mete withall. The vpright men haue good acquayntance with these, and will helpe and relieue them when they want. Thus they trade their lyues in lewed lothsome lechery. Amongest them all is but one honest woman, and she is of good yeares; her name is Ione Messenger. I haue had good prooffe of her, as I haue learned by the true report of diuers.

¹ Rabbitskins

There came to my gate the last sommer, Anno Domini .1566, a very miserable man, and much deformed, as burnt in the face, blere eyde, and lame of one of his legges that he went with a crouche. I axed him wher he was borne, and where he dwelt last, and shewed him that thether he must repaire and be releued, and not to range aboute the countrey; and seing some cause of cherytie, I caused him to haue meate and drinke, and when he had dronke, I demaunded of him whether he was neuer spoyled of the vpright man or Roge. "Yes, that I haue," quoth he, "and not this seuen yeres, for so long I haue gon abroad, I had not so much taken from me, and so euyl handeled, as I was *within* these iiij. dayes." "Why, how so?" quoth I. "In good fayth, sir," quoth hee, "I chaunced to méete with one of these bawdy baskets which had an vpright man in her company, and as I would haue passed quietly by her, 'man,' sayth she vnto vnto her make, 'do you not se this ylfauored, windshaken knaue?' 'Yes,' quoth the vpright man; 'what saye you to him?' 'this knaue¹ oweth me ii. shyllings for wares that² he had of me, halfe a yere ago, I think it well.' Sayth this vpright man, 'syra,' sayth he, 'paye your detts.' Sayth this poore man, 'I owe her none, nether dyd I euer bargane with her for any thinge, and as this³ aduysed I neuer sawe her before in all my lyfe.' 'Mercy, god!' quoth she, 'what a lyinge knaue is this, and he wil not paye you, husband, beat him suerly,' and the vpright man gaue me thre or foure blowes on my backe and shouldders, and would haue beat me worsse and I had not geuen hym all the money in my pursse, and in good fayth, for very feare, I was fayne to geue him xiiij. pens, which was all the money that I had. 'Why,' sayth this bawdy basket, 'hast thou no more? then thou owest me ten pens styll; and, be well assured that I wyll bee payde the next tyme I méete with thée.' And so they let me passe by them. I praye god saue and blesse me, and al other in my case, from such wycked persons," quoth this poore man. "Why, whether went they then?" quoth I. "Into east Kent, for I mete with them on thysseyde of Rochester. I haue dyuers tymes bene attempted, but

¹ B. inserts *sayth she*.² Omitted in 1573.³ 1573 reads *I am*

I neuer loste [leaf 21] much before. I thanke god, there came styll company by a fore this vnhappy time." "Well," quoth I, "thanke God of all, and repaire home into thy natyue countrey."

¶ A AUTEM MORT. Cap. 18.

THese Autem Mortes be married wemen, as there be but a fewe. For Autem in their Language is a Church; so she is a wyfe married at the Church, and they be as chaste as a Cowe I haue, *that* goeth to Bull euery moone, with what Bull she careth not. These walke most times from their husbands companie a moneth and more to gether, being asociaite with another as honest as her selfe. These wyll pylfar clothes of hedges: some of them go with children of ten or xii. yeares of age; yf tyme and place serue for their purpose, they wyll send them into some house, at the window, to steale and robbe, which they call in their language, Milling of the ken; and wil go *with* wallets on their shoulders, and slates at their backs. There is one of these Autem Mortes, she is now a widow, of fyfty yeres old; her name is Alice Milson: she goeth about with a couple of great boyes, the yongest of them is fast vpon xx. yeares of age; and these two do lye with her euery night, and she lyeth in the middles: she sayth that they be her children, that beteled be babes borne of such abhominable bellye.

¶ A WALKING MORT. Cap. 19.

THese walkinge Mortes bee not maryed: these for their vnhappy yeares doth go as a Autem Morte, and wyll saye their husbandes died eyther at Newhauen, Ireland, or in some seruice of the Prince. These make laces vpon staues, *and* purses, that they cary in their hands, and whyte vallance for beddes. Manye of these hath hadde and haue chyldren: when these get ought, either with begging, bychery, or brybery, as money or apparell, they are quickly shaken out of all by the vpright men, that they are in a maruelous feare to cary any thinge aboute them that is of any valure. Wherefore, this pollicye they vse, they leaue their money now with one and then with a nother trustye housholders, eyther with the good man or good wyfe, some tyme in one shiere, and then in another, as they

trauell: this haue I knowne, *that* iiij. or v. shyllinges, yea x. shyllinges, lefte in a place, and the same wyll they come for againe within one quarter of a yeaere, or some tyme not in halfe a yeaere; and all this is to lytle purpose, for all their peuyshe [leaf 21, back] pollycey; for when they bye them lynnyn or garmentse, it is taken awaye from them, and worsse geuen them, or none at all.

¶ The last Sommer, Anno domini .1566, being in familiare talke with a walking Mort that came to my gate, I learned by her what I could, and I thought I had gathered as much for my purpose as I desired. I began to rebuke her for her leud lyfe and beastly behauor, declaring to her what punishment was prepared and heaped vp for her in the world to come for her fylthy lyuinge and wretched conuersation. "God helpe," *quoth* she, "how should I lyue? none wyll take me into seruice; but I labour in haruest time honestly." "I thinke but a whyle with honestie," *quoth* I. "Shall I tell you," *quoth* she, "the best of vs all may be amended; but yet, I thanke god, I dyd one good dede within this twelue monthes." "Wherein?" *quoth* I. Sayth she, "I woulde not haue it spoken of agayne." "Yf it be méete and necessary," *quod* I, "it shall lye vnder my feete." "What meane you by that?" *quoth* she. "I meane," *quod* I, "to hide the same, and neuer to discouer it to any." "Well," *quoth* she, and began to laugh as much as she could, and sweare by the masse that if I disclosed the same to any, she woulde neuer more¹ tell me any thinge. "The last sommer," *quoth* she, "I was greate with chylde, and I traueled into east kent by the sea coste, for I lusted meruelously after oysters and muskels², and gathered many, and in *the* place where I found them, I opened them and ate them styll: at the last, in seking more, I reached after one, and stept into a hole, and fel in into the wast, and their dyd stycke, and I had bene drowned if the tide had come, and espyinge a man a good waye of, I cried as much as I could for helpe. I was alone, he hard me, and repaired as fast to me as he might, and finding me their fast stryking, I required for gods sake his helpe; and whether it was with stryuinge and forcing my selfe out, or for ioye I had of his com-minge to me, I had a great couller in my face, and loked red and well

¹ Omitted in 1573.

² *mussels*. B.

coullered. And, to be playne with you, hée lyked me so well (as he sayd) that I should there lye styll, and I would not graunt him, that he might lye with me. And, by my trouth, I wist not what to answeare, I was in such a perplexite; for I knew the man well: he had a very honest woman to his wyfe, and was of some welth; and, one the other syde, if I weare not holpe out, I should there haue perished, and I graunted hym that I would obeye to his wyll: then he plucked me out. And because there was no conuenient place nere hande, I required hym that I might go washe my selfe, and make me somewhat clenly, and I would come to his house and lodge all night in his barne, whether he mighte repaire to me, and accomplyshe hys desire, ‘but let it not be,’ quoth she,¹ ‘before nine of the clocke at nyghte [leaf 22] for then there wylbe small styrring. And I may repaire to the towne,’ quoth she,² ‘to warme and drye my selfe’; for this was about two of the clocke in the after none. ‘Do so,’ quoth hée; ‘for I must be busie to looke oute my cattell here by before I can come home.’ So I went awaye from hym, and glad was I.” “And why so?” quoth I. “Because,” quoth she, “his wyfe, my good dame, is my very frënd, and I am much beholdinge to her. And she hath donne me so much good or this, that I weare loth nowe to harme her any waye.” “Why,” quoth I, “what and it hadde béene any other man, and not your good dames husbände?” “The matter had bene the lesse,” quoth shée. “Tell me, I pray the,” quoth I, “who was the father of thy chyld?” She stodyd a whyle, and sayde that it hadde a father. “But what was hée?” quoth I. “Nowe, by my trouth, I knowe not,” quoth shée; “you brynge me out of my matterso, you do.” “Well, saye on,” quoth I. “Then I departed strayght to the towne, and came to my dames house, And shewed her of my mysfortune, also of her husbands vsage, in all pointes, and that I showed her the same for good wyll, and byde her take better héele to her husbände, and to her selfe: so shée gaue me great thankes, and made me good chéere, and byd me in anye case that I should be redye at the barne at that tyme and houre we had apoynted; ‘for I knowe well,’ quoth this good wyfe, ‘my husband wyll not breake wyth the. And one thinge I warne³ the, that thou

¹ *he*, ed. 1573.² *I*, ed. 1573.³ *warrant*. B.

geue me a watche worde a loud when hée goeth aboute to haue his pleasure of the, and that shall¹ bée “fye, for shame, fye,” and I wyll bée harde by you wyth helpe. But I charge the kéepe thys secret vntyll all bee fynesed; and holde,’ saythe thys good wyfe, ‘here is one of my peticotes I geue thée.’ ‘I thanke you, good dame,’ quoth I, ‘and I warrante you I wyll bée true and trustye vnto you.’ So my dame lefte me settinge by a good fyre with meate and drynke; and wyth the oysters I broughte with me, I hadde greate cheere: shée wente strayght and repaired vnto her gossypes dwelling there by; and, as I dyd after vnderstande, she made her mone to them, what a naughtye, lewed, lecherous husbände shée hadde, and howe that she coulde not haue hys companye for harlotes, and that she was in feare to take some fylthy dyscase of hym, he was so commen a man, hauinge lytle respecte whome he hadde to do with all; ‘and,’ quoth she, ‘nowe here is one at my house, a poore woman that goeth aboute the countrey that he woulde haue hadde to doe withall; wherefore, good neyghbours and louinge gossypes, as you loue me, and as you would haue helpe at my hand another tyme, deuyse some remedy to make my husband a good man, *that* I may lyue in some suerty without disease, and that hée may saue his soule that God so derelye [leaf 22, back] bought.’ After shée hadde tolde her tale, they caste their persinge eyes all vpon her, but one stoute dame amongst the rest had these wordes—‘As your pacient bearinge of troubles, your honest behauiour among vs your neyghbours, your tender and pytifull hart to the poore of the parysh, doth moue vs to lament your case, so the vnsatiable carnalite of your faithlesse husbände doth instigate and styre vs to deuyse and inuent some spéevely redresse for your ease² and the amendement of hys lyfe. Wherefore, this is my counsell and you wyll bée aduertysed by me; for³ I saye to you all, vnlesse it be this good wyfe, who is chéevely touched in this matter, I haue the nexte cause; for hée was in hande wyth me not longe a goe, and companye had not bene present, which was by a meruelous chaunce, he hadde, I thinke, forced me. For often hée hath bene tempering⁴ with me, and yet haue I sharply sayde him

¹ *should. B.*² 1573 reads *ease*⁴ 1573 reads *tempting*³ Omitted in 1573.

naye : therefore, let vs assemble secretly into the place where hée hath apuynted to méete thys gylot that is at your house, and lyrke preuelye in some corner tyll hée begyn to goe aboute his busines. And then me thought I harde you saye euen now that you had a watche word, at which word we wyll all stepforth, beinge fíue of vs besydes you, for you shalbe none because it is your husbände, but gette you to bed at your accustomed houre. And we wyll eary eche of vs¹ good byrchen rodde in our lappes, and we will all be muffed for knowing, and se that you goe home and acquaynt that walking Morte with the matter ; for we must haue her helpe to hold, for alwaies foure must hold and two lay one.' 'Alas !' sayth this good wyfe, 'he is to stronge for you all. I would be loth, for my sake you should receaue harme at his hande.' 'feare you not,' *quoth* these stout women, 'let her not geue the watch word vntyl his hosen be about his legges. And I trowe we all wyllbe with him to bring before he shall haue leasure to plucke them vp againe.' They all with on voyce ag[r]ed to the matter, that the way she had deuised was the best : so this good wife repaired home ; but before she departed from her gossypes, she shewed them at what houre they should preuelye come in on *the* backsid, *and* where to tary their good our : so by *the* time she came in, it was all most night, and found the walking Morte still setting by the fyre, and declared to her all this new deuysed aboute sayd, which promised faythfully to full fyll to her small powre as much as they hadde deuysed : within a quarter of an our after, in cometh the good man, who said that he was about his cattell. "Why, what haue we here, wyfe, setting by the fyre? *and* yf she haue cate and dronke, send her into the barne to her lodging for this night, for she troubleth the house." "Euen as you wyll husbände," sayth his wyfe ; "you knowe she cometh once in two yeres into these [near 231] quarters. Awaye," sayth this good wyfe, "to your lodginge." "Yes, good dame," sayth she, "as fast as I can : " thus, by loking one² on the other, eche knewe others mynde, and so departed to her comely couche : the good man of the house shroodge hym for Ioye, thinking to hym selfe, I wyll make some pastyme with you anone. And calling to his wyfe for hys sopper, set

¹ B. inserts *a*² *non*. B.

him downe, and was very plesant, and dranke to his wyfe, *and* fell to his mammerings, and mounched a pace, nothing vnderstanding of the bancquet that¹ was a preparing for him after sopper, *and* according to the prouerbe, that swete meate wyll haue sowre sawce : thus, when he was well refreshed, his sprietes being reuyued, entred into familiare talke with his wife, of many matters, how well he had spent that daye to both there proffytes, sayinge some of his cattell² were lyke to haue bene drowned in the dyches, dryuinge others of his neyghbours cattell out that were in his pastures, *and* mending his fences that were broken downe. Thus profitably he had consumed the daye, nothinge talking of his helping out of the walkinge Morte out of the myre, nether of his request nor yet of her³ promisse. Thus feding her *with* frendly fantacyes, consumed two houres and more. Then fayninge howe hée would se in what case his horse were in and howe they were dressed, Repaired couertly into the barne, where as his fré[e]dye foes lyrked preuely, vnlesse it were this manerly Morte, that comly couched on a bottell of strawe. "What, are you come?" quoth she; "by the masse, I would not for a hundreth pound that my dame should knowe that you were here, eyther any els of your house." "No, I warrant the," sayth this good man, "they be all safe and fast ynough at their woorke, and I wylbe at mine anon." And laye downe by her, and strayght would haue had to do *with* her. "Nay, fye," sayth she, "I lyke not this order: if ye lye with me, you shall surely vntrus you *and* put downe your hosen, for that way is most easiest and best." "Sayest thou so?" quoth he, "now, by my trouth agreed." And when he had vntrussed him selfe and put downe, he began to assalt the vnsatiable⁴ fort "Why," quoth she, that was with out shame, sauinge for her promes, "And are you not ashamed?" "neuer a whyte," sayth he, "lye downe quickly." "Now, fye, for shame, fye," sayth shée a loude, whyche was the watche word. At the which word, these fyue furious, sturdy, muffled gossypes flynges oute, and takes sure holde of this be trayed parson, sone⁵ pluckinge his hosen downe lower, and byndinge the same fast about his féete;

¹ B. omits *that*² B. inserts *that*³ 1573 reads *his*⁴ B. reads *vnсанable*, or *vnsauable*⁵ 1573 reads *some*

then byndinge his handes, and knitting a hande charcher about his eyes, that he shoulde not see; and when they had made hym sure and fast, Then they layd him one vntyll they weare windles. "Be good," sayth this Morte, "vnto my maister, for the passion of God," [leaf 23, back] and layd on as fast as the rest, and styll ceased not to crye vpon them to bee mercyfull vnto hym, and yet layde on a pace; and when they had well beaten hym, that the bloud braste plentifullye oute in most places, they let hym lye styll bounde. With this exhortation, that he shoulde from that tyme forth knowe his wyfe from other mens, and that this punishment was but a flebyting in respect of that which should followe, yf he amended not his manners. Thus leuyng hym blustering, blowing, and fominge for payne, and malyncolye that hee neither might or coulde be reuenged of them, they vanyshed awaye, and hadde thys Morte with them, and safely conuayde her out of the towne: sone after commeth into the barne one of the good mans boyes, to fet some haye for his horse. And fyndinge his maister lyinge faste bounde and greuouslye beaten with rodes, was sodenly abashed and woulde haue runne out agayne to haue called for helpe; but his maister bed hym come vnto hym and vnbynd hym; "and make no wordes," quoth he, "of this. I wylbe reuenged well inoughe;" yet not with standinge, after better aduyse, the matter beinge vnhonest, he thought it meter to let the same passe, and, not, as the prouerbe saythe, to awake the sleping dogge. "And, by my trouth," quoth this walkinge Morte, "I come nowe from that place, and was neuer there sythens this parte was playde, whiche is some what more then a yere. And I here a very good reporte of hym now, that he loueth his wyfe well, and vseth hym selfe verye honestlye; and was not this a good acte? nowe, howe saye you?" "It was pretely handeled," quoth I, "and is here all?" "Yea," quoth she, "here is the ende."

¶ A DOXE. Cap. 20.

THESE Doxes be broken and spoyled of their maydenhead by the vpright men, and then they haue their name of Doxes, and not afore. And afterwarde she is commen and indifferent for any that wyl vse her, as *homo* is a commen name to all men. Such

as be fayre and some what handsome, kepe company with the walkinge Mortes, and are redye alwayes for the vpright men, and are cheifely mayntayned by them, for others shalbe spoyled for their sakes: the other, inferior, sort wyll resorte to noble mens places, and gentlemens houses, standing at the gate, eyther lurkinge on the backesyde about backe houses, eyther in hedge rowes, or some other thycket, expectinge their praye, which is for the vncomely company of some curteous gest, of whome they be refreshed with meate and some money, where eschaunge is made, ware for ware: this bread and meate they vse to carrye in their ^[leaf 24] greate hosen; so that these beastlye brybinge¹ bréeches serue manye tymes for bawdye purposes. I chaunced, not longe sithens, familiarly to commen with a Doxe that came to my gate, and surelye a pleasant harlot, and not so pleasant as wytty, and not so wytty as voyd of all grace and goodnes. I founde, by her talke, that shée hadde passed her tyme lewdlye eyghttene yeares in walkinge aboute. I thoughte this a necessary instrument to attayne some knowledge by; and before I woulde grope her mynde, I made her both to eate and drynke well; that done, I made her faythfull promise to geue her some money, yf she would open and dyscouer to me such questions as I woulde demaunde of her, and neuer to bée wraye her, neither to disclose her name. "And you shoulde," sayth she, "I were vndon:" "feare not that," quoth I; "but, I praye the," quoth I, "say nothing but trouth." "I wyll not," sayth shée. "Then, fyrste tell me," quoth I, "how many vpright men and Roges dost thou knowe, or hast thou knowne and byn conuersaunt with, and what their names be?" She paused a while, and sayd, "why do you aske me, or wherefore?" "For nothings els," as I sayde, "but that I woulde knowe them when they came to my gate." "Nowe, by my trouth" (quoth she) "then are yea neuer the neare, for all myne acquayntaunce, for the moste parte, are deade." "Dead!" quoth I, "howe dyed they, for wante of cherishinge, or of paynefull diseases?" Then she sighed, and sayde they were hanged. "What, all?" quoth I, "and so manye walke abroade, as I dayelye see?" "By my trouth," quoth she, "I

¹ *bryberinge. B.*

knowe not paste six or seuen by their names," and named the same to me. "When were they hanged?" quoth I. "Some seuen yeares a gone, some thrée yeares, and some *within* this fortnight," and declared the place where they weare executed, which I knewe well to bée true, by the report of others. "Why" (quoth I) "dyd not this sorrowfull and fearefull sight much greue the, and for thy tyme longe and euyll spent?" "I was sory," quoth shée, "by the Masse; for some of them were good louing men. For I lackt not when they had it, and they wanted not when I had it, and diuers of them I neuer dyd forsake, vntyll the Gallowes departed vs." "O, mercyfull God!" quoth I, and began to blesse me. "Why blesse ye?" quoth she. "Alas! good gentleman, euery one muste haue a lyuinge." Other matters I talked of; but this nowe maye suffice to shewe the Reader, as it weare in a glasse, the bolde beastly lyfe of these Doxes. For suche as hath gone anye tyme abroade, wyll neuer forsake their trade, to dye therefore. I haue hadde good profe thereof. There is one, a notorious harlot, of this affinitye, called Besse Bottomelye; she hath but one hande, and she hath murdered two children at the least.

[leaf 24, back]

¶ A DELL. Cap. 21.

A Dell is a yonge wenche, able for generation, and not yet knowen or broken by the vpright man. These go abroade yong, eyther by the death of their parentes, and no bodye to looke vnto them, or els by some sharpe mystres that they serue, do runne away out of seruice; eyther she is naturally borne one, and then she is a wyld Dell: these are broken verye yonge; when they haue béene lyen with all by the vpright man, then they be Doxes, and no Dels. These wylde dels, beinge traded vp with their monstrous mothers, must of necessytie be as euill, or worsse, then their parents, for neither we gather grapes from gréene bryars, neither fygs from Thystels. But such buds, such blossoms, such euyll sede sowen, wel worsse beinge growen.

¶ A KYNCHIN MORTE. Cap. 22.

A Kynching Morte is a lytle Gyrle: the Mortes their mothers carries them at their backes in their slates, whiche is their shetes, and bryngs them vp sauagely¹, tyll they growe to be rype, and soone rype, soone rotten.

¶ A KYNCHEN Co. Cap. 23.

A Kynchen Co is a young boye, traden vp to suche peuishe purposes as you haue harde of other young ympes before, that when he groweth vnto yeres, he is better to hang then to drawe forth.

¶ THEIR VSAGE IN THE NIGHT. Cap. 24.

NOW I thinke it not vnecessary to make the Reader vnderstand how and in what maner they lodge a nights in barnes or backe houses, and of their vsage there, for asmuch as I haue acquaynted them with their order and practises a day times. The arche and chiefe walkers that hath walked a long time, whose experience is great, because of their continuinge practise, I meane all Mortes and Doxes, for their handsomnes and diligence for making of their couches. The men neuer trouble them selues with *that* thing, but takes the same to be the dutye of *the* wyfe. And she shuffels vp a quayntitye of strawe or haye into some pretye carner of the barne [leaf 25] where she maye conuenientlye lye, and well shakethe the same, makinge the heade some what hye, and dryues the same vpon the sydes and fete lyke abed: then she layeth her wallet, or some other lytle pack of ragges or scrype vnder her heade in the strawe, to beare vp the same, and layethe her petycote or cloke vpon and ouer the strawe, so made lyke a bedde, and that serueth for the blancket. Then she layeth her slate, which is her sheete, vpon that; and she haue no shéete, as fewe of them goe without, then she spreddeth some large cloutes or rags ouer the same, and maketh her ready, and layeth her drouselye downe. Many wyll plucke of their smockes, and laye the same vpon them in stede of their vpper shéete, and all her other pelte and

¹ B. reads *safely*

trashe vpon her also ; and many lyeth in their smockes. And if the rest of her clothes in colde weather be not sufficient to kepe her warme, then she taketh strawe or haye to performe the matter. The other sorte, that haue not slates, but touble downe and couche a hogshead in their clothes, these bée styll lousye, and shall neuer be with out vermyn, vnlesse they put of theire clothes, and lye as is a boue sayde. If the vpright man come in where they lye, he hath his choyse, and crepeth in close by his Doxe: the Roge hath his leauings. If the Morts or Doxes lye or be lodged in some Farmers barne, and the dore be ether locked or made fast to them, then wyl not the vpright man presse to come in, Vnles it be in barnes and oute houses standinge alone, or some distance from houses, which be commonly knowne to them, As saint Quintens, thrée Cranes of the vintrey, Saynt Tybbes, and Knapsbery. These foure be with in one myle compasse neare vnto London. Then haue you iiij. more in Middlesex, drawe the pudding out of the fyre in Harrow on the hyll parish, the Crose Keyes in Cranford¹ parish, Saynt Iulyans in Thystell worth parish, the house of pyty in Northhall parysh. These are their chiefe houses neare about London, where commonly they resorte vnto for Lodginge, and maye repaire thether freelye at all tymes. Sometyme shall come in some Roge, some pyckinge knaue, a nymble Prygge ; he walketh in softly a nightes, when they be at their rest, and plucketh of as many garmentes as be ought worth that he maye come by, and worth money, and maye easely cary the same, and runneth a waye with the same with great seleritye, and maketh porte sale at some conuenient place of theirs, that some be soone ready in the morning, for want of their Casters *and* Togemans. Where in stéede of blessinge is cursing ; in place of praying, pestelent prating with odious othes *and* terrible threatninges. The vpright men haue geuen all these nycke names to the places aboue sayde. Y[e]t haue [leaf 25, back] we two notable places in Kent, not fare from London : the one is betwene Detforde and Rothered, called the Kynges barne, standing alone, that they haunt commonly ; the other is Ketbroke, standinge by blacke heath, halfe a myle from anye house. There wyl they boldlye drawe the lache of the doore, and

¹ 1573 reads *Crayford*.

go in when the good man with hys famly be at supper, and syt downe without leaue, and eate and drinke with them, and either lye in the hall by the fyre all night, or in *the* barne, if there be no rome in the house for them. If the doore be eyther bolted or lockt, if it be not opened vnto them when they wyl, they wyl breake the same open to his farther cost. And in this barne sometyme do lye xl. vpright men with their Doxes together at one time. And this must the poore Farmer suffer, or els they threaten him to burne him, and all that he hath.

THE NAMES OF THE VPRIGHT MEN, ROGES, AND PALLYARDS.

Here followeth the vnrule rablement of rascals, and the moste notorious and wyckedst walkers that are lyuinge nowe at this present, with their true names as they be called and knowne by. And although I set and place here but thre orders, yet, good Reader, vnderstand that all the others aboue named are deriued and come out from the vpright men and Roges. Concerning the number of Mortes and Doxes, it is superfluous to wryte of them. I could well haue don it, but the number of them is great, and woulde aske a large volume.

¶ UPRIGHT MEN.

A. ¹	D.	E.
Antony Heymer.	Dowzabell skylfull in	Edmund Dun, a sing-
Antony Iackeson.	fence.	ing man.
	Dauid Coke.	Edward Skinner, <i>alias</i>
B.	Dyke Glouer.	Ned Skinner.
Burfet.	Dyke Abrystowe.	Edward Browne.
Bryan medcalfe.	Dauid Edwardes.	F.
	Dauid Holand.	Follentine Hylles.
C.	Dauid Iones.	Fardinando angell.
Core the Cuckold.		Fraunces Dawghton.
Chrystouer Cooke.		

¹ The arrangement in Bodley ed. is not alphabetical.

G.	John Geoffrey.	K.
Gryffin.	John Goddard.	L.
Great Iohn Graye.	Iohn Graye the lytle.	Lennard Iust.
George Marrinar.	Iohn Graye the great.	Long Gréene.
George Hutchinson.	Iohn Wylliams the Longer.	Laurence Ladd.
H.	Iohn Horwood, a maker of wels; he wyll take halfe his bargayne in hand, <i>and</i> when hée hath wrought ii. or iii. daies, he runneth away with his earnest.	Laurence Marshall.
Hary Hylles, alias Harry godepar.		M.
Deaf 26] Harry Agglyn-tine.		N.
Harry Smyth, he driueleth when he speaketh.		Nicolas Wilson.
Harry Ionson.	Iohn Peter.	Ned Barington.
	Iohn Porter.	Ned Wetherdon.
I.	Iohn Appowes.	Ned holmes.
Iames Barnard.	Iohn Arter.	O.
Iohn Myllar.	Iohn Bates.	P.
Iohn Walchman.	Iohn Comes.	Phyllype Gréene.
Iohn Iones.	Iohn Chyles, <i>alias</i> great Chyles.	Q.
Iohn Teddar.	Iohn Leuet; he maketh tappes and fausets.	R.
Iohn Braye.	Iohn Louedall, a maister of fence.	Robert Grauenen.
Iohn Cutter.	Iohn Louedale.	Robert Gerse.
Iohn Bell.	Iohn Mekes.	Robert Kyng.
Iohn Stephens.	Iohn Appowell.	Robert Egerton.
Iohn Graye.	Iohn Chappell.	Robert Bell, brother to Iohn Bell.
Iohn Whyte.	Iohn Gryffen.	Robert Maple.
Iohn Rewe.	Iohn Mason.	Robert Langton.
Iohn Mores.	Iohn Humfrey, with the lame hand.	Robyn Bell.
Iohn a Farnando.	Iohn Stradling, with the shaking head.	Robyn Toppe.
Iohn Newman.	Iohn Franke.	Robert Brownsward, he werith his here long.
Iohn Wyn, <i>alias</i> Wylliams.	Iohn Baker.	Robert Curtes.
Iohn a Pycons.	Iohn Bascafeld.	Rychard Brymmysh.
Iohn Tomas.		Rychard Iustyce.
Iohn Arter.		Rychard Barton.
Iohn Palmer, <i>alias</i> Tod.		

Rychard Constance.	Thomas Graye, his toes	Wylliam Chamborne.
Rychard Thomas.	be gonne.	Wylliam Pannell.
Rychard Cadman.	Tom Bodel.	Wylliam Morgan.
Rychard Scategood.	Thomas Wast.	Wylliam Belson.
Rychard Apryce.	Thomas Dawson <i>alias</i>	Wylliam Ebes.
Rychard Walker.	Thomas Iacklin.	Wylliam Garret.
Rychard Coper.	Thomas Basset.	Wylliam Robynson.
	Thomas Marchant.	Wylliam Vmberuile.
S.	Thomas Web.	Wylliam Davids.
Steuen Neuuet.	Thomas Awefeld.	Wyll Pen.
	Thomas Gybbins.	Wylliam Iones.
T.	Thomas Lacon.	Wyll Powell.
Thomas Bulloke. [leaf	Thomas Bate.	Wylliam Clarke.
26, back]	Thomas Allen.	Water Wirall.
Thomas Cutter.	V.	Wylliam Browne.
Thomas Garret.	W.	Water Martyne. ¹
Thomas Newton.		Wylliam Grace.
Thomas Web.	Welarayd Richard.	Wylliam Pyckering.

ROGES.

A.	G.	Iohn Elson.
Arche Dowglas, a Scot.	George Belberby.	Iohn Raynoles, Irysh man.
B.	Goodman.	Iohn Harrys.
Blacke Dycke.	Gerard Gybbin, a coun- terfet Cranke.	Iames Monkaster, a counterfet Cranke.
C.	H.	Iohn Dewe.
D.	Hary Walles, with the lytle mouth.	Iohn Crew, with one arme.
Dycke Durram.	Humfrey ward.	Iohn Browne, great stamerar.
Dauid Dew neuuet, a counterfet Cranke.	Harry Mason.	
E.	I.	L.
Edward Ellys.	Iohn Warren.	Lytle Dycke.
Edward Anseley.	Iohn Donne, with one legge.	Lytle Robyn.
F.		Lambart Rose.

¹ Omitted in 1573 edit.

M.	sonder <i>with</i> his	Thomas Smith, <i>with</i>
More, burnt in the	téeth, and a bawdye	the skald skyn. ³
hand. ¹	[leaf 27] dronkard.	
N.	Richard Crane; he	W.
Nicholas Adames, a	carieth a Kynchne	Wylliam Carew.
great stamerar. ²	Co at his backe.	Wylliam wastfield.
Nycholas Crispyn.	Rychard Iones.	Wylson.
Nycholas Blunt <i>alias</i>	Raffe Ketley.	Wylliam Gynkes, with
Nycholas Gennings,	Robert Harrison.	a whyte bearde, a
a counterfet Cranke.	S.	lusty and stronge
Nycholas Lynch.	Simon Kynge.	man; he runneth
R.	T.	about the cuntrye
Rychard Brewton.	Thomas Paske.	to séeke worke, with
Rychard Horwod, well	³ Thomas Bere.	a byg boy, his sonne
nere lxxx. yeares	Thomas Shawnean,	caryng his toles as
olde; he wyll byte	Irish man.	a dawber or plays-
a vi. peny nayle a		terer, but lytle worke
		serueth him.

¶ PALLYARDS.

B.	Edward Lewes, a dum-	John Fysher.
Bashford.	merer.	John Dewe.
D.	H.	John Gylford, Irish,
Dycke Sehan Irish.	Hugh Iones.	<i>with</i> a counterfet
Dauid Powell.	I.	lisence.
Dauid Iones, a coun-	John Perse, ⁴ a counter-	L.
terfet Cranke.	fet Cranke.	Laurence with the
E.	John dauids.	great legge.
Edward Heyward, hath	John Harrison.	N.
his Morte following	John Carew.	Nycholas Newton, cari-
him, which fained	James Laue, with one	eth a fained lisence.
the Cranke.	eye, Irish.	Nicholas Decase.

¹ Omitted in 1573 ed.² Last three words omitted in 1573 ed.³ The 1573 ed. arranges those names in the following order :—

Thomas Béere.

Irish man.

Thomas Smith with the
skalde skin.

Thomas Shawneam.

⁴ The 1573 ed. reads *Persk*

P.	Richard Thomas.	Thomas Davids.
Prestoue.		Wylliam Thomas.
	S.	Wylliam Coper with t _e Harelyp.
R.	Soth gard.	Wyll Pettyt, beareth a Kinchen mort at his back.
Robert Lackley.	Swanders.	Wylliam Bowmer.
Robert Canloke.		
Richard Hylton, cary- eth ii. Kynchen mortes about him.	T. Thomas Edwards.	

There is aboute an hundreth of Irish men and women that wander about to begge for their lyuing, that hath come ouer within these two yeares. They saye the[y] haue béene burned and spoyled by the Earle of Desmond, and report well of the Earle of Vrmond.

¶ All these aboute wryten for the most part walke about Essex, Myddlessex, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent. Then let the reader iudge what number walkes in other Shieres, I feare me to great a number, if they be well vnderstande.

[leaf 27, back]

¹Here followyth their pelting speche.¹

Here I set before the good Reader the leud, lousey language of these lewtering Luskas and lasy Lorrels, where with they bye and sell the common people as they pas through the country. Whych language they terme Peddelars Frenche, a vnknownen tounge onely, but to these bold, beastly, bawdy Beggars, and vaine Vacabondes, being halfe myngled with Englyshe, when it is famylarlye talked, and fyrste placinge thinges by their proper names as an Introduction to this peuyshé spéeche.

Nab, a head.	a prating chete, a tounge.	quaromes, a body.
Nabchet, a hat or cap.	Crashing chetes, téeth.	prat, a buttocke.
Glasyers, eyes.	Hearing chetes, eares.	stamper, legges.
a smelling chete, a nose.	fambles, handes.	a caster, a cloke.
gan, a mouth.	a fambling chete, a ryng on thy hand.	a togeman, a cote.

B. omits.

commission, a shierte.	quier, — nought.	a prauncer, a horse.
drawers, hosen.	a gage, a quarte pot.	autem, a church.
stampers, shoos.	a skew, a cuppe.	Salomon, a alter or masse.
a mofling chete, a napkyn.	pannam, ¹ bread.	patrico, a priest.
a belly chete, an apern.	cassan, chéese.	nosegent, a Nunne.
dudes, clothes.	yaram, ² mylke.	a gybe, a wrytinge.
a lag of dudes, a bucke of clothes.	lap, butter milke or whey.	a Iarke, a seale.
a slate or slates, a shéete or shetes.	[leaf 28] pek, meate.	a ken, a house.
lybbege, a bed.	poppelars, porrage.	a staulinge ken, a house that wyll re- ceawe stolen ware.
bunge, a pursse.	ruff pek, baken.	a bousing ken, a ale house.
lowre, mony.	a grunting chete or a patricos kynchen,	a Lyppen, a house to lye in.
mynt, golde.	a pyg.	a Lybbege, a bedde.
a bord, a shylling.	a cakling chete, a cocke or capon.	glymmar, fyre.
halfe a borde, sixe pence.	a margery prater, a hen.	Rome bouse, wyne.
flagg, a groate.	a Roger or tyb of the buttery, a Goose.	lage, water.
a wyn, a penny.	a quakinge chete or a	a skypper, a barne.
a make, a halfe peny.	red shanke, a drake or ducke.	strommell, strawe.
bowse, drynke.	grannam, corne.	a gentry cofes ken, A noble or gentlemans house.
bene, good.	a lowhinge chete, a Cowe.	a gygger, a doore.
benshypp, very good.	a bletinge chete, a calfe or shépe.	

¹ The 1573 ed. reads *Yannam*² B. reads *yarum*. The 1573 ed. reads *Param*

buse,	the hygh pad, the hygh waye.	to towre, to sée.
the lightmans, the daye.	the ruffmans, the wodes or bushes.	to bowse, to drynke.
the darkemans, the nyght.	a smellinge chete, a garden or orchard.	to maunde, to aske or requyre.
Rome vyle, London.	crassinge chetes, apels, pearces, or anye other frute.	to stall, to make or ordaine.
dewse a vyle, the countrey.	to fylche, to beate, to stryke, to robbe. ²	to cante, to speake.
Rome mort, the Quene.	to nyp a bounge, to cut a pursse.	to myll a ken, to robbe a house.
a gentry cefe, a noble or gentleman.	To skower the cramp- rings, [leaf 28, back] to weare boltes or fetters.	to prygge, to ryde.
a gentry morte, Anoble or gentle woman.	to heue a bough, to robbe or rifle a boew- eth.	to dup the gyger, to open the doore.
the quyer cuffyn, ¹ the Iusticer of peace.	to cly the gerke, to be whypped.	to nygle, to haue to do with a woman carnally.
the harman beck, the Counstable.	to cutte benle, ³ to speake gently.	stow you, holde your peaco.
the harmans, the stockes.	to cutte bene whyddes, to speake or geue good wordes.	bynge a waste, go you hence.
Quyerkyn, a pryson house.	to cutte quyrewwhyddes, to geue euell wordes or euell language.	to the ruffian, to the deuell.
Quiet crampringes, boltes or fetters.	to cutte, to saye.	the ruffian cly the, the deuyll take thée.
tryninge, hanginge.		
chattes, the gallowes.		

¶ The vpright Cofe canteth to the Roge.⁴

The vpright man speaketh to the Roge.

VPRIGHTMAN.⁵

Bene Lightmans to thy quarromes, in what lipken hast thou
lypped in this darkemans, whether in a lybbege or in the strummell?

¹ *custyn.* B.² For these two lines printed in small type, the 1573 edition reads,
To fylche
to robbe³ *benie.* B.⁴ *Roger.* B.⁵ *man.* B.

God morrowe to thy body, in what house hast thou lyne in all night,
whether in a bed, or in the strawe?

ROGE.

I couched a hogshead in a Skypper this darkemans.
I layd¹ me downe to sléepe in a barne this night.

VPRIGHT MAN.²

I towre the strummel trine vpon thy nabchet³ *and* Togman.
I sée the strawe hang vpon thy cap and coate.

ROGE.

I saye by the Salomon I will lage it of with a gage of benebouse ;
then cut to my nose watch.

I sweare by the masse⁴, I wull washe it of with a quart of good drynke ;
[leaf 29]⁵ then saye to me what thou wylt.

MAN. Why, hast thou any lowre in thy bonge to bouse ?
Why, hast thou any money in thy purse to drinke ?

ROGE. But a flagge, a wyn, and a make.
But a grot, a penny, and a halfe penny.

MAN. Why, where is the kene that hath the bene bouse ?
where is the house that hath good drinke ?

ROGE. A bene mort hereby at the signe of the prauncer.
A good wyfe here by at the signe of the hors.

MAN. I cutt it is quyer buose, I bousd a flagge the laste dark
mans.
I saye it is small and naughtye drynke. I dranke a groate there
the last night.

ROGE. But bouse there a bord, *and* thou shalt haue beneship.
But drinke there a shyllinge, and thou shalt haue very good.

Tower ye yander is the kene, dup the gygger, and maund that is
bene shyp.

Se you, yonder is the house, open the doore, and aske for the best.

¹ *laye*. B.

² B. omits *vpright*.

³ *nabches*. B.

⁴ *masst*. B.

⁵ This leaf is supplied in MS. in Mr Huth's edition.

MAN. This bouse is as benshypp¹ as rome bouse.

This drinke is as good as wyne.

Now I tower that bene bouse makes nase naves.

Now I se that good drinke makes a dronken heade.

Maunde of this morte what bene pecke is in her ken.

Aske of this wyfe what good meate shee hath in her house.

ROGE. She hath a Cacling chete, a grunting chete, ruff Pecke,
cassan, and popplarr of yarum.

She hath a hen, a pyg, baken, chese and mylke porrage.

MAN. That is beneshyp to our watche.

That is very good for vs.

Now we haue well bousd, let vs strike some chete.

Nowe we haue well dronke, let us steale some thinge.

Yonder dwelleth a quyere cussen, it were beneship to myll hym.

Yonder dwelleth a hoggeshe and choyrlyshe man, it were very well donne
to robbe him.

ROGE. Nowe bynge we a waste to the hygh pad, the ruffmanes
is by.

Naye, let vs go hence to the hygh waye, the wodes is at hand.

MAN. So may we happen on the Harmanes, and cly the Iarke,
or to the quyerken and skower quyaer cramprings, and so to tryning
on the chates.

[leaf 29, back] So we maye chaunce to set in the stockes, eyther be whypped,
eyther had to prison house, and there be shackled with bolttes and fetters, and
then to hange on the gallowes.

Gerry gan, the ruffian clye thee.

A tords in thy mouth, the deuyll take thee.

MAN. What, stowe your bene, cofe, and cut benat whydds, and
byng we to rome vyle, to nyp a bong; so shall we haue lowre for the
bousing ken, and when we byng back to the deuseauyel, we wyll
fylche some duddes of the Ruffemans, or myll the ken for a lagge of
dudes.

What, holde your peace, good fellowe, and speake better wordes, and go
we to London, to cut a purse; then shal we haue money for the ale house, and

¹ *good* in the 1573 ed.

when wee come backe agayne into the country, wee wyll steale some linnen clothes of one¹ hedges, or robbe some house for a bucke of clothes.

¶ By this lytle ye maye holy and fully vnderstande their vntowarde talke and pelting speache, mynglede without measure; and as they haue begonne of late to deuyse some new termes for certien things, so wyll they in tyme alter this, and deuyse as euyll or worsse. This language nowe beinge knowen and spred abroade, yet one thinge more I wyll ad vnto, not meaninge to Englyshe the same, because I learned the same² of a shameles Doxe, but for the phrase of speche I set it forth onely.

There was a proude patrico and a nosegent, he tooke his Iockam in his famble, and a wappinge he went, he dokte the Dell, hee pryge to praunce, he byngd a waste into the darke mans, he fylcht the Cofe, with out any fylch man.

WHyle this second Impression was in printinge, it fortuneth that Nycholas Blunte, who called hym selfe Nycholan Gennyns, a counterefet Cranke, that is spoken of in this booke, was fonde begging in the whyte fryers on Newe yeares day last past, Anno domini .1567, and commytted vnto a offescer, who caried hym vnto the depetye of the ward, which commytted hym vnto the counter; *and* as the counstable and a nother would haue caried hym thether, This counterfet Cranke ran awaye, but one lyghter of fote then the other ouer toke hym, *and* so leading him to the counter, where he remayned three days, *and* from thence to Brydewell, where before the maister³ he had his dysgysed aparell put vpon hym, which was monstrous to beholde, And after stode in Chepesyde *with the same apparil on a scaffold.*⁴

A Stockes to staye sure, and safely detayne,
 Lasy lewd Leutterers, that lawes do offend,
 Impudent persons, thus punished with payne,
 Hardlye for all this, do meane to amende.

[leuf 30]

¹ The 1573 ed. has *some*

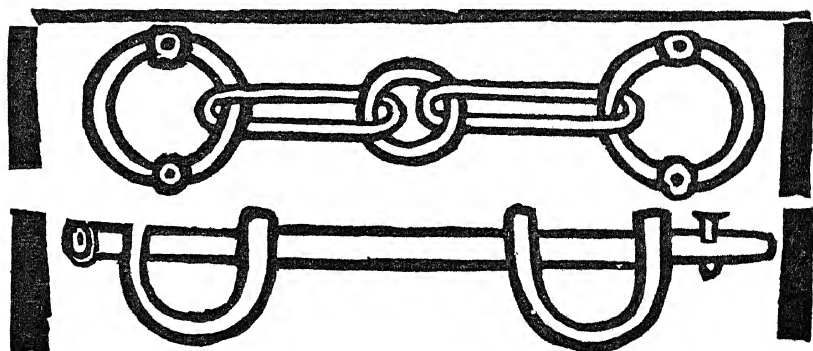
² Instead of "the same," the 1573 ed. reads *that*

³ *maisters*. B.

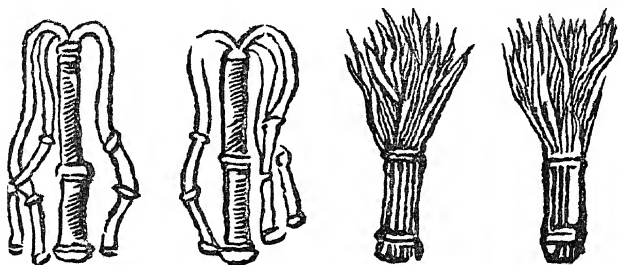
⁴ This paragraph is omitted in the ed. of 1573; but see note, *ante*, p. 56.



Fetters or shackles serue to make fast,
 Male malefactours, that on myschiefe do muse,
 Vntyll the learned lawes do quite or do cast,
 Such suttile searchers, as all euyll do vse.



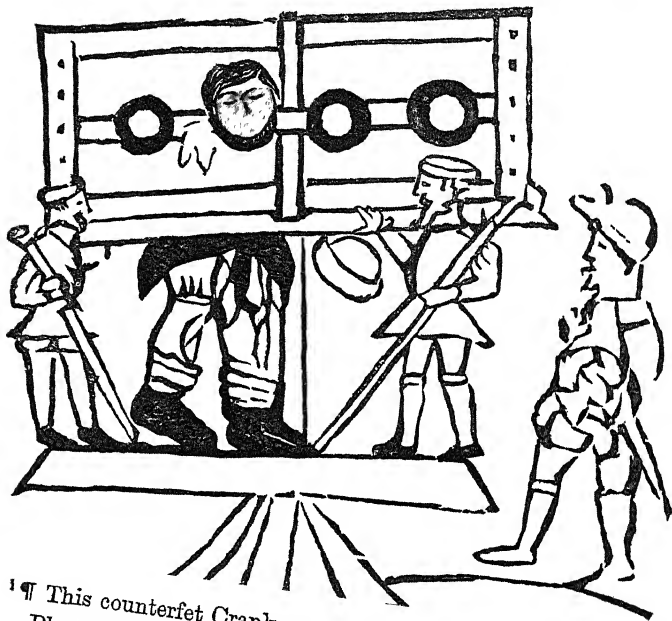
{ A whyp is a whysker, that wyll wrest out blood, [1f 30, bk]
 Of backe and of body, beaten right well.
 Of all the other it doth the most good,
 Experience techeth, and they can well tell.



¶ O dolefull daye ! nowe death draweth nere,
 Hys bytter styng doth pearce me to the harte.

HARMAN. THE COUNTERFET CRANKE.

I take my leaue of all that be here,
 Nowe piteously playing this tragicall parte.
 Neither stripes nor teachinges in tyme could conuert,
 wherefore an ensample let me to you be,
 And all that be present, nowe praye you for me.



¹ ¶ This counterfet Cranke, nowe vew and beholde,
 Placed in pyllory, as all maye well se :
 This was he, as you haue hard the tale tolde,
 before recorded with great suttlylte,
 Ibused manye with his inpiete,
 his lothsome attyre, in most vgly manner,
 was through London caried with dysplayd banner.²

¹ B. omits this stanza and has inserted the following lines under the cut.
 This is the figure of the counterfet Cranke, that is spoken of in this booke
 of Roges, called Nycholas Blunt other wyse Nycholas Gennyngs. His tale is
 in the xvii. lefe [pp. 55-6] of this booke, which doth shewe vnto all that reades
 it, woundrous suttell and crafty deseit donne of and by him.
² This verse is omitted in the edition of 1573; also the wood-cut
 preceding it.

Thus I conclude my bolde Beggars booke,
That all estates most playnely maye see,
As in a glasse well pollyshed to looke,
Their double demeaner in eche degree.
Their lyues, their language, their names as they be,
That with this warning their myndes may be warmed,
To amend their mysdeedes, and so lyue vnharmed.

FINIS.

¶ Imprinted at London, in Fletestrete, at the signe of the Faulcon
by Wylliam gryffith. Anno Domni. 1567.¹

¹ B. adds 'the eight of January'. (This would make the year 1568 according to the modern reckoning. Harman's 'New Yeares day last past, Anno domini 1567', p. 86, must also be 1567.)

A Sermon in Praise of Thiebes and Thieberg.

[*Lansdowne MS. 98, leaf 210.*]

A sermon made by Parson Haben vppon a mold hill at Hartely Row,¹ at the Comaundment of vij. theves, whoe, after they had robbed him, Comaunded him to Preache before them.

I Marvell that euerye man will seme to dispraise theverye, and thinke the doers thereof worthye of Death, when it is a thinge that Cometh nere vnto vertue, and is vsed of all men, of all sortes and in all countreyes, and soe comaunded and allowed of god himselve; which thinge, because I cannot see sapiently shewe vnto you a² see shorte a tyme and in see shorte a place, I shall desire you, gentle theves, to take in good parte this thinge that at this tyme Cometh to minde, not misdoubtinge but you of *your* good knowledge are able to ad more vnto the same then this which I at this tyme shall shewe vnto you. first, fortitude and stoutnes, Courage, and boldnes of stomacke, is Compted of some a vertue; which beinge graunted, Whoe is he then that will not Iudge theves vertuous, most stoute, most hardye? I most, withoute feare. As for stealinge, that is a thinge vsuall:—whoe stealeth not? ffor not only you that haue besett me, but many other in many places. Men, Woemen, and Children, Riche and poore, are dailie of that facultye, As the hange

¹ MS Rew. Hartley Row is on the South-Western road past Bagshot. The stretch of flat land there was the galloping place for coaches that had to make up time.

² *see*

A Sermon in Praise of Thiebes and Thiebery.

[MS. Cott. Vesp. A xxv. leaf 53.]

A sermon of parson Hyberdyne which he made att the commande-
mente of certen theves, after thay had Robbed hym, besydes
hartlerowe, in hamshyer, in the feldes, ther standinge vpon a
hyff where as a wynde myll had bene, in the presens of the
theves *that* robbed hym, as followithe:

the sermon as followethe

I greatly mervell *that* any man wyll presume to dysprase
theverie, *and* thynke the dooeres therof to be woorthy of deathe, con-
syderinge itt is a thyng that cumithe nere vnto vertue, beinge vsed
of many in all contries, And commendid *and* allowed of god hym
selfe; the which thinge, by-cause I cannot compendiously shew vnto
yow at soo shorte a warnyng *and* in soo sharpe a wether, I shaft
desyer yow, gentle audiens of theves, to take in good parte thes
thynges that at thys tyme cumythe to my mynde, not mysdowtyng
but *that* yow of yowre good knowledge are able to add much more
vnto ytt then this which I shaft nowe vtter vnto yow. ffyrst, forti-
tude, *and* stowtnes of corage, *and* also bowldnes of minde, is com-
mendyd of sume men to be a vertue; which, beinge grawnted, who
is yt then *that* wyll not iudge theves to be vertused? for thay be of
all men moste stowte *and* hardy, *and* moste withowte feare; for
thevery is a thyng moste vsuall emonge all men, for not only yow
that be here presente, but many other in dyuerse places, bothe men
and women *and* chyl dren, rytche and poore, are dayly of thys facultye,

man of Tiborne can testifye. That it is allowed of god himselfe, it is euident in many storyes of the Scriptures. And if you liste to looke in the whole Course of the bible, you shall finde that theues haue bin belovid of god. ffor Iacobe, when he Came oute of Mesopotomia, did steale his vncles lambes; the same Iacobe stale his brother Esawes blessing; and that god saide, "I haue chosen Iacob and refused Esawe." The Children of Isarell, when they came oute of Egippe, didd steale the Egippsians Iewells and ringes, and god comaunded the[m] soe to doe. David, in the dayes of Ahemelech the preiste, came into the temple and stole awaye the shewe bread; And yet god saide, "this is a man accordinge to myne owne harte." Alsoe Christe himsellfe, when he was here vppon earth, did take an asse, a Colte, which was none of his owne. And you knowe that god saide, "this is my nowne sone, in whome I delighte."

Thus maye you see that most of all god delighteth in theues. I marvell, therefore, that men can despise *your* lives, when that you are in all poynts almost like vnto Christe; for Christ had no dwelling place,—noe more haue you. Christe, therefore, at the laste, was laide waite for in all places,—and soe are you. Christe alsoe at the laste was called for,—and soe shall you be. He was condemned,—soe shall you be. Christe was hanged,—soe shall you be. He descended into hell,—so shall you. But in one pointe you differ. He assendid into heaven,—soe shall you never, without gods mercye, Which god graunte for his mercyes sake! Toe whome, with the sonne and the holye goste, be all honour and glory for euer and euer. Amen!

After this good sermon ended, which Edefied them soe muche, Theye hadd soe muche Compassion on him, That they gave him all his mony agayne, and vjjs more for his sermon.

as the hangman of tyboorne can testyfy: and that yt is allowed of god hym selfe, as it is euydente in many storayes of [the] scriptures; for yf yow looke in the hole cowrse of the byble, yow shall fynde that theves haue bene beloued of gode; for Iacobe, whan he came owte of Mesopotamia, dyd steale his vncle labanes kyddes; the same Iacobe also dyd steale his brothe[r] Esaues blessynge; *and* yett god sayde, "I haue chosen Iacobe *and* refused Esau." The chyldren of ysraell, whan they came owte of Egypte, dyd steale the egiptians iewelles of syluer and gowld, as god *commawnded* them soo to doo. Davyd, in the days of Abiather the hygh preste, did cume into the temple *and* dyd steale the hallowed breede; *and* yet god saide, "Dauid is a man euen after myne owne harte." Chryste hym selfe, whan he was here on the arthe, did take an asse *and* a cowlte *that* was none of hys; *and* yow knowe that god said of hym, "this is my beloued soone, in whome I delighte." thus yow may see that god delightithe in theves. but moste of all I marvell *that* men can dispyse yow theves, where as in all poyntes almoste yow be lyke vnto christe hym selfe: for chryste had noo dwellynge place; noo more haue yow. christe wente frome towne to towne; *and* soo doo yow. christe was hated of all men, sauynge of his freendes; *and* soo are yow. christe was laid waite vpon in many places; *and* soo are yow. chryste at the lengthe was cawght; *and* soo shall yow bee. he was browght before the iudges; *and* soo shall yow bee. he was accused; *and* soo shall yow bee. he was condempned; *and* soo shall yow bee. he was hanged; *and* so shall yow bee. he wente downe into hell; *and* soo shall yow dooe. mary! in this one thyng yow dyffer frome hym, for he rose agayne *and* assendid into heauen; *and* soo shall yow neuer dooe, *withowte* godes greate mercy, which gode grawnte yow! to whome *with* the father, *and* the soone, *and* the hooly ghoste, bee all honore and glorye, for euer *and* euer. Amen!

Thus his sermon beinge endyd, they gaue hym his money agayne that thay tooke frome hym, *and* ij^s to drynke for hys sermon.

finis.

[The parts added to HARMAN'S CAUEAT to make]

THE

Groundworke of Conny-catching;
the manner of their Pedlers-French, and the meanes
to vnderstand the same, with the cunning slightes
of the Counterfeit Cranke.

Therein are handled the practises of the *Visiter*,
the *Fetches*
of the *Shifter* and *Rufflar*, the *deceits* of their *Doxes*, the *deuises*
of *Priggers*, the names of the base loytering *Wozels*, and
the meanes of euery *Blacke-Art-mans* shifts, with
the reproofe of all their diuellish
practises.

Done by a Justice of Peace of great authoritie, who
had the examining of diuers of them.



Printed at London by Iohn Danter for William Barley, and are to
be sold at his shop at the hyper end of Gracious streete,
ouer against Treden-hall, 1592.

[leaf 2]

To the gentle Readers health.

Gentle reader, as there hath beene diuers bookes set forth, as warnings for all men to shun the craftie coossening sleights of these both men and women that haue tearmed themselues Conny-catchers ; so amongst the rest, bestow the reading ouer of this booke, wherin thou shalt find the ground-worke of Conny-catching, with the manner of their canting speech, how they call all things in their language, the horrible coossening of all these loose varlots, and the names of them in their souerall degrees,

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>First, The Visiter.</i> | 12. <i>A Dommerar.</i> |
| 2. <i>The Shifter.</i> | 13. <i>A Dronken Tinkar.</i> |
| 3. <i>The Rufflar.</i> | 14. <i>A Swadder, or Pedler.</i> |
| 4. <i>The Rogue.</i> | 15. <i>A Iarkeman & Patrico.</i> |
| 5. <i>The wild Rogue.</i> | 16. <i>A demander for glimmar.</i> |
| 6. <i>A prigger of Prauncers.</i> | 17. <i>The baudy Basket.</i> |
| 7. <i>A Pallyard.</i> | 18. <i>An Autem Mort.</i> |
| 8. <i>A Frater.</i> | 19. <i>A walking Mort.</i> |
| 9. <i>An Abraham man.</i> | 20. <i>A Doxe.</i> |
| 10. <i>A freshwater Marriner, or</i> | 21. <i>A Dell.</i> |
| <i>Whipiacke.</i> | 22. <i>Kinchin Mort.</i> |
| 11. <i>A counterfuit Cranke.</i> | 23. <i>A Kinchin Co.</i> |

All these playing their coossenings in their kinde are here set downe, which neuer yet were disclosed in anie booke of Conny-catching.

[leaf 2, back] A new kind of shifting sleight, practised at this day by
some of this Cony-catching crue, in Innes or vittualling
houses, but especially in Faires or Markets,
 which came to my hands since the im-
 printing of the rest.

Whereas of late diuers coossening deuises and deuilish deceites haue beene discouered, wherby great inconueniences haue beene eschewed, which otherwise might haue beene the vtter ouerthrowe of diuers honest men of all degrees, I thought this, amongst the rest, not the least worthie of noting, especially of those that trade to Faires and Markets, that therby being warned, they may likewise be armed, both to see the deceit, and shun the daunger. These shifters will come vnto an Inne or vittailing house, that is most vsed in the towne, and walke vp and downe; and if there come any gentleman or other, to lay vp either cloke, sword, or any other thing woorth the hauing, then one of this crue taketh the marks of the thing, or at least the token the partie giueth them: anone, after he is gone, he likewise goeth forth, and with a great countenance commeth in againe to the mayde or seruant, calling for what another left: if they doubt to deliuer it, then hee frets, and calles them at his pleasure, and tels them the markes and tokens: hauing thus done, hee blames their forgetfulnes, and giues them a couple of pence to buy them pinnes, bidding them fetch it straight, and know him better the next time, wherewith they are pleasd, and he possest of his pray. Thus one gotte a bagge of Cheese the last Sturbridge Faire; for in such places (as a reclaimd fellow of that crue confessed) they make an ordinary practise of the same.

[*The Pedler's French* follows, taken word for word from Harman's book, p. 82-7 above.]

[leaf 5]

THE VISITER.

An honest youth, not many yeares since, seruant in this City, had leaue of his master at whitsontide to see his friends, who dwelt some fifty miles from London. It hapned at a Country wake, his mother and hee came acquainted with a precise scholler, that, vnder colour of strickt life, hath bin reputed for that hee is not: hee is well

known in Paules Churchyard, and hath beene lately a visiting in Essex; for so he presumes to tearme his cosening walks: and therefore wee will call him here a Visiter. This honest seeming man must needes (sith his iourney lay to London) stay at the yong mans mothers all the holy daies: where as on his desert hee was kindly vsed; at length, the young man, hauing receiued his mother's blessing, with other his friendes giftes, amounting to some ten poundes, was to this hypocrite as to a faithful guide committed, and toward London they ride: by the way this Visiter discourses how excellent insight he had in Magick, to recouer by Art anything lost or stolne. Well, to sant Albons they reach; there they sup together, and, after the carousing of some quarts of wine, they go to bed, where they kindly sleepe,—the Visiter slily, but the young man soundly. Short tale to make—out of his bed-fellow's sleeue this Visiter conuaid his twenty Angels, besides some other od siluer, hid it closely, and so fell to his rest. Morning comes—vp gets this couple—immediately the money was mist, much adoo was made; the Chamberlaine with sundry other seruants examined; and so hot the contention, that the good man, for the discharge of his house, was sending for a Constable to haue them both first searcht, his seruants Chests after. In the meane time the Visiter cals the yong man aside, and bids him neuer grieue, but take horse; and he warrants him, ere they be three miles out of towne, to helpe him to his money by Art, saying:—"In these Innes ye see how we shall be out-faced, and, beeing vnknowne, how euer we be wrongd, get little remedy." The yong man, in good hope, desired him to pay the reckoning, which done, together they ride. Being some two miles from the towne, they ride out of the ordinary way: there he tels this youth how vnwilling hee was to enter into the action, but that it was lost in his company, and so forth. Well, a Circle was made, wondrous words were vsed, many muttrings made: at length hee cries out,—“vnder a greene turfe, by the East side of an Oake; goe thither, goe thither.” This thrice he cryed so ragingly, as the yuong man gest him mad, and was with feare almost beside himself. At length, pausing, quoth this Visiter, “heard ye nothing cry?” “Cry!” said the yong man, “yes; [leaf 5, back] you cride so as, for twise ten pound, I would not heare ye

again." "Then," quoth he, "'tis all well, if ye remember the words." The yong man repeated them. With that this shifter said, "Go to the furthest Oke in the high-way towards S. Albons, and vnder a greene turfe, on the hither side, lyes your mony, and a note of his name that stole it. Hence I cannot stirre till you returne; neyther may either of our horses be vntide for that time: runne yee must not, but keepe an ordinary pace." Away goes the yong man gingerly; and, being out of sight, this copesmate takes his cloke-bag, wherein was a faire sute of apparel, and, setting spurres to his horse, was, ere the Nouice returned, ridde cleane out of his view. The yong man, seeing himselfe so coossened, made patience his best remedie, tooke his horse, and came to London, where yet it was neuer his lucke to meet this visiter.

A SHIFTER.

A Shifter, not long since, going ordinarily booted, got leaue of a Carrier to ride on his owne hackney a little way from London, who, comming to the Inne where the Carier that night should lodge, honestly set vp the horse, and entred the hal, where were at one table some three and thirty clothiers, all returning to their seuerall countries. Vsing, as he could, his curtesie, and being Gentleman-like attirde, he was at all their instance placed at the vpper end by the hostesse. After hee had a while eaten, he fel to discourse with such pleasance, that all the table were greatly delighted therewith. In the midst of supper enters a noise of musitions, who with their instruments added a double delight. For them hee requested his hostesse to laye a shoulder of mutton and a couple of capons to the fire, for which he would pay, *and* then mooued in their behalfe to gather. Among them a noble was made, which he fingring, was well blest; for before he had not a crosse, yet he promist to make it vp an angel. To be short, in comes the reckoning, which (by reason of the fine fare *and* excesse of wine) amounted to each mans halfe crown. Then hee requested his hostesse to prouide so many possets of sacke, as would furnish the table, which he would bestow on the Gentlemen to requite their extraordinary costs: *and* iestingly askt if she would

make him her deputie to gather the reckoning ; she graunted, and he did so : and on a sodaine, (faining to hasten his hostesse with the possets) he tooke his cloke, and, finding fit time, hee slipt out of doores, leauing the gwestes and their hostesse to a new reckoning, *and* the musitians to a good supper, but they paid for the sauce. This iest some vntruly attribute to a man of excellent parts about London, but he is slandered : the party that performed it hath scarce any good qualitie to liue. Of these sort I could set downe a great number, but I leaue you now vnto those which by Maister Harman are discouered.

[Then follows Harman's book, commencing with a Ruffelar, p. 29. The woodcut of Nicolas Blunt and Nicolas Geninges (p. 50, above) is given, and another one representing the Cranke after he was stripped and washed. The volume ends with the chapter "Their vsage in the night," p. 76-8 above,—the woodcuts and verses at the end of Harman's book being omitted in the present *Groundworke of Conny-catching*. The last words in the latter are, "And this must the poore Farmer suffer, or els they threaten to burne him, and all that he hath."]

INDEX.

- Abraham men, those who feign
 madness, 3; one of them, named
 Stradlynge, 'the craftiest and moste
 dyssemblyngest knaue,' 47
 Altham, a curtall's wife, 4
 Arsenick, to make sores with, 44
 associate, accompany, 53
 Autem, a church, 67, 83
 ——— Mortes, description of, 67;
 as chaste as Harman's 'Cowe,' 67
 Awdeley, Iohn, a printer, 1
 Awdeley's *Vacabondes*; Har-
 man's references to, 20, 60
 Axiltrye, casting of the, 46

 baken, bacon, 3
 baudy banquet, whoring, 63
 bauer, ? band, 52
 Bawd Phisicke, a cook, 14
 Bawdy baskets, description of, 65;
 a story of one who, with an upright
 man, spoiled a poor beggar of his
 money, 66
 beggar by inheritance, 42
 belly chere, food, 32
 belly chete, an apron, 83
 benat, better, 86
 bene, good, 83
 bene bowse, good drink, 59
 beneship, very well, 86
 benshype, very good, 83, 86
 beray, dung, 13; dirty, 52
 beteled, ? (*betelled* is deceived), 67
 Bethlem Hospital, 52, 53
 Blackheath, 77
 bletinge chete, a calf or sheep, 83
 Blunt, Nicolas, an upright man,
 50, 87
 bong, purse, 84, 86
 booget, a bag, 59
 bord, a shilling, 83
 , half a, sixpence, 83
 borsholders, 21, *n.*, superior con-
 stables. See Halliwell's *Glossary*.
 bottell, bundle, truss, 72
 Bottomelye, Besse, a harlot, 75
 bousing ken, an ale-house, 83
 bowle, drink bowls of liquor, 32
 bowse, drink, 32, 83; *v.* to drink,
 84
 braste, burst, 73
 Bridewell, 57, 87
 broused, bruised, 29
 bryberinge, stealing, 60
 Buckes, baskets, 21
 Buckingham, Duke of, beheaded,
 22
 bufe, a dog, 84
 bung, a purse, 83, 84, 86

- buskill, ?bustle, wriggle, 15
 bychery, 67
 bycherye, whoring, 61
 byd, pray, 15
 byng a waste, go you hence, 84

 cakling chete, a cock, or capon, 83
 can skyl, know, 8
 cante, to speak, 84
 Canting, the language of vagabonds, 23; list of words, 82-4; specimen of, 84-6
 Capcases, covers for caps, small bandboxes, 65
 Capon hardy, 12. For 'capron hardy,' 'a notable whipster or twigger,' a bold or saucy young scamp. (See the Index to Caxton's *Book of Curtesye*, E. E. T. Soc., p. 54.)
 cassan, cheese, 83
 caster, a cloak, 82
 casting of the sledge, 46
 Caucat, a warning, 17
 Chafe litter, the knave, described, 13
 chafer, heating dish, 59
 Charing Cross, 58
 chattes, the gallows, 84, 86
 Chayne, a gentleman, 58
 Cheapside, 57, 87
 Cheatours, card-sharpers enticing young men to their hosteries, win their money and depart, 7
 cheeke by cheeke (now 'by jowl'), 12
 chete, animal, 83, col. 2, foot
 chetes, things, 42
 Choplogyke, description of, 15
 Christ, like a thief, 94, 95
 Christes Hospital, 8
 Clapperdogens, 44. See Palliards.
 Clement's Inn, 53
 clocke, a cloak, 55
 clyme three tres with a ladder, to ascend the gallows, 31
 cly the gerke, to be whipped, 84
 Cole, false, 15. (See Mr R. Morris in *Notes and Queries*, Oct., 1869, on *Colfox*, &c.)
 Cole Prophet, description of, 15
 commission, a shirt, 83
 Commitour of Tidings, a tell-tale, 14
 common, commune, 45
 conneys, rabbits, 35
 conneyskins, rabbitskins, 65
 connizance, cognizance, 35
 Cornwall, 48
 Cory fauell, a knave, described, 16
 couch a hogshead, lie down and sleep, 77, 84
 Counterfet Crankes, description of, 51; story of one that Harman watched, 51; how he was dressed, 51; his refusal to wash when bidden, 52; gives the name of Genings, 52; said he had been in Bethlehem Hospital, 52, which Harman found to be a lie, 53; in the middle of the day he goes into the fields and renews the blood on his face, 53; what money he received, 53; at night he goes to Newington, where he is given in charge, 54; the amount of his gains, 55; his escape, 55; his recapture, 56, *n.*; his punishment, 57, *n.*
 Cousoners, cheaters, 1
 Crashing chetes, teeth, 82
 crassing chetes, apples, pears, or any other fruit, 84
 Cross Keys Inn in Cranford (Middlesex) or Crayford (Kent), 77
 cussen, fellow, 86. See Quyer.
 Cursetors, 17; explanation of, 27

- Curtal, 37
 Curtall, one who is next in authority to an upright man, 4
 Curtesy man, described, 6
 cutte, to say, 84
 cutte bene whyddes, speak or give good words, 84
 cutte benle, speak gently, 84
 cutte quyre whyddes, give evil words or evil language, 84

 darkemans, night, 84
 Dartford, 58
 David, a thief, 94, 95
 ded lyft, a ; last refuge, 34
 Dells, rogues' virgins, described, 75
 Demaunder for glymmar, description of, 61 ; story of one who behaved courteously to one man and uncourtously to another, 61—65
 Deptford, 77
 Desmond, Earl of, 82
 Devil's Pater noster, 15
 Devonshire, 48
 dewse a vyle, the country, 84, 86
 Dialogue, between upright man and rogue, 84—87
 dokte, fornicated with, 87
 Dommerar, description of, 57 ; of one who was made to speak, and afterwards punished on the pillory, 58, 59
 doson, dozen, 34
 Doxes, description of, 4, 6, 73
 Draw-the-pudding-out-of-the-fire ; a beggars' inn at Harrow-on-the-Hill, 77
 drawers, hosen, 83
 Drawlatches, a class of beggars, 27
 Dronken Tinckar, description of, 59
 drouselye, drowsily, 76

 dudes, cloths, 83
 dup the gyger, open the door, 84
 Dyng-thrift, description of, 15

 Egyptians, description of, 23
 Esau, a thief, 94, 95
 Esaye, Isaiah, 24
 Esen Droppers, eaves-droppers, 15
 exonerate, empty (one's belly), 55

 factors, tax-gatherers, 45
 fambles, hands, 82 ; famble, 87
 fambling chete, ring on the hand, 82
 Faytores, a class of beggars, 27
 ferres, 35, ferries
 Filtchman, the truncheon of a staff, 4
 Fingerers, 7—9. *See* Cheatours.
 for knowing ; against, to prevent, being recognized, 71
 flagg, a groat, 83, 85
 flebytinge, 73
 fletinge Fellowship, the company of vagabonds, 24
 Frater, one who goes with a licence to beg for some Spittlehouse or Hospital, but who usually robs poor women, 4 ; description of, 45
 Freshwater Mariner, description of, 48
 Furmenty, 22
 fustian fume, 46
 fylche, to beat, to rob, 84
 fylthy firy flankard, 29
 fynesed, finished, 70
 Fyngerer, 8, 9

 gage, a quart pot, 83
 — of bowse, a quart of drink, 34
 gally slopes, breeches, 35
 gan, a mouth, 82

- gealy gealowsit, good fellowship, 55
- gentry cofes ken, a noble or gentleman's house, 83
- gentry morte, a noble or gentlewoman, 84
- Genynges, Nicolas, a counterfeit cranke, 50, 87
- gestes, guests, 61
- Glasyers, eyes, 82
- glimmeringe morte, a woman who travels the country begging, saying her goods have been burnt, 61
- glymmar, fire, 61, 83
- grannam, corn, 83
- Grauesend barge, a resort of vagabonds and knaves, 1
- graunt, agree, 53
- greffe, grief, 55
- Grene Winchard, description of a, 14
- Groundworke of Conny-catching*, 97
- grunting chete, or patricos kynch-en, a pig, 83
- Gryffith, Wylliam, a printer, 17
- Gybe, a licence, 4; a writing, 83
- gygger, a door, 83, 85
- Gyle Hather, description of, 14
- gyllot, a whore, 71
- Haben, a witty parson, 92
- hande charcher, handkerchief, 72
- Harman beck, constable, 84
- Harman, Thomas, his *Caveat*, 17-91; epistle to the reader, 27; his old tenant, 30; his copper cauldron stolen, 35; recovered, 35; notice to tinkers of the loss of his cauldron, 35; his gelding stolen, 44; in commission of the peace, 60; paid for beggars' secrets, 74
- Harmans, the stocks, 84
- Harrow-on-the-Hill, inn at, 77
- Hartley Row in Hampshire, 92, 93
- Hearing chetes, ears, 82
- heaving of the bowth, robbing the booth, 4
- Helpers of rogues, 9
- Helycon, 28
- heue a bough, rob a booth, 84
- Hill's, Mr, Rents, 57
- him* redundant: leapes him, 43, l. 24
- Hoker, or Angglear, description of, 35; anecdote of one who took the clothes of the bed in which 3 men were sleeping, without awaking them, 36
- Holborn, 54
- hollowe hosteler, 63
- horse locke, 39
- hosen, breeches, 71, 72
- hosted, lodged, 57, n.
- hosteries, card-sharpers' resorts, 9
- House of Pity, inn in Northall, 77
- hoysed, hoisted, 20
- huggeringe, loitering, 43
- Hyberdyne, a parson, 93
- hygh, hie, 33
- hygh pad, highway, 84
- Jacob, a thief, 94, 95
- Iarckeman, a maker of counterfeit licences, 5, 60
- Iarckes, seals, 4
- Iarke, a seal, 83
- ich, I, 8
- Jeffrey Gods Fo, a liar, 13
- Ingratus, an ungrateful knave, 16
- in printe, meaning 'correct,' 45
- Iockam, yard, penis, 87
- iompe, jump, plump, exactly, 44

- Irishe toyle, a beggar, 5
 Irish rogues, 44, 48
 Isleworth (Thystellworth), St Julian's, a beggars' inn at, 77
 Iusticers, Justices, 21

 Karle, a knave, 8
 ken, a house, 83, 84, 86
 Kent, a man of worship in, death of, 22
 Kent, mentioned, 37, 43, 48, 61, 63, 66, 68, 77
 Kent St, Southwark, 57
 Ketbroke, a beggars' inn, near Blackheath, 77
 kinde, nature, 52
 Kitchen Co, a boy, 5, 76
 ——— Morte, a girl, 5, 76
 Knapsbery (inn near London), 77
 Knaues, 25 orders of, 1
 ———, quartern of, 1
 Kynges barne, beggars' inn in Kent, 77

 lage, water, 83
 lag of dudes, a bucke of clothes, 83
 lap, butter, milk, or whey, 83
 lasy Lorrels, 82
 lecherous husband cured, 68-73
 Leicester, 56
 lewed lecherous loyteringe, 31
 lewtering Luskas, 82
 licoryce knaue, a drunkard, 13
 lightmans, day, 84
 (Lincoln's Inn) Fields, 53
 London, 30, 42, 49
 lousey leuterars, vagabonds, 22
 lowhinge chete, a cow, 83
 lowre, money, 83, 85, 86
 Lubbares, lubbers, 47

 luckily, lucky, 19
 Ludgate, 57
 lybbege, a bed, 83
 lybbet, a stick, 26
 lykinge, lustful, 21
 Lynx eyes, 54. (See Index to Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience*.)
 Lypken, a house to lie in, 83

 make, halfpenny, 83
 make (think) it strange, 41
 makes, mates, 23
 mammerings, mumblings, 72
 manerly marian, 62
 margery prater, a hen, 83
 Mariner, one at Portsmouth the maker of counterfeit licences for Freshwater mariners, 49
 matche of wrastlinge, 46
 maunde, ask or require, 84, 85
 Messenger, Ione, an honest bawdy basket, 65
 Milling of the ken, sending children into houses to rob, 67
 mofling chete, a napkin, 83
 mounched, eat, 72
 mounch-present, one who, being sent by his master with a present, must taste of it himself, 14
 myll a ken, rob a house, 84
 mynt, gold, 83

 Nab, a head, 82, 86
 Nabchet, a hat or cap, 82
 nase, drunken, 86
 Newhaven, 67
 Newington, 54, 56
 Nichol Hartles, a coward, 13
 Northall, beggars' inn at, 77
 nosegent, a nun, 83
 nouels, news, 14
 Nunquam, a loitering servant, 16

- nygle, haue to do with a woman carnally, 84
 nyp a bounge, to cut a purse, 84
 Obloquium, a malapert knave, 13
 occupying, holding of land, 38
 of, off, 39
 oysters of East Kent, 68
 Palliards, description of, 4, 44; doings of, 44; list of names of, 81, 82
 pannam, bread, 83
 Param, milk, 83, *n.*
 patrico, a priest, 6, 60
 paulmistris, fortune-telling, 23
 peecke, meat, 86
 peddelars Frenche. *See* Canting.
 pek, meat, 83
 peld pate, head uncovered, 34
 pelte, clothes, 76
 peltinge, ? paltry, contemptible, 20
 Penner, a pen-case, 54
 pens, pence, 55
 pickthanke knaue, 14
 pillory in Cheapside, 57
 pitching of the barre, 46
 pity: it pytied him at the hart, 41
 poppelars, porridge, 83
 porte sale, ? quick sale, 77
 Portsmouth, 49
 Poules, St Paul's, 8
 prat, a buttocke, 82
 prating knaue, 15
 pratling chete, a tongue, 82
 prauncer, a horse, 83
 Prigger of Paulfreys, a stealer of horses, 4
 Proctour, a liar, 14; a keeper of a spittlehouse, 45
 PROVERBS :
 although Truth be blamed, it shall never be shamed, 28
 as the begger knowes his dishe, 32
 don't wake the sleeping dog, 73
 God hath done his part, 48
 out of sight, out of minde, 32
 swete meate wyll haue sowre sawce, 72
 prygge, to ride, 84
 Prygger of Prauncers, description of, 42; a story of a gentleman who lost his horse by giving it in charge for a short time to a 'priggar,' 43
 Prygges, tinkers, 59
 Prygman, one who steals clothes off hedges, and a robber of poultry, 3
 quakinge chete, or red shanke, a drake or duck, 83
 quaromes, a body, 82
 Queen Elizabeth, 21
 quier, nought, 83
 Quier crampringes, bolts or fetters, 84, 86
 Quire bird, one lately come out of prison, 4
 quyver cuffyn, justice of the peace, 84, 86
 Quyerkyn, prison house, 84, 86
 rabblement, 19
 rakehelles, 19
 Ratsbane, 44
 rechles, reckless, 15
 rufflinge, 32
 Rince pytcher, a drunkard, 13
 Ring chopper, description of, 11
 — faller, description of, 10
 Robardesmen, robbers, 27. *See* William of Nassington's description of them quoted in *Notes & Queries* by F. J. F., 1869; and *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, ed. Wright, ii. 506, 521.

- Robin goodfellow, 36
 Rochester, 66
 Rogeman, a receiver of stolen clothes, 3
 Roger, or tyb of the buttry, a goose, 83
 Roges, description of, 36; subject to beastly diseases, 37; list of names of, 80, 81
 Rogues, a story of two, who made the acquaintance of a parson at an ale-house, and afterwards went to his house and robbed him, 37
 Rome bouse, wine, 83
 Rome mort, the Queen, 84
 Rome vyle, London, 84
 Rothered in Kent, 77
 rowsey, ?rough, or frowzy, 19
 Royal Exchange, 8
 roylunge, travelling, 31
 ruffe, rough, 33
 Ruffeler, a robber of 'wayfaring men and market women,' 3, 29; a story of one who robbed an old man, a tenant of Harman's, on Blackheath, 30
 ruffian cly the, devil take thee, 84
 ruffian, to the, 84, to the devil
 ruffmans, woods or bushes, 84
 ruff pek, bacon, 83
 ruysting, roystering, 32

 Salomon, an altar, or mass, 83
 sawght, sought, 62
 Saynt Augustyn, 24
 scelorous, wicked, 30
 sewerly, surely, 50
 Shifters, 1
 shotars hyl, Shooter's Hill, 30
 Shreeues, sheriffs, 21
 Shrewd turne, ?sharp handling, hard usage, 15
 Shrewsbury, Elizabeth Countess of, Harman's dedication to, 19
 shrodge, shrugged, hugged, 71
 Simon soone agon, a loitering knave, 13
 skew, a cup, 83
 Skoller, a waterman (and his boat), 54
 skower the cramprings, wear bolts or fetters, 84
 skypper, a barn, 83
 slates, sheets to lie in, 61, 76, 77, 83
 small breefe, old briefe of vacabonds, meaning Awdeley's book, 20
 smell feastes, 46
 smelling chete, a nose, 82; a garden or orchard, 84
 snowte fayre, fair-faced, 61
 sod, boiled, 22
 Somerssetshire, 61
 soup, chewed, to produce foaming at the mouth, 51
 Spanlles, spaniel-dogs, 33
 Spearwort, 44
 Spice-cakes, 12
 spitlehouse, 45; row in a, 45; the constable wants to take in custody the roysterers, 46; the good wife of the house intreats him for her guests, and while so doing the next door neighbours enter the kitchen, and steal the supper that she was preparing, 46
 squaymysh, squeamish, 55
 St. George's Fields, 54
 St. Giles's in the Fields, 54
 St. Julian's (inn in Thystellworth; Isleworth), 77
 St. Quinten's (inn near London), 77
 St. Tybbe's (inn near London), 77
 stall, to make or ordain, 84

- stalling to the rogue, ceremony of, 34
 stampers, shoes, 83
 stampes, legs, 82
 Statutes, i. Edw. VI. c. iii, p. 20, *n.*; xxvii. Hen. VIII. for punishment of vagabonds, 29
 staulinge ken, a house that will receive stolen wares, 32, 83
 stibber gibber knaue, a liar, 14
 stow you, hold your peace, 84
 Stradlynge, an Abraham man, 47
 strommell, straw, 83
 Sturton, Lord, 48
 summer-games, 47
 surgeon, who strung up the dumb rogue, 58-9
 Swadders and Pedlers, description of, 60
 Wygman, a pedlar, 5

 tempering, tampering, 70
 Temple Bar, 53
 'Thank God of all,' 67 (cp. Shakspeare's 'Thank God you are rid of a knave.' *Much Ado*, iii. 3.)
 the, thee, 55
 Thieves, a sermon in praise of, 92
 'Three trees,' the gallows, 31
 tickle in the ear, gammon, 9
 Tinkard, a beggar, 5
 tiplinge[house], an ale-house, 40
 tittiuell knaue, a tale-bearer, 15
 togeman, a coat, 77, 82
 tortylles, turtle-doves, lovers, 62
 towre, see, 84, 85
 trashe, goods, 77
 trininge, hanging, the end of roges, 37, 84
 Troll and troll by, a knave, described, 12
 Troll Hazard of Trace, a knave, 12
 Troll Hazard of tritrace, a knave, 13
 Troll with, a knave, 12
 Truth, proverb as to, 28
 tryninge, hanging, 84
 twin'd hempe, rope and gallows, 29 (cp. Bulleyn in *The Babees Book*, p. 240-3)
Two Gent. of Verona, 45
 Tynckars, Harman sends notice of the stealing of his cauldron to the, 35
 typ, secret, 20
 typlinge houses, alehouses, 24

 Vacabonde—one being caught, and brought before the justices of the peace, promised to tell them the names and degrees of his fellows, on condition that he escaped punishment, which being granted, he fulfilled his promise, and Awdeley obtained the materials for his book, 2
 Vacabondes, beggerly, 1; ruflyng, 1; 'the old briefe' of, 60
 Vagabondes, their vsage in the night, 76
 Vagabonds, account of the doings of, at the funeral of a man of worship in Kent, 22
 vagarantes, 19
 Vngracious, a man who will not work, 15
 Vnthrift, a reckless knave, 15
 vntrus, to undress, 72
 Vpright man, description of, 1, 4, 31
 Vpright men, list of the names of, 78, 79, 80
 Vrmond, Earle of, 82

 walkinge mortes, description of, 67; a story of a trick that one played on a man who would have

- had to do with her, and the punishment he received instead, 67—73
 wannion, a curse, 62
 wappinge, fornicating, 87
 Washman, one who shams lameness, sickness, etc., 5
 waste, bynge a ; go hence, 84, 86
 watch, the constable, 45
 watche, person, 61 ; our watche, us, 86
 Welsh rogues, 44, 57
 Whistle, anecdote of the, 61-5
 Whipiacke, a robber of booths and stalls, 4
 Whitefriars, 51, 56
 whydds, words, 84, 86
 whystell, whistle, 62
 whyte money, silver, 42
 wilde roge, description of, 41 ; story of one robbing a man, of whom he had just begged, 42
 wilde roge's reason for being a beggar, 42
 windless, out of breath, 73
 windshaken knaue, 66
 woode, mad, 14
 Wostestowe, a servant of the Lord Keeper's, 58
 wyld Dell, description of, 75
 wyn, a penny, 83
 yannam, bread, 83, *n.*
 yaram, milk, 83
 yemen, yeomen, 22
 ynkell, tape, 65

